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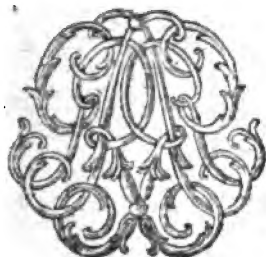




THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1795.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES the First.



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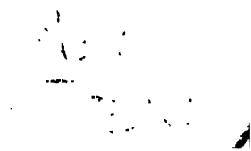
P R E F A C E.

THE present volume makes its appearance at least a month later than was intended. But as our readers must perceive that *our information is derived from no common sources*, it may naturally be conceived that some delay may occur in the collecting of that information; and that, whatever may be our assiduity in endeavouring to gratify the anxious curiosity of the public at this momentous period, some disappointment (for every delay is a disappointment) may ensue from circumstances which we cannot command.

It is, however, with great pleasure, we can assure the public, that the New Annual Register for 1796 is already in some forwardness; and that we have formed such arrangements, as, we doubt not, will not only insure us the best and most authentic information on political affairs, but will enable us to gratify our own wishes and those of our friends, by an early publication.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of King CHARLES the First.

IN the History of the Progress of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, with which our annual volume usually commences, the first place has generally been assigned to Theology. In no age indeed could such an arrangement have more propriety than in that of which we have now to treat: it was a period in which religious controversy engaged the minds of all, and mingled with almost every occurrence in social, or civil life. The adoption of the tenets of Arminius, by several of the most celebrated divines in the reign of James, has been already mentioned; and these prelates, happening to be, from their situation, temper, or prejudices, supporters of the prerogative of the crown, and attached to ecclesiastical power and ostentatious ceremonies, were regarded by the greater part of the nation with jealousy and distrust, though, strictly speaking, the tenets of their philosophy had no tendency to favour either civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. They were, however, branded by the nation with the names of heretics and innovators; and the house of commons,

mons, in the third parliament of Charles, loudly inveighed against these pernicious and dangerous tenets, and stigmatized their courtly and clerical protectors.

It is observed by Mr. Hume, that at this time. "the appellation of *puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. These were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to these, was the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians," who, in time, comprehended all the favourers of the church and monarchy.

The house of commons, being chiefly composed of puritans, who, however differing in some points, were united in their hatred to popery and arbitrary power, directed their attacks against the Arminians. By this, they hoped to injure those bishops who most strenuously supported episcopal government, an attachment to superstitious rites, and entire submission to monarchical authority. They were warmly opposed by the king, who not only revered the hierarchy, but conceived it the most solid basis of his authority; and the opposition of the monarch was heightened by the counsels of archbishop Laud, whose ascendancy over the mind of Charles unhappily extended not only to ecclesiastical, but civil affairs. Bigoted to the priesthood and prelacy, and childishly attached to the ceremonials of religion, the unceasing zeal of Laud was exerted to support the one, and to extend the other. The eyes of the puritans were incessantly shocked by ceremonies similar to those in the church of Rome, so much the object of their abhorrence; and their rancour against them was further inflamed by the rigorous manner in which an observance of them was enforced. Innovations of this nature, and the superstitions of the fourth and fifth century, were attempted to be forced upon men, by many of whom even the ancient cere-

ceremonies sanctioned by the first reformers were looked upon with disgust, and who could not but regard the affinity which they thought was taking place between the liturgy of the English church and that of the church of Rome, with detestation and horror*.

These

* As a proof that the conviction of this affinity was not entirely the effect of a fanatical spirit, we subjoin an account of the ceremonies introduced by Laud at the consecration of St. Catherine's church.

"On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, *Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in!* Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: *This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.*

"Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: and on their return, they went round the church, repeating, as they marched along, some of the psalms; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words: *We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.*

"After this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, Amen.*

"The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he in like manner bowed towards the east, and cried, *Let all the people say, Amen.*

"The sermon followed; after which, the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner:

"As he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread; then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

"Next, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards

These superstitious practices being enforced by the arbitrary mandates of the high commission court, such of the clergy as refused obedience, were suspended and deprived of their benefices. The churchwardens were sworn to inform against such as acted contrary to the ecclesiastical canons; and every measure was taken, both at home and abroad, which could evince the attachment of the court to the introduction of superstition. The independence of the spiritual upon the civil power, was loudly insisted upon. The right to private judgment in spiritual matters was refused to laymen. The bishops held ecclesiastical courts in their own name; and Charles, if he did not encourage, at least made no attempt to repress these clerical encroachments; while those by whom they were opposed, incurred the severest penalties of the law. The unfeeling sentences inflicted upon Prynne, a lawyer,—Burton, a divine,—Bastwick, a physician,—and Williams, bishop of Lincoln, for their spirited opposition to innovation, and the practices of the court and church, sufficiently record the arbitrary nature of the high commission court, and the object of the king and the archbishop.

The innovations introduced by James and Charles had entirely altered the whole system of church government, not only in England but Scotland. Charles conciliated the affection of the higher orders of the church in that country, by raising the prelates to the chief dignities of the state; but he did not succeed in influencing the inferior Scottish ecclesiastics.

towards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy."

So convinced, indeed, were not only the puritanical part of the nation, but even the court of Rome itself, that the restoration of popery was the intention of the archbishop, that an offer of a cardinal's hat was privately made to him at two different times; but this he declined, alleging as a reason, that "something dwelt within him, which would not allow of his compliance, till Rome were other than it is."

The

The hatred against popery was, if possible, still more rancorous in Scotland than in England, and the people revolted with horror from the moderate language of the prelates, which represented the catholic doctrines as less dangerous than they had appeared to their own inflamed imaginations. Every thing, they conceived, portended returning popery, the object of their horror and abomination; and this sentiment animated them to desperation, when Charles assumed the authority of establishing discipline upon a regular system of canons, of assimilating the worship of the church in both kingdoms, and introducing a liturgy into the Scottish church, nearly resembling that of England, but still more strongly countenancing the doctrine of the real presence. The most violent commotions succeeded this attempt: but the monarch obstinately adhered to his intention, and issued a proclamation exhorting the people to a peaceable submission to the liturgy. This was answered by a public protestation, and afterwards by a renewal of the celebrated covenant, formerly signed by James, consisting of a solemn renunciation of popery, and a firm determination of union against all opposition. In vain then were all the negotiations set on foot by the monarch for quelling this rebellious spirit,—vain even the concessions he made. The hatred entertained by the Scotch against popery, their dislike to ecclesiastical authority, and the enthusiasm which incorporated itself with their religion, slowly and gradually found its way even into England. The Scotch had recourse to arms, and, on their arrival, received every possible mark of respect and affection from the parliament. Their chaplains began openly to practise the Presbyterian form of worship, which was received with such avidity, that all ranks eagerly crowded to St. Antholin's church in Watling Street, which had been assigned to them, to hear their discourses. Presbyterianism was openly professed; and the prevalence of that sect soon discovered itself in the parliament. "Marshall and Burgefs," says Mr. Hume, "two puritanical clergymen, were ordered to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours long. It being the custom of the house always to take the sacrament before they enter upon business,

business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the *spiritual lords* was commonly left out in acts of parliament, and the clerk, in reading bills, turned his back upon the bench of bishops; nor was his insolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a general fast, all the temporal peers, contrary to practice, took place of the spiritual; and lord Spencer remarked, that "humiliation that day seemed confined alone to the prelates."

This palpable approbation of presbyterianism was succeeded by petitions against the church from different parts of the kingdom. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion; and a petition from the city for a total alteration of church government, which was signed by 15,000 persons, and presented by Pennington the city member. The lords, however, steadily refused to sanction a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office, and consequently depriving the bishops of their seats in the house of lords. Rigorous orders were issued by the commons for the demolition of images, crucifixes, and every superstitious figure; and a committee was elected to inspect the practices of the clergy, which, beginning with harassing and molestation, ended in sequestrating and ejecting such as were convicted of what were deemed superstitious practices. Every possible expression of opprobrium and abhorrence was inflicted upon such as were convicted, or even suspected, of an attachment to the cause of popery. So much indeed were the minds of the people inflamed upon this occasion, that conspiracy was thought to lurk in every corner, and a general alarm about the designs of the papists pervaded the nation. The dreadful massacres which took place in Ireland, in which every act of cruelty the most abhorrent to the human mind was practised under the name of religion, and that religion the catholic, afforded a melancholy reason for this belief; and as the commons always joined the prelatical party with the papists, their animosity

mosity against the hierarchy became additionally violent. The pulpits resounded with the dangers which threatened religion, and several skirmishes took place in the streets between the Roundheads and Cavaliers, distinctions by which the different factions began to be known.

The English parliament entered into a nearer confederacy with the Scotch; which was effected chiefly by the address and capacity of Vane, by whose persuasions a *solemn league and covenant* was entered into, in which the covenanters engaged to extirpate popery and prelacy, &c. During these negotiations, the parliament convened an assembly at Westminster, consisting of 121 divines and 30 laymen, celebrated for their piety and learning. By their advice, alterations took place in the 39 articles; the liturgy was abolished, and a new directory for public worship was appointed, in which full liberty was allowed to the public preachers; and the solemn league and covenant with the Scotch abolished episcopacy as destructive to all true piety. Charles was not very likely to submit readily to regulations which, by destroying episcopal jurisdiction, deprived him of that party in the state on whose adherence he might the most firmly rely. He was bound to them equally by inclination and policy. He reluctantly consented to regulate and restrain the sacerdotal order, but could not be prevailed upon to abolish them entirely.

The Independents, whose rejection of every ecclesiastical establishment much exceeded that of the presbyterians, inculcated, however, a degree of toleration unpractised by that sect and by the catholics, and directed their religious attacks towards popery and prelacy alone. The leaders of this sect were Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, Oliver St. John, and the accomplished sir Henry Vane; and their efforts, united with those of their own party, finally prevailed in abolishing prelacy in the church, and introducing equality in the state. Previous to this, however, the parliament established the presbyterian model of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all its forms of *congregational, classical, provincial, and national*

tional assemblies, but refused, chiefly at the instigation of the Independents, to admit the divine right of presbytery. The disagreements between the Presbyterians and Independents increased in proportion to the diminution of monarchical power; and in a short time the moderate party found it necessary to arrange themselves under one of these banners, till that of the Independents firmly attained the whole power of the state.

We have thus endeavoured to give a connected view of the state of ecclesiastical disputes during the reign of Charles I. unbroken by an account of those who were the principal actors in these scenes. It will easily be conceived, that, in these theological struggles, the press and the pulpit would be continually employed in promoting the views of the contending parties. These compositions were indeed frequently rude, and degraded by the fanatical cant which so much prevailed; but in many instances they were eloquent, and admirably calculated for affecting the passions of an uneducated audience.

It cannot, however, be supposed, that, in a contest which engaged every rank, some writers should not have arisen uninfected with the barbarous jargon of the times. The innovations introduced in the worship of the church were spiritedly attacked by Williams, afterwards archbishop of York, who, to a mind of more than usual strength, added uncommon application. In order to convert the daughter of the earl of Rutland from popery, this prelate composed a small book of the elements of true religion, of which he printed a few copies with only the signature of "an old prebend of Westminster." His abilities for business elevated him to the care of the seals; and after losing them, he promoted the petition of right. Williams is said, during the contests between the king and parliament, to have cautioned Charles against the designs of Cromwell, and was deeply affected by the death of the unfortunate monarch. He published, against the innovations of Laud, "The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament than that of Altar," which lord Clarendon, who was
not

not favourably disposed to this prelate, represents "as full of good learning, and that learning closely and solidly applied."

The opposition to the puritans, which marked some of the earliest productions of the pen of Laud, continued during his life. In his exercise for the degree of B. D. at college, he maintained the necessity of baptism, and that no true church could subsist without diocesan bishops. The agitation of the doctrines of predestination and election, and of the regal claims to prerogative, which were so usual among the preachers of that period, being offensive to the court, Laud was believed to have assisted in composing directions concerning preachers and preaching, which, as they were aimed at the puritans and lecturers, occasioned him much opprobrium. Whatever have been the charges made against him of affecting popery, in 1622 he held the celebrated conferences with Fisher the jesuit, in order to confirm the marquis of Buckingham and his mother in the protestant religion; an account of which was published in 1624. Numerous as were the faults and mistakes into which Laud was betrayed, literature has considerable obligations to his abilities and generosity. Oxford, the place of his education, and of which he was chancellor, was enriched and adorned at his expence. St. John's college was enlarged by him, and presented with several valuable MSS.; and the convocation house, and Selden's library, were erected by him. At different times he presented to the university, an invaluable collection of 1300 volumes, which were procured for him at a prodigious expence. All this, together with a considerable share of learning, were so far from procuring popularity to this turbulent prelate, that his intolerance, his haughtiness, his attachment to Arminianism, debased indeed by superstition, united against him a considerable part of the nation, who saw him perish on the scaffold at the advanced age of 71, with little compassion and regret; and his death, for which political causes afforded the pretext, is more justly ascribable to religious prejudices. Laud composed several sermons, a Life of James I. and a Manual and Summary of Public and Private Devotion. If any doubt could

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be entertained of his sincere opposition to popery, his letters to sir Kenelm Digby, and to the celebrated Chillingworth, who had embraced the communion of the church of Rome, would be a sufficient refutation of the charge. The latter was so affected by the arguments of Laud, as to commence a fresh inquiry upon the subject, the result of which was his return to, and zealous and able support of, protestantism. Chillingworth's "Religion of Catholics a Safe Way to Salvation," was printed at Oxford, in 1638, in folio, and at London, with some improvements, the same year; a remarkable instance of a theological work of this magnitude going through two editions in so short a space of time. The Catholics were further attacked by the learned Usher, who also published the *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, and by Bedell, the respectable bishop of Kilmore, with a degree of persuasive mildness, of which this turbulent period affords few examples. Hammond wrote against the Anabaptists: but his reputation is better founded on his "Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament." The celebrated Selden ranged himself amongst the champions of Presbyterianism. Independency was defended by Nye, and attacked by Edwards, who was commonly distinguished by the appellation of *Young Luther*; and his opposition to Royalism and Independency is remarkable for having taken place when each of them was in the zenith of their prosperity. Heylin was a zealous supporter of the authority of the Church, in which he was opposed by the modest and learned Dr. John Prideaux. Amongst those who dignified this period by their religion, knowledge, and learning, and improved it by their example, a distinguished place is due to the "ever memorable John Hales," whose conscientious refusal to take the engagement, or oath to be faithful to the commonwealth, reduced him to such difficulties, that he parted with his valuable library, for his own support and that of his friends. His talents appear to have been general,—his principles moderate, yet incorruptible,—his learning profound. A year or two after his death, his "Golden Remains" were published, consisting of sermons, miscellanies, and letters. Hales refused publishing during his life; but is a striking exception

ception to the narrow bigoted spirit of the times, and to the greater part of the writers of this period, who eagerly defended the religious sentiments they had embraced and virulently attacked their adversaries. Indeed, with few exceptions, these writings afford no very favourable specimen of the taste of the age; and the sermons of six or seven hours in length, which were commonly delivered at that time, are frequently degraded by fanaticism, faction, vulgarity, and rant.

“The Whole Duty of Man,” which was probably written during the reign of Charles, is, however, one of several exceptions to this censure. This work has been ascribed to Chappel, bishop of Cork; but its author still remains unknown. A series of arguments in favour of natural religion in opposition to Revelation, was brought forwards in the “De Veritate” of lord Herbert, of Cherbury; but later times have furnished us with a very extraordinary anecdote upon this occasion, taken from a manuscript Life of lord Herbert, written by himself. By this we are informed that his lordship, doubtful whether he ought to publish this work, humbly supplicated the Deity, if the publication was for his glory, to favour him with a sign from heaven; and that immediately a distinct, but gentle sound came from above, and so cheered and comforted him that he took the petition for granted. Lord Herbert produced several other works, and appears to have been that uncommon character,—a conscientious deist.

The more enlightened views of liberty which had taken place under the reign of Elizabeth, had, as we have already remarked, been extended and improved under that of James. Charles I. unhappily ascended the throne with prejudices in favour of hereditary and indefeasible right, similar to those of his predecessor; and what the father had only been called upon to defend by words, the son was compelled to assert by action. The exhausted state of the finances (that most fatal source of all national disorganization), the anticipations of the revenue of the crown, and the necessity of additional supplies for defraying the expences of naval and military armaments,

afforded an opportunity, which was eagerly seized, of contracting the exorbitant power claimed by the monarch. The enlarged minds of many among the first parliament of Charles readily comprehended that it was necessary, either entirely to abandon the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer barriers than had yet been provided. Their sittings, however, passed in complaints of grievances, which at that time had not always the best foundation, and in entire uncompliance with the demands for money, which were made by the king. The second parliament was still more refractory, and was soon dissolved; but the anger of the commons was excited by the imprisonment of two of their members, who had ventured to accuse the favourite, Buckingham; and their obstinacy was confirmed by the king's releasing them without further punishment.

The supplies which the king was unable to obtain from his parliament, he endeavoured to procure by compounding with the Catholics for dispensing with the penal laws in their disfavour, by loans and benevolences, and by the famous expedient of ship-money. In the extreme want of money which succeeded, the councils for supply had recourse to a general loan; and each man was required to pay that precise sum which would have fallen to his share, had the vote for four subsidies passed into a law. The people were, however, informed, that this was not to be called a subsidy, but a loan; and the nation could not but feel that such measures rendered parliaments superfluous. Many who refused compliance, were imprisoned by an order from the council, and afterwards, by a petition to the king, procured their liberty. But sir Thomas Darnel, sir Walter Earl, sir John Corbet, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edmond Hambden, refused this submission, and demanded their release, not as a favour from the court, but as their right by the laws of their country. The question was brought to a solemn trial in the King's Bench; and the king was astonished to observe that a power, which his corrupt courtiers had persuaded him was a part of his legal prerogative, was found, upon trial, to be directly opposite

to the clearest law, and supported by no undoubted precedents in courts of judicature.

The third parliament, irritated by the imprisonment of their former members, by forced loans, and the tax upon tonnage and poundage, seemed resolved to grant no supplies till their grievances were redressed. For every supply, therefore, which was granted to the crown, some concession in favour of civil liberty was extorted. The sycophants of the court loudly exclaimed against the contumacy of the commons; but their power did not appear formidable: the English annals had not yet furnished an instance of a revolution effected by the third order of the state. The lofty claims of prerogative on the one hand, and of privilege on the other, were urged with vehemence and acrimony, but investigated with precision. So thoroughly, indeed, was the subject then examined, that modern times have not produced one argument in favour of liberty, which was not repeatedly adduced and enforced by the enlightened politicians of the reign of Charles I. The policy which has since been pursued, of chusing ministers from their parliamentary interest or talents, and of conferring offices upon those leaders who encroach too much on royal authority, in expectation that they will become more careful not to diminish that power which has become their own, was first adopted in this reign; "a sure proof," says Hume, "that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government."

The celebrated Petition of Right, which was framed in this parliament, exhibited all the claims of the subject to security and protection. The rights of the people were accurately defined; and the dispersion of the petition throughout the nation made the arguments on these subjects familiar to every rank. The eloquence of parliament, now well refined from the pedantry of the preceding reign, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, commanded general attention. The illegality of levying war without the consent of parliament,—of imprisoning the sub-

ject at the will of the monarch,—of quartering soldiers, and executing martial law contrary to the laws of the land, which form the basis of this petition, having received a tardy and reluctant assent from the king, the royal prerogative was consequently considerably circumscribed, and additional security was given to the liberty of the subject.

The political discussions which so universally prevailed, probably had some effect in improving the reasonings of the judges, respecting the law of the land. When urged by the monarch to put Felton to the torture in order to discover his accomplices in the death of the duke of Buckingham, they declared, that, though the practice had been very usual, it was certainly illegal.

In this reign, so important to the claims of liberty, perhaps no circumstance tended more to its being generally understood, than the trial of the immortal John Hampden. After the imposition of ship-money, Charles had, in order to discourage all opposition, proposed to the judges, “Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this tax? and whether he was not the sole judge of the necessity?” These questions were answered by them in the affirmative; but Hampden resolved, rather than to submit tamely to this illegal imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The event of this trial could not but be foreseen; four only among these corrupt ministers of justice supported the arguments against this arbitrary exaction; but the patriotic champion of freedom, obtained that, for which alone he contended: the principles of government became generally investigated, and the people were taught, that their rights and liberties were subverted, and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. A jealousy was excited respecting all the measures of government; and the subsequent trials and execution, of Strafford, and of Laud, evince the ardour with which all suspicions of this nature were prosecuted.

Had the commons of England contented themselves with reforming the abuses that actually existed,—had they respected the just prerogatives of the crown, as well as their own privileges,—posterity would for ever venerate these illustrious fathers of English liberty. The disorder into which the passions, prejudices, and views of the different parties, afterwards precipitated the nation, sets bounds to our reverence and esteem. Yet we cannot but advert, with grateful pleasure, to the first measures of the long parliament, in which abuses were rectified, grievances redressed, and provisions made against a return of similar complaints. Our lasting obligations are due to those whose generous exertions procured an abolition of the star-chamber, and its arbitrary exactions, and of the high commission court; and who, by the bill for a triennial parliament, which could not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved under fifty days, without its own consent, completed the structure of law and liberty. The importance of this bill to public liberty was so well understood, that, when it passed, great rejoicings took place throughout the nation, and solemn thanks were presented to his majesty by both houses of parliament.

“ This was the time,” says Mr. Hume, “ when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraints of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and to be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym, more fitted for use than ornament, matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience. Then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hambden, taught disguise, not moderation, by former constraint, supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty. Then, too, was known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John,—the impetuous spirit of Hollis,—the enthusiastic genius of young Vane. The lively and animated Digby displayed his eloquence on this occasion,—the firm and undaunted Capel,—the modest and candid Palmer. In the list of patriotic royalists are found too the virtuous names of Falkland and of Hyde.”

These characters of the historian, though concise, are so just, that little more is necessary to be added. To their speeches in parliament, and their personal exertions, posterity has been much more indebted for the extension of freedom, than to their abilities as writers. Their talents were exerted in the senate and the field. Indeed, religious opinions were so entirely the avowed basis of every speech, and of every act under this reign, that every question of civil right became blended with theological discussion; and under this head we have therefore classed many of those who laboured the most strenuously for the extension of freedom. After the death of sir Dudley Digges, a discourse of his was printed, concerning the rights and privileges of the subject, which contains many excellent observations in favour of liberty. Sir Henry Wotton wrote "The State of Christendom," a work which throws some light upon the transactions of that time, and the actors concerned in them. Few, however, of the political writings of this reign have equal pretensions to eloquence, with the Memorials published in the name of his majesty, but, in reality, composed by the lords Falkland and Clarendon. The first regular definition of the constitution is contained in one of these declarations; and the three species of government, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical, blended together, are stated as the component materials of the government of England.

Mr. Hume mentions the "Icon Basilikè" as the best prose composition which could at that time be found in the English language; and after weighing the claims of Dr. Gauden to this work, fully ascribes it to the pen of the unfortunate monarch; Mr. Hume's partiality is, however, so notorious, that many will still doubt the truth of his assertion—but this is a subject which we shall investigate more at large in our succeeding volume. Few of the political writers of this period have attracted more of the notice of succeeding times, than Hobbes. In 1647, this philosopher published "De Cive," a work which he had long had in contemplation, and which was intended to check the rising spirit of democracy, by establishing the claims of monarchy, on new principles of philosophy. In

1650,

1650, he wrote "De Corpore Politico," and the year following his "Leviathan," in which, in establishing a system of civil policy, he represents man as an untameable beast of prey, and government as the strong chain by which he is to be restrained from mischief. This work, though learned and ingenious, adduced such bold and paradoxical opinions, both in philosophy and policy, that the clergy took the alarm, and the author was represented to be, in religion, inimical to revelation, and in policy, an advocate for the cause of tyranny. That his temper was soured by beholding the excesses into which the enthusiasm of liberty had betrayed the popular party, and his understanding shocked by the fanatical cant of the puritanical clergy, is, we think, evident from his writings. In religion, however, he appears rather to have been a sceptic than an absolute unbeliever; and his politics contain many sound observations on the principles of government. In comparison with such men as Hobbes, the pretended philosophers of France are puny sciolists, and their English imitators below contempt.

Of the distinguished lawyers of this period who have not been noticed under the preceding reign (for sir Edward Coke lived to the year 1634) we shall first name Bradshaw, who has been principally celebrated on account of his sitting as president on the trial of Charles I. Prynne, besides the "Histriomastix," which exposed him to a severe and unjust prosecution and punishment, published as many works, chiefly in the law, as amounted to forty volumes, which he presented to the library of Lincoln's Inn. His principal performances are "Records," in three volumes folio, and "Parliamentary Writs," in quarto. "Cotton's Abridgment of the Tower Records," folio, and "Observations on the fourth part of Coke's Institutes," folio. Lord Clarendon styles him learned in the law, as far as mere reading of books could make him learned; but he is regarded in general as rhapsodical and confused. The immortal Selden was distinguished during this period as a lawyer, but his principal works must be classed under other heads. He had been desired by James I. to make collections for demonstrating the right of the crown of England to the dominion

dominion of the sea ; but after having made some progress in the work he laid it aside in resentment for the affront he received from Charles, in being committed to prison for some of his parliamentary speeches. This work was however resumed in 1634, on the dispute arising between the English and Dutch, concerning the herring fishery upon the British coast ; and the “ Mare Clausum ” appeared in 1636, which was received with peculiar approbation. The lord keeper Lyttleton is distinguished as a law writer by his “ Reports,” in folio, which were however not published till 1683, and by some lesser works. Noy, who in the reign of James had been a staunch opposer of prerogative, was converted from his patriotism by being invested with the office of attorney general by Charles in 1631. That extensive knowledge of the laws of his country, which, previous to this period, had enabled him to supply the parliament with precedents on which they might ground their claims, was afterward directed to the support of the prerogative. The works of this author are not very numerous, but have acquired him some reputation. The most distinguished lawyer of this period, however, was the celebrated sir Matthew Hale, the pupil of Noy and of Selden, by whom he was directed in his studies, and who, to great legal knowledge, united considerable skill in mathematics, experimental philosophy, and other branches of philosophical learning, together with the fashionable science, theology. The great integrity and impartiality of his character engaged the esteem of every sect and every rank ; and his resolution to follow the two maxims of Pomponius Atticus—to “ engage in no faction, nor meddle in public business, and constantly to favour and relieve those who were lowest,”—appears to have been religiously adhered to, in times where the temptations to take a part in public affairs, and to assist in depressing the falling party, must have been continual. His life extended many years beyond the period of which we are now treating, and his utility continued till within a short time of his death. None of his legal works were published during his life, but have since been printed from the original manuscripts which he bequeathed to Lincoln’s Inn.

The metaphysicians of this period do not appear to have been very numerous, or very eminent. From this censure we must however except Mr. Hobbes, who opposed the doctrines advanced by Des Cartes in his "Philosophical Meditations." About 1647, he entered into a controversy with bishop Bramhall on the subject of liberty and necessity, in which he supported the doctrine of predestination, founded on the absolute power and irresistible will of God. In 1658, he wrote his "Dissertation on Man," in which, according to his usual mode, he advanced many singular and some erroneous and paradoxical opinions concerning the intellectual and moral powers of human nature,—and in 1650, his "Human Nature" which has been considered by many as his best performance. Barlowe, bishop of Lincoln, who, in 1635, was appointed metaphysical reader at Oxford, delivered a course of lectures on metaphysics, which were much approved and afterwards published. This prelate was further distinguished by his skill in the civil and canon law, his adherence to the Aristotelian philosophy, and to the doctrines of Calvin, the latter of which engaged him in a public opposition to some of the works of Mr. Bull. Ward, bishop of Exeter, and afterwards of Peterborough, published a "Philosophical Essay towards an Eviction of the Being and Attributes, of God, &c." Indeed in a period so immediately succeeding that of the incomparable Bacon, it would be astonishing if several works and parts of works of a metaphysical nature had not made their appearance: but they were, in general, debased by jargon and cant, and very few of them entitle their authors to the veneration and regard of posterity.

The principal mathematician of the reign of Charles I. was William Oughtred, a clergyman. In the preceding reign, he had invented an easy mode of geometrical dialling, which was not published till the year 1647. In 1633 was published his horizontal instrument for delineating dials upon any plane, and for working the generality of whatever problems could be performed on the globe. His house became the resort of several gentlemen, who attended him for instruction.

struction. In 1631, Oughtred published "*Arithmeticae in Numeris et Speciebus Institutio, quæ tum Logisticae tum Analyticae, atque totius Mathematicae Clavis est.*" This *Clavis* was composed for the use of his pupil, the son of lord William Howard. This work was greatly esteemed, and the excellence of its plan has been sanctioned from being adopted by sir Isaac Newton, in his *Arithmetica Universalis*, and in Mr. Maclaurin's *Algebra*. It was introduced as an elementary book, for the mathematical pupils in the university of Cambridge, by Dr. Seth Ward, the bishop of Salisbury, and the particular friend of Oughtred, who left several MSS. upon mathematical subjects, which were printed in 1676. The bishop also was the author of several mathematical and astronomical works. The general utility of mathematics was earnestly recommended by John Blagrove, who published four several works on mathematical subjects. The greater part of the scientific publications of this period, though greatly esteemed at that time, have since been superseded by more perfect productions, founded on later discoveries and the Newtonian system. One philosopher is, however, peculiarly entitled to our notice, Jeremiah Horrox, who is memorable as the first observer of the transit of Venus over the sun's disk. His "*Venus in Sole visa,*" was first published by Herelius at Dantzic, in 1662. He had also begun another work in order to refute the hypothesis of Langsbergius, and to draw up a new astronomical system according to the Keplerian hypothesis; but his premature death, at about the age of twenty-two, terminated a course of studies honourable to himself, and of great probable benefit to mankind.

After the time of lord Bacon, many philosophers, upon his principles, and after his example, made use of the science of chemistry as an instrument in the investigation of nature. Among these was sir Kenelm Digby, who, in the midst of military services, industriously prosecuted physical researches, and spared neither labour nor expence to make himself master of the secrets of chemistry. These he applied to the improvement of medicine, which he practised with great success.

cess. Assuming rarefaction and condensation as physical principles, he endeavoured, in a distinct treatise "On Plants," to explain the process of vegetation. He also wrote "On the Nature of Bodies," and "On the Immortality of the Soul."

Botanical knowledge appears to have been much more diffused during this than during the preceding reign. The "*Theatrum Botanicum*" of Parkinson, with some other of his writings on this subject, and those of Johnson, appeared at this time. They were, however, excelled by the celebrated Evelyn, who, by his assiduous studies, was at this period laying the foundation of that fame which his attainments in natural history have so amply deserved.

That the study of antiquities was pursued with much ardour and success by several very distinguished characters of this age, the names of Dugdale and Selden, of Spelman and Cotton, will sufficiently evince. A list of the learned productions of Dugdale would exceed the bounds which we must necessarily prescribe to ourselves on this occasion. We shall therefore confine ourselves to noticing his principal work, "*The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated*," the accomplishing of which employed the whole leisure time of its author during twenty years. The profound learning of Selden, his extensive erudition and prodigious abilities, justly entitle him to the appellation conferred upon him by Grotius, "the glory of the English nation." His style has, however, been generally censured as harsh, and his arrangement as perplexed. Spelman, in the pursuit of antiquities, observing the great necessity for a knowledge of the Saxon tongue, not only made himself master of that language, but founded a Saxon lecture in the university of Cambridge. His researches were very extensive, and are at this hour deservedly esteemed. The gratitude of posterity is the meed of Cotton, still more for the noble library which he left for their use, and to which his son and grandson afterwards added, than for his valuable writings. This inestimable collection of MSS. relate principally to the history and antiquities of Great Britain

Britain and Ireland. The time in which sir Robert Cotton lived was peculiarly favourable to such a collection. The monasteries had been recently destroyed, and several learned antiquarians had died, still more recently, who had assiduously collected the books taken from the monastical libraries and from the universities, at their visitation. To these celebrated persons we may add sir Simon D'Eves, who composed a very laborious work, illustrative of the most distinguished English reign,—“The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Elizabeth;” sir John Marsham, whose elaborate work threw considerable light upon the Egyptian antiquities; and sir James Ware, who composed several works upon the history and antiquities of Ireland.

The learned Pococke was one of the ornaments of this memorable period, though many of his works appeared at a much later time. Besides his other accomplishments, he was “profoundly skilled in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic tongues, was well acquainted with the Persian, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Turkish; not unacquainted with Italian and Spanish, and in Greek and Latin critically conversant.” Amongst other literary labours in which he was engaged, he was one of those concerned in preparing an intended edition of the Polyglot bible. He wrote commentaries upon some of the books of the prophecies; and such was his reputation in oriental and biblical learning, that he was consulted upon these subjects by the most accomplished scholars in Europe. Usher, the respectable primate of Ireland, published several learned and useful works, but the greater number of his publications related to antiquities, the clearing up of which he has made subservient to ecclesiastical purposes, and to the reconciling of disaffected persons to the established church. Greaves, the friend of Spelman, was also learned in the oriental languages, and accomplished in mathematics, astronomy, and the knowledge of antiquities. The Hebrew language was diligently cultivated by Lightfoot, afterwards vice-chancellor of Cambridge; but his most important works more properly belong to a later period. Sir Charles Roe, ambassador to the Great Mogul, and to the Ottoman Porte, added several
valuable

valuable Greek and oriental MSS. to the Bodleian library, and brought over the fine Alexandrian MS. of the Greek Testament, presented by Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I.

To the period of which we are now treating, we are indebted for one of the most important anatomical discoveries that ever was made,—the circulation of the blood,—a branch of science, which now appears so obvious and clear, that our surprize is excited at the lateness of the discovery,—yet a branch which had escaped the most accurate investigation of the profoundest anatomists, during a series of revolving ages. It is almost unnecessary to add, that, for this very important addition to physical science, we are indebted to Dr. Harvey, who, so early as 1615, in a course of lectures in the college of physicians, introduced his theory of the circulation of the blood. This doctrine was no sooner established, than a number of competitors claimed the honour of the discovery; it was, however, after a full investigation of these pretensions, justly assigned to Dr. Harvey, who lived to see his doctrine universally received, and is observed to have been the only philosopher who ever enjoyed that extraordinary distinction. Amongst those who distinguished themselves as the disciples of Harvey, was Francis Glisson, whose anatomical researches were then thought to throw considerable light on the human structure. In 1650 this physician published an account of the Rickets, a disorder which had made its appearance about fifteen years before. His physiology, however, is now little esteemed.

The school of painting, during this reign, presents to our recollection some names which posterity continues to repeat with honour. The principal of these is sir Peter Lely, who, in taste and gracefulness, has scarcely been excelled, though the languishing eye, and drowsy sweetness peculiar to his portraits, have subjected him, with some justice, to the charge of being a mannerist. His celebrity has extended wherever his pictures have been exhibited, Dobson, Gentileschi, Pierce,
and

and several other artists, were encouraged by the monarch, who employed Lanier to purchase for him abroad a collection of pictures, which, in the succeeding confusion of the nation, was dispersed. The architecture of Inigo Jones was the production of this period, who was enabled by William earl of Pembroke, the generous patron of all liberal sciences, to travel for his improvement. Jones's design for the banqueting house at Whitehall had been drawn during the reign of James, but was not carried into execution till after Charles ascended the throne.

That the state of poetry in the reign of this monarch was not despicable, little more is necessary to prove, than a recital of the names of those who most distinguished themselves at the time. These were Suckling, Crashaw, Denham, and Waller: but many of the performances of the two last are more properly to be referred to a later period. It is no inconsiderable praise to Crashaw, that Pope has imitated him, and, in some instances, avowed the imitation, though in others, he has been less honest and candid. The names of Carew, Corbet, Barclay, and Cleveland, &c. increase the list of the poets of Charles's reign; but there is little in their performances to entitle them to the applause of succeeding times*.

* Enfield's History of Philosophy,—Parliamentary History,—Anthony Wood, — Clarendon,—Burnet,—Biographia Britannica, — Biographical Dictionary,—Macaulay,—and Hume.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1795.



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CHAPTER I.

Great Britain. Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Debate on the Address in the House of Lords. Debate in the House of Commons on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. On the Office of third Secretary of State. Debate on the Address. Mr. Wilberforce's Amendment in favour of Peace. Negatived. Resumed Debate on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Debates on the Bill for continuing to suspend the Act of Habeas Corpus. Debate on the same Subject in the House of Lords.

IN periods more distinguished by national prosperity than the present, when the enjoyment of peace, and the advantages of uninterrupted commerce raise a bulwark round the established government, and place an insuperable bar to the efforts of faction, our domestic history presents but few scenes to interest curiosity, or to invite speculation; and an interval of months is commonly found to elapse before any public transaction occurs deserving of being entered on our annals. But in times when every year is an epoch, and when almost every hour is pregnant with some important occurrence, our annual volumes become a more connected series; events succeed each other with a rapid pace; and the unfinished story is only broken off by the necessity of adopting some regular periods in the arrangement of our labours. Our last review of

British history concluded with the termination of the memorable state trials in December 1794; and we have now to call the attention of our readers to the meeting of parliament which took place on the 30th of the same month.

In the speech from the throne, his majesty urged the necessity of persisting in the war, however unfortunate it had been, and noticed the rapid decay of the resources of the enemy. The Dutch had, he observed, from a sense of present difficulties, entered into a negotiation for peace with the prevailing party in France; but no established government could derive security from such a negotiation. The most effectual means had therefore been employed for the further augmentation of the forces, on whose valour, as well as on the public spirit of the people, his majesty professed he had the ut-

most reliance. The speech ended with mentioning the accession of the sovereignty of Corsica to the British dominions,—the treaty of amity and commerce with America,—the conclusion of a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Caroline of Brunswic, for whose provision his majesty doubted not of the concurrence and support of both houses.

His majesty's address to the house of commons was, as usual, short. In it he exhorted them to make a timely and ample provision for the public service,—lamented the necessity of laying large additional burthens on the subject,—but observed with satisfaction the state of credit, commerce, and resources in this country. Both houses were flattered by the prospect of ultimate success from their perseverance in the war, and that their present exertions and sacrifices would be rewarded by security and peace at home, and the salvation of Europe.

The address in the house of lords was moved by earl Camden, and seconded by the earl of Besborough. Both their lordships strenuously urged the necessity of prosecuting the war, however unsuccessful the last campaign might have been. This temporary want of success rendered the present the most improper conjuncture for making peace, that could possibly be chosen, even if negotiation were practicable. A peace, made under such circumstances, had not the least chance of being permanent, and must be purchased, on our part, by concessions disgraceful to the country. The comparative situation of France and England was thought, by lord Camden, to be greatly in favour of the latter. His lordship noticed the law for enforcing the *maximum*,

and the circulation of assignats, as measures on which the French had placed their utmost reliance, but which they had been compelled to abandon. The state of France was, he said, equally destitute of internal comfort and security, provisions and resources; while in this country the forces both by sea and land exceeded all that Great Britain had ever known: we had every reason to hope for assistance from Austria; the secession of the United Provinces, so far from being disadvantageous, would restore a large portion of our forces which might be more usefully employed; the state of our revenue was in the highest degree flourishing, and our resources infinite. From all these circumstances, his lordship argued that the season was peculiarly unfit for attempting to negotiate a peace.

The address was warmly opposed by the earl of Guildford, who thought, that, before any man could assent to the language of the speech and of the address, he must be satisfied of the wisdom of entering into the war, the necessity of persevering in it, and the prudence and policy of those who, by the uniform disasters which had followed their counsels, had brought the country into its present melancholy situation. All this, his lordship said, he denied, and he believed all Europe would concur in his opinion. He reverted to the situation in which we stood three years ago, and compared it with the present state of disaster. If this was not a situation in which we ought to sue for peace, he thought it a pity that the noble lord had not given advice to his friends in office when our situation wore a different aspect. What, he asked, was the consolation held out by his majesty's

majesty's speech, and that of the two noble lords; but that after all the ravages of war, and all the calamities we had suffered, the prospect of peace was as distant as ever? The *gratuitous* engagements into which we had entered with other powers, were, his lordship said, not so much for securing allies to assist us, as to pay them for allowing us to become their friends in the contest with France. They were framed to serve the interested and ambitious purposes of ministers; we were bound by them not to make a peace without the consent of all parties; this tended to prolong a war, upon which indeed the existence of ministers themselves in their present situation depended. Such treaties might also, be for the interest of Austria; but Holland could only be saved by a peace. There might, his lordship said, be some objections to an immediate peace; but he must insist on the impracticability of carrying on the war, if conquering France, or dictating a government to her, was the object. It was a poor consolation to Englishmen, to tell them, that though their resources were nearly exhausted, the enemy was in a worse situation, and that, her victories had cost her so dear: he would ask what our defeats and disasters had cost us? After taking a review of the bad success of our military operations from the division of the army after the taking of Valenciennes to the end of the campaign, his lordship attributed all the failures to the ignorance, the obstinacy, and the weakness of ministers. Maritime affairs, except the victory of the first of June, had, he said, been equally disastrous. In negotiations, ministers had failed equally also; and his lordship pathetically reprobated the application of

British money for the destruction of Polish liberty. He then noticed the conduct of ministers at home, in exciting alarms which had placed Englishmen in such a situation that no man was safe in his person and property; though a British jury had proved that there was no probability that any occasion for alarm had existed. His lordship concluded by moving an amendment, advising his majesty to take the earliest means of securing a peace, and requesting that no obstacle might arise to it from the nature of the French government.

The earls of Morton and Kinross strongly objected to the amendment, which was supported by lord Derby, who asked what was the ostensible cause of the war in its origin, and in the arguments of ministry in the course of the last year? The safety of the Dutch, and to prevent the navigation of the Scheldt, neither of which were mentioned in the speech of this year. His lordship condemned the war both in its origin and continuance, and requested to know upon what documents the assertions concerning the failure of the French resources were founded. He stated, upon the evidence of several officers, the superior discipline of the French armies, and asked whether it was from their uncommon energy and exertion, and their abundant supply of cloathing and provision, that the failure of their resources was inferred? His lordship considered the possession of Corsica as attended only with expense and inconvenience to this country: he thought the ships employed on this account would have been more serviceable in the West Indies, where it was generally understood the enemy had a force, on the whole, for every practical purpose, superior to ours;

and their ships now almost blocked up the chops of the Channel, to the great annoyance and danger of our trade. Corsica could never indemnify the expense it would inevitably create, nor was this the object for planning or accepting its seizure, but to afford places for persons to be provided for, whose pensions must come from this country, but who would increase the enormous list of ministerial dependants. He thought the country incompetent to raising men at such immense bounties (25 guineas) as were given in some counties. Formerly the manning of the navy was facilitated by the admission of one third landmen: now the wonderful exertions made for the land service must cripple the navy; and he doubted that soon both landmen and seamen would be found equally scarce. His lordship added his opinion, that a change of ministers must precede a negotiation for peace, as France would undoubtedly not treat with the present ministers.

A vigorous continuance of hostilities was recommended by lord Spencer, who stated that next year we had every reason to hope that we should have the most formidable marine that this country had ever sent to sea, though he admitted that the recruiting of the army was injurious to the marine. He denied the superiority of the French in the West Indies, but could not speak with certainty respecting the formidable appearance of the French fleet in the Channel. His lordship contended strongly for the importance of Corsica to this country, considering its situation in the Mediterranean, and its being capable of receiving a large fleet. The amendment was further opposed by the marquis Townshend and

lord Boringdon, who, however, expressed a sincere desire for peace, and declared his happiness at the annihilation of that system of terror which had tarnished the name of France, and had been a disgrace to the age.

The marquis of Lansdowne reverted to his uniform opposition to the war, and noticed the improbability that noble lords possessing some of the greatest property in the kingdom, and entirely unconnected, should unite to oppose the war from any other motives than a sense of public duty and public danger. Setting aside pompous declamation and delusive words, it was necessary to examine the objects ministers had in view, and the means of obtaining them. The investigation was melancholy. What had been called the finest army that had ever been seen in any war, was no longer to be found amongst men. In the West Indies our situation was too melancholy to reflect upon. Though 100,000 men had been raised, we had been effective nowhere; our armies had been recruited by old men and boys, the officers were children, and the grenadiers invalids. His lordship read a summary of the last campaign of the French, the authenticity of which was undoubted and undeniable.

23 sieges successfully conducted.

6 pitched battles decisively won.

2,803 pieces of cannon taken.

60,000 of the best troops of Europe compelled to surrender prisoners of war, either by capitulation, or in the field.

144 towns and cities captured; among them, many of the strongest fortresses in Europe.

This, he observed, was independent of the victories in Spain. If the French were so formidable when

When they had to combat with all the world, would they be less so when they should have made a treaty with Holland, by which they might, through her active commercial spirit, receive all sorts of supplies? When the comparative situation of the French was considered, it was monstrous to hear it asserted, that we might still conquer them by military force. The frost was set in so as to make the Waal passable; and it was reported that the bridge at Arnheim was carried away by the floating ice; if this were so, our unhappy cavalry, and the army there, were exposed to the utmost hazard. If their lordships looked a little further, they would see in the Diet of the empire, that a great majority was for negotiating with France. Austria was only endeavouring to gain time, so that the elector of Hanover was left in a feeble minority, distinguished only by his violence in the system of war. Was it likely, after this, that Germany should cordially co-operate against the common enemy? We had been as little successful in uniting our allies. Prussia and Austria could not trust each other; the former, he believed, had never been the enemy of France, and could not be so:—the dismemberment of that country must be fatal to him. These powers were mutually and necessarily rivals, and looked only to their private interests. Each regarded their country with becoming feelings: they were not their own enemies; and not having a parliament to stand between them and the people, their ministers were more careful of the advice they gave, as the consequences must fall on their own heads. His lordship argued very ably upon the theories relating to national credit; but one 24 mil-

lions after another must certainly in the end produce difficulty. Those theories had, he said, originated in France under the old government; and yet France had not been saved. The marquis again ridiculed the idea of there not being a power in France with which this country could treat. When persons wanted to make up a quarrel, the difficulty was done away when there was a sincere desire for conciliation on both sides. France, amidst all its change of parties, had not falsified its engagements, since the revolution, with any foreign state. As to our invaluable conquests which had been talked of, they were not likely to stand in the way of a pacification. For the West India islands he was much alarmed. With respect to Corsica, his lordship read an account of it from M. Necker and M. Volney, in which the country was represented in a most contemptible point of view. He believed the French would not treat with the present ministry, but declared, in saying this, he had no sinister design of occupying any of their places. He certainly should not force his services upon a prince against his inclination; such conduct was indecent in the highest degree, and inconsistent with the character of a gentleman. He was personally, therefore, out of the question, and was so far from approving of a frequent change of ministers, that, in his opinion, that country would be the best governed where the ministers were ministers for life, but responsible for their incapacity, their neglect, or their want of integrity.

Lord Mulgrave, in an historical and argumentative speech, brought several instances to prove, that though the French arms had in former wars made a gigantic pro-

gress, yet that, from the exertions of their adversaries, they had not been ultimately successful. The time which his lordship particularly dwelt upon as most analogous to the present, was during the reign of Louis XIV. in 1672, when the conquests of France extended beyond what they at present did; yet their progress was stopped, and they were compelled to abandon their conquests. In 1688, the immense troops of that monarch were repulsed in a similar manner by the duke of Lorraine. His lordship then proceeded to detail the events of the two succession wars, the consequences of which were the same. In the war of 1757, the French were once more compelled to recross the Rhine, and the war concluded with peculiar glory and advantage to this country. The French arms had, his lordship observed, been formerly as powerful as now, but they had been driven back. He therefore saw no room for despondency from the progress of the French; and considering that not less than our lives, our properties, our laws and liberties, were at stake, it was our duty to struggle, even though our calamities were much greater, and our acquisitions less. His lordship contended strongly for the importance of Corsica, and noticed that Minorca and Gibraltar, though at least equally unproductive to the revenue, had been always considered as of peculiar consequence to this country.

The amendment was supported by lord Stanhope with his usual peculiarity and energy, and opposed by the earl of Mansfield, who thought it would be in the highest degree disgraceful to crouch at the foot of France, elated with victory, and drunk with success.

His lordship asserted the total ruin of the French finances: that the expense of the last campaign had cost France 144 millions sterling,—that there were equal to 240 millions in assignats in circulation,—that the quantity of forged assignats defied all calculation, and they were as current as the true ones; in consequence of which, the whole was so depreciated, that for 24 livres in specie, 112 were given in assignats. The forced loan, and the disuse of the *maximum*, proved their exhaustion. Their want of provisions his lordship stated to be excessive, and repeated what had been so often urged in the house as the impediment to peace,—want of security. Under the present circumstances, we must, he said, either prosecute the war with vigour, or sink into humiliation and disgrace.

The representation made of France as having exhausted her finances, while those of this country were in a flourishing state, as an argument against negotiating a peace, was opposed by the earl of Lauderdale, who further noticed the observation that France was now drunk with success, and therefore it was unfit to sue to her at present. It was, he said, scarcely possible that France should bear herself so haughtily, if her finances were really in so deplorable a situation. The assertion that the French were actuated by boundless ambition, was, he thought, contradicted by their being at that time actually engaged in a treaty with one power for peace, and having kept faith with the neutral powers with the utmost punctuality. His lordship adverted to the late trials for treason, charging ministers with having nursed up sedition for a long time after they knew it was active,

active, in order that it might grow up into treason. He thought it very extraordinary that the first lord of the admiralty should *hope* our naval force would in the ensuing year prove larger than was ever known before, and that it should be unknown to the admiralty board that the French fleet were in the chops of the Channel till it was casually communicated. He lamented that a larger land force had not been sent out with sir C. Grey to prevent the disasters which had arisen in the West Indies. His lordship, speaking of the Austrian loan, contended that the ease with which it was made, was imputable solely to the minister's having pledged the country as a collateral security; as, when the emperor's agents had solicited a loan in London on his sole security, no monied men came forward to countenance it.

Lord Grenville enlarged upon the different arguments respecting the war and the impolicy of negotiating for peace, which had been urged by the movers and supporters of the address. The duke of Leeds and the marquis of Abercorn disapproved of the address as pledging the house to the support of the war, but objected to the amendment. Both, however, earnestly wished for the blessings of peace. The duke of Bedford made a very animated reply to the speech of lord Grenville. He considered the statement made of the French finances as involving a contradiction. Ministers, he said, had uniformly asserted that the enemy could not bear the expense of another campaign; yet every succeeding campaign had been more efficient than the preceding one. The argument on which so much stress had been laid, that the deficiency of their re-

sources appeared from their immense outgoings, was, he thought, absurd: he did not credit the premises; but if he did, they warranted a very different conclusion. The assertion of the noble secretary, that their last campaign had cost 160 millions sterling, he must doubt, as it was not accompanied by any authentic document. Admitting it, however, as correct, it only proved that ministers had been mistaken in their previous statements, or that a system of imposition was regularly pursued. What consolation could, he asked, be derived from miserable speculations on the resources of a people who kept the field which we and our allies had constantly abandoned, and accompanied by other instances of imbecillity, such as shook Europe to its basis? His grace pointedly ridiculed the foresight of ministers which had been mentioned by the noble secretary, and appealed to the house, whether the predictions of ministers had not uniformly failed, while those of their opponents had been as uniformly verified. His grace again stated the easiness of treating with France, and that the speech still left the object of the war undefined. Had ministers ever clearly shown that object to be just and reasonable, it would, he said, have met with his most strenuous support. But when called upon to support a war of mutual destruction, he had no option but to grapple for his own safety as long as he could; and that, he was convinced, could only be attained by the means recommended in the amendment. His grace pointedly noticed the phraseology of lord Grenville, who had said that we ought to follow up with vigour the *generous* exertions of war. He was at a loss how

how to construe these words: they reminded him of that jumble by which some poets of antiquity confounded the elements of things. Ministers might at their leisure devise the means of supporting what they pleased to call *generous exertions*, not with their own, but with the blood and treasure of a gallant people. They knew nothing of the distresses it occasioned, to be torn from their families, to leave them destitute and miserable, and to endure all the cruelties and horrors of a military life. Such generous exertions would, however, never procure them the thanks of the widow, or the gratitude of the fatherless.

Lord Darnley made a short speech in favour of the address; and lord Grenville rose to say, that the speech which had been understood in the course of the debate as importing that Great Britain would not make peace with France while she continued a republic, did not warrant such a construction. On the question for the amendment, it was rejected by a majority of 107 against 12, and the address was consequently carried.

As it is the uniform practice of the house of commons to read the bill for the "prosecuting of clandestine outlawries," previous to moving the address in reply to his majesty's speech, the speaker, as usual, presented that bill. Mr. Sheridan rose to oppose the reading: he said he understood this business to be a custom for the purpose of expressing the right of the house of commons to proceed to any business they thought proper previous to the taking of his majesty's speech into consideration. This he thought not a useless, barren right, but a right to be insisted upon for any practical good pur-

pose. He thought the opportunity was come for asserting that right, and with this view he must object to the proposed reading of the bill, in order to introduce a motion upon another subject. The house was called upon to advise his majesty, at a season the most critical, and upon a business of the utmost importance: but before they could say they were in a situation to advise his majesty in a free and impartial manner, it was necessary they should themselves be free, which could not be the case while the Habeas Corpus act was suspended. His object, therefore, was, after this question was negatived, to move for a repeal of the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. The argument, that the bill had a very short time to run, had no weight with him: he would not wait a moment after the meeting of parliament to call upon the house to act as fair and independent agents for the people, who, if fairly left to the exercise of their rights, would never abuse them.

The present mode of proceeding was objected to by Mr. Dundas, who thought, from all he had heard, that the suspension, instead of being removed, ought to be renewed. Mr. Jekyll was very solicitous for the repeal of the suspension, which was opposed by the solicitor-general in a long speech, in which he was repeatedly called to order. This gentleman declared that the evidence on the late trials for treason proved, beyond a possibility of doubt, the existence of a conspiracy, and that the verdicts only amounted to this, that the persons tried could not be tried again for the same offence. The evidence proved every fact alleged in the report of the committee; and several other persons beside himself viewed

viewed the existence of the conspiracy in the same light that he did. The jury did not see it in that light. What appeared so clear to him, did not seem so to those who were not so well informed of the facts as he was. He gave a detailed account of the proceedings of the different societies, and strongly reprobated the doctrine of universal suffrage.

In attending to the arguments of the preceding speaker, Mr. Fox said he had conceived that he had not believed there was a plot existing; but as he asserted the contrary, it ought not to be denied as his opinion. The learned gentleman had given his own opinion on the trials, and had noticed that of the jury; he certainly had a right to give his own, though his arguments should make against it; but it did not appear that the jury had given him authority to say any thing for them. He had thought the verdict of acquittal, in the language of this constitution, was an establishment of the innocence of the accused; but the definition of law he had just heard, tended to annihilate a privilege which was the surest bulwark of our constitution, and to confound every distinction between guilt and innocence. The learned gentleman had insisted upon the existence of a treasonable plot, because some of the persons tried held opinions upon political subjects different from his own. Thus was the doctrine of constructive treason to be maintained, — a doctrine which, if permitted to pass in any place where the publication of opinion was important, might in time be insisted upon as the law of the land. Whatever he might think of the existence of a plot being proved by the evidence on the trials, did the jury

think so? Yet they had the advantage of hearing the solicitor's speech, but it did not convince them; nor would it, Mr. Fox said, have, he believed, convinced him. He had reported himself to be better informed than the jury; but it did not appear that he had communicated that superior knowledge either on the trials on that occasion, or to the house on this. The jury were not men who had favours to ask from government; they had neither pensions nor peerages in prospect. After bestowing a warm eulogium upon those juries, Mr. Fox asked whether it was the opinion of a crown lawyer, or of an English jury, with regard to the character of an individual, whose conduct had come under judicial investigation, that the house would prefer? He thought much of the doctrine maintained in the late trials was contrary to the letter and spirit of the 25th of Edward III. For himself, if he differed at all from the opinion of the jury, it was in thinking it unnecessary to put the prisoners upon their defence, as the evidence for the crown had certainly failed in every proof of their guilt.

Mr. fergeant Adair recapitulated the different acts of the societies, and asked whether it could be conceived such measures should be adopted, and no design have been concerted against the life of the king, or against the constitution of the country? Every man accustomed to attend courts of justice knew that many guilty men were acquitted, not because doubts were entertained of their guilt, but because they were entitled to that acquittal by the strict rules of legal evidence. The jury need not be clearly satisfied of the entire innocence of the party accused, in order

order to acquit him: if there was a doubt on their mind, that was a sufficient ground for acquittal; but could it be therefore said that there was no ground for the charge, or that the party was entirely innocent?

Mr. Pitt said there could be no occasion for repealing the bill, unless it was meant to be alleged that what parliament had acted upon after due deliberation had been disproved, or that government had abused the discretion entrusted to them. The jury had not disproved the existence of the serious grounds of alarm, or negatived that part of the charge which had caused the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, namely, that these persons were parties to a conspiracy, if not of treason, to a crime as great in moral guilt, and as dangerous as treason could be. The verdict was therefore not to be considered as a ground for the repeal. Should it even appear that the indictment for high treason had not been so supported as to lead to the proof of legal guilt, yet if the persons have been, in the opinion of the public, guilty of a design as dangerous as ever was attempted which did not come within the degree of punishment that the law at present provides; parliament would then do wisely to consider whether more or less precautions to prevent such mischief should be adopted.

Mr. Sheridan professed he had no objection to the reading of the outlawry bill; all he was solicitous for was, that the *Habeas Corpus* act might not be outlawed. When the gentleman who spoke last had said that the suspension had been voted on solemn deliberation, he was not in the highest form of memory, it was hurried through the

house in two days, without even the formality of a previous notice. By the trials for treason, and the declaration of a learned gentleman, there were at least two culprits, the attorney and solicitor-general, who had either prosecuted persons not engaged in the supposed conspiracy, or neglected to produce the evidence to convict them, though they were in possession of it. As, from all he had heard that day, he did not doubt but a further suspension of the bill was intended, he should take the earliest opportunity of renewing the discussion, that ministers might not concert new plans of alarm.

After the bill for preventing clandestine outlawries had been read, the business of the address was further impeded by Mr. Sheridan, who apologized for the interruption, as necessary, on account of a point of order. He thought he saw an illustrious "stranger," Mr. Dundas, in the body of the house, to whom, whatever were his merits, it was irregular to pay any greater attention than to other strangers. Mr. Burke's bill, which abolished the office of third secretary of state, enacted, that if his majesty, at any future period, should revive the office, the person appointed to it should, if a member of that house, vacate his seat. He therefore apprehended Mr. Dundas was no longer a member. Lord Grenville was secretary for the foreign department: he wished to know whether the duke of Portland and Mr. Dundas were one or two secretaries of state: if they were two, he conceived the latter must be third secretary. Mr. Pitt, in a short reply, intimated that the duke of Portland was the third secretary, which was considered by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox as not a very respectful

respectful mode of mentioning his grace, and the more, as in that case he accepted an office which he had himself formerly thought ought to be abolished.

After these delays, the house proceeded to the consideration of the address, which was moved by sir E. Knatchbull, and was similar to that moved in the house of lords. It was seconded by Mr. Canning, who hoped for an unanimous concurrence in the address, and thought nothing had taken place since the last session of parliament to alter the sentiments of that house. Some circumstances had indeed, he said, occurred unfavourable to this country; but they ought only to strengthen our determination of vigorously pursuing the war. The disasters we had met with could not be imputable to ministers, but chiefly to the defection of our allies, and the exertions and unparalleled force of our enemies. It was true these events had been predicted: but the fall of Robespierre, and the change of government in France, had also been predicted. This change did not, however, imply that the present government was one with which we could treat. The system of moderation he thought not propitious to this country. To form an idea of the terms of peace we must expect, we must attend to their having divided their enemies into two classes,—those who instigated the war, and those who were compelled to join in it. Of their moderation we should have an opportunity of judging by the terms they would give the Dutch, who were supposed of the latter description. It had been insinuated that the French would treat with the Dutch upon the ground of a *status quo*: but could this country, consistently with its dignity, consent to a peace on such

terms? Mr. Canning mentioned the emigrants we had taken under our protection, as a further impediment, since we must deliver them up to butchery. A peace with France at present must, he said, be so insecure as to require all the inconveniencies and expense of a war establishment; for this the French would ask explanations, which would produce dissensions. The time at which we were to think of negotiating for peace, must be governed by future circumstances. The energy of the French military power was a proof of the instability of the government: their armies had fought under every commander only under the idea that they were opposing order and established government; and as soon as a government was established in France with which we could negotiate, the system under which they fought would be at an end, and they would lay down their arms.

After the address was read, Mr. Wilberforce objected to it as pledging the house to prosecute the war till there was a counter-revolution in France; for there was nothing in his majesty's speech in the least pacificatory. He noticed several events which placed the house in a different situation to that in which they had last separated. The jacobin system, so hostile to this country, was destroyed, and moderation was at least the assumption of a virtue, which showed the real opinion of the people of France. The confederacy against France was also now dissolved. How then could we expect to conquer a people who were not to be vanquished with the assistance of this confederacy, and when there were forty-three insurrections in their interior? Another important point was the

ill success of our arms; and if every thing were, as was said, well conducted, our prospects were still worse. Mr. Wilberforce argued strenuously against the possibility of forcing a government upon France; and added, that though a friend to monarchy, he did not think that a monarchy would be the fittest government for France in the present circumstances; he should rather prefer for them a constitution like that of America, because such a form, being new to them, would not excite any of the old prejudices in the minds of the higher or lower ranks in society, and would destroy any sort of rancour or hatred which might be fostered if a monarchy were again established. A principal reason he had against the war, was the improbability of success: when we had a footing in their country, we had some expectation of the probability of preventing their future progress, assisted, as we were, by our confederates; "but now that, like the waves of the ocean, they are rapidly overthrowing every thing that stands in their way; unassisted as we are likely to stand, can any reasonable man," continued he, "look for the smallest prospect of success?" What first staggered his former opinion was, that in all changes of persons at the head of affairs, in every difference that took place in the system, the armies of France seemed to look merely to the convention; regardless of the slighter differences, and the less material circumstances, they considered themselves as bound to adhere to what they thought alone would keep the country together. After maturely considering the matter, his opinion was, that government ought to endeavour to negotiate a peace in an open and manly manner, England

was now reduced to that state when necessity required her to endeavour to bring back the country to the blessings of a fair and honourable peace. He did not think that the country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace. "True magnanimity," said he, "consists in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determining to change the mode of conduct, whenever it is required by an alteration in the state of affairs." Those who thought it so easy to work a counter-revolution in France, should recollect, that as this revolution had now lasted for six years, there had been a new generation of young men educated in the principles of republicanism, and many old men had died away, whose prejudices might have been supposed to have some force over their minds.—Proposals, however, for entering into a negotiation for peace, whether successful or not, would be, he added, very beneficial to this country. The natural effect of the rejection of our proposals would be, that as we should then have right on our side, every person would unite in co-operating with government with the greatest vigour and firmness, in what then would be a just and necessary war. Mr. Wilberforce moved an amendment to the address, containing the substance of the arguments he had advanced, which was seconded by Mr. Duncombe, and further supported by Mr. Burdon.

An attempt to treat for peace was strongly censured by Mr. Windham. The want of success in the war he attributed to the misconduct of some of the allies; and after comparing it with former wars, in which a similar want of success had prevailed, he thought all that could
with

with truth be said, was, that the war had hitherto had only a *negative* success. The circumstance which had the most alarming aspect was, he said, that the country was not true to itself; and he proceeded to arraign the conduct of the different political societies in this country, which had, he said, propagated doctrines the most hostile to its interests. But it was said, he observed, that the members had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury; and gentlemen talked of their innocence in a tone of exultation. He wished them joy of the innocence of an *acquitted felon*; upon which he was called to order, and explained away part of what he had said, by adding, that though there was no proof of their legal guilt, it by no means proved them free from moral guilt. To justify our interference in the affairs of other nations, Mr. Windham adduced the example of the Manchester societies who had congratulated the French on their revolution, and a quotation from Vattel, that "every government that is threatened has a right to resist the power that threatens it, till such time as from that power it is secure." Approving or disapproving the French revolution, must, he said, in future decide and distinguish the political characters of men. He could not see with what propriety those who supported the war in the outset could now change their opinions. The confederacy against the French was not to be considered as dissolved, because of the secession of one or two of its members; but even if it were dissolved, how long was it since Great Britain alone was not thought able to cope with them? To open a full negotiation for peace would open a full intercourse between the two countries;

and every enormity exercised in France would, according to his opinion, be introduced into England. Such a peace would be worse than any probable event of war; but of the event we had no reason to despond; unparalleled exertions were making, and were so lightly borne by the country as scarcely to be felt. Had the poor felt them, except in a few instances? Had any man in that house felt them? Had those who were always talking of the distresses of the poor, been obliged to curtail a single luxury? On being reminded by Mr. Sheridan that the *members* were not the *poor*, he stated as a maxim, that if the *rich* felt no suffering, the *poor* were not likely to feel any. Mr. Windham continued to inveigh against the French, to speak of the valour of the British troops and the emigrant corps, and to boast of the unimpaired resources of this country compared with those of France, and concluded by exhorting the house to imitate the perseverance of the French.

Mr. Bankes justified the wish for peace in those who had voted for the war. The expectation of overturning the republic was, in his opinion, absurd; and if we were not to treat with France till the overthrow of that kind of government, the war might for ever continue. At some time or other we must treat with the French; and, in his opinion, the sooner the better. The defection of the allies was another strong reason for peace, which might certainly be sought for without any degradation on our part, and which certainly involved much less risque to this country than a continuance of the war. Sir R. Hill, with his usual characteristic simplicity and honesty, recommended peace, if attainable,

able, and if not, that the forces should be withdrawn from the continent and employed in the defence of the kingdom,—and recommended in this case an addition to the navy as the best security of the country. The word *ruin* would, he said, answer the question what we or our allies had gained since the war had been said to have been prosecuted with vigour.

Mr. Pitt, in much apparent agitation, particularly addressed his arguments to those members of the house who, after agreeing to the war, now wished for peace, at whose conduct he expressed his surprise. His majesty's speech did not, he contended, pledge the house *never* to make peace with the *republican* government of France, though he had no idea of a secure peace till the return of a monarchy, which he thought the best form of government for all the nations of Europe. The change which had taken place in France was, he said, only the change of an attachment to a name, not to a substance; and the present government no more deserved the name of moderation than that under Brissot, who, Mr. Pitt chose to assert, had provoked this country to war. Peace would not, he said, place us in a situation of confidence; we must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Hostilities would again commence on the part of the French when the military power was diminished; and we should be opposed to an enemy who might have found it as difficult to disband her armies, as we should to obtain fresh forces. If we dissolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to see it restored: we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France; whereas at present neither Prussia, Austria, nor the other combined

powers, were in such a situation that their assistance might not be looked to in carrying on the contest. Was it prudent to put ourselves in a situation of hazard, because, if we withdrew, France *might* return to some more moderate system of government? It was, however, most probable, in such a case, that the government would continue the same. Would the troops, accustomed to rapine and plunder, return to the peaceful occupations of industry? Would not, on the contrary, their rulers, in order to nurse their daring spirit, be compelled to give them new employment? This employment would be the destruction of the royalists, from whose co-operation we might now derive great advantage. Ought we to leave the Austrian Netherlands in the possession of the French? The safety of the Dutch, if ever they made peace, depended, he said, upon our being at war; and peace would be fatal to the French West India islands, which we had taken into our protection, by delivering them to anarchy and jacobinism, which would soon be diffused over our own islands. The balance of territorial acquisitions and pecuniary resources was, he stated, greatly in our favour; and France had lost more in permanent value and present means, than the losses of all the allies united together. The resources of the French were, he said, the immense means of pecuniary expenditure greater than was ever known—the requisition, and the arrest of property. Such a system could only be produced by despotism, and supported by terror. The expenditure of the French had, he said, since the revolution, amounted to 320,000,000: was it then likely she should see this country

first

first exhausted? This they had been enabled to bear only by the creation of unlimited paper credit; but all the debates of the convention proved that they could not increase the emission of this paper without ruin. Mr. Pitt recapitulated the proceedings of the French respecting finance, to shew that they could not maintain their assignats without contracting their expences and diminishing their forces. To press them now with vigour, would compel them to issue more assignats, and thus rapidly exhaust their finances.

Mr. Fox adverted to the dissimulation which had marked the conduct of the minister from the commencement of the war. Had he from the first avowed that its object was the destruction of the French government, he might not have had so many supporters, but would have been spared the pain of differing that day from so many of his friends. His eagerness to obtain the support of all led him to the use of equivocal words in former addresses; and now his own friends told him they did not interpret these words as he did, and if they had understood that peace must not be thought of till the republic was destroyed, they should not have voted for the war. At length, however, the precise object of the war was declared, and this led to the question of policy. He admired the great ingenuoussness of the speech from the throne, and of the mover and seconder of the address, in admitting that we had experienced disasters in the last campaign; the two ministers had said too that they would not deny that the enemy had over-run provinces and taken strong towns. Astonishing candour! Never, in any one campaign since the irrup-

tions of the Goths and Vandals, had such reverses been experienced on one side, or acquisitions on the other. He should be told he was a bad subject, to exaggerate the successes of an enemy; but he was acting the part of an honest member of parliament in telling the house truths which were the only grounds for their deciding properly, and in reminding them of disasters which not fortune but folly had brought upon this country. That peace with France would not necessarily produce ruin to a country, was proved by Mr. Fox from the state of Denmark, Sweden, Genoa, and, above all, America, where principles the most congenial to those of France might be expected to take root. Mr. Fox ridiculed the idea of landing French emissaries in England in the event of a peace. The country had been for two years alarmed with the account of Jacobin societies propagating Jacobin principles in England; but these (who knew the language, manners, and habits of our people) had hitherto laboured without effect. French emissaries would, however, be sure of success. They must go among our labourers and manufacturers with a language captivating and intelligible to English ears, and, as the calamities of war are insufficient to rouse them, tell them they are now exposed to all the calamities of peace. The exertions of the French were natural, and would be resorted to in this country, if a French army was to land here and declare they would make no peace with us till we renounced our constitution, and accepted such a government as they should prescribe. It was asked, would we submit to treat with such a government as France? Submit to what? Submit

mit to the French having a bad government? Had we not submitted to it for more than a century? Had we not submitted to Prussia's having a bad government? Had we not submitted to all the cruelty, slaughter, and injustice perpetrated in Poland? It was then asked, would we submit to propose peace? Were all nations to stand on this point, no war could be concluded, but by the extermination of one of the parties. From a review of the forces of France, he urged the propriety of seeking peace. The royalists were stated as one objection to peace. Mr. Fox censured the hopes we had given to those unfortunate persons, and their consequent misfortunes. These might indeed be difficulties to the minister; but it was the nation's honour, not the minister's, about which he was solicitous. He took a review of the probable defection of the allies; and reprobated the emperor's loan; intimating the probability of his following the example of Prussia, and mentioning the hatred between the Austrian and British soldiery. With respect to the exhaustion of French finances, we were told the same last year in the king's speech, in which it was said that the resources of France were rapidly decreasing: but rapid was a relative term; they were again rapidly declining this year; and so they might be ten years hence. Moderation, it was said, must cripple their exertions; but had they appeared lessened since the fall of Robespierre, which took place in July?

The address was objected to by Mr. Jolliffe, as pledging the house to the support of the war. He objected, however, to the amendment, because it put a treaty of peace, for which he was very solid

cious, out of sight, or made it necessary to accept any terms the French might propose. The house did not divide till four o'clock, when there appeared for the amendment 73, against it 236. The address was then put and carried.

The question relating to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, which had been introduced by Mr. Sheridan upon the first meeting of parliament, was again refused by that gentleman on the 5th of January. He prefaced his motion for the repeal of the suspension act, by observing, that the preamble to that act stated the existence of a treasonable and traitorous conspiracy, and appealed to the house whether they believed its present existence, or indeed that it ever did exist. Both were necessary to warrant the continuance of the suspension. The plots, he averred, were the mere fabrication of ministers, which was evident from the verdict of juries. He further charged ministers, from a letter which he produced, and which was one of several sent round, with having made use of a degree of management in forming the grand jury, by whom the indictment had been found. The opinion delivered by the solicitor-general, and the phrase of *acquitted felons*, made use of by Mr. Windham, were much reprobated and ridiculed by Mr. Sheridan. It had been, he said; stated, that a person might be charged with murder, who had only been guilty of house-breaking; but could not certainly be said to be innocent, because the first charge was not proved. But did the men, lately tried, stand in this situation? On the contrary, if there was a case in which the verdict of a jury could establish the innocence of the accused, it was in cases of treason. Such a charge

charge came from the highest authority, and with a weight and influence difficult for an individual to resist. In this crime the country was both party and judge. With respect to levying war, the evidence might be incompetent; but as to the charge of compassing and imagining the king's death, the intention constituted the crime. That no pains had been spared to bring home the charges in the late trials, was insisted upon by Mr. Sheridan, on a review of the whole proceedings. The fees to professional gentlemen retained on the part of the crown, were stated by him at more than 8,000 pounds, independent of the solicitor to the treasury; and that there was no hesitation in collecting witnesses, he inferred, from 207 being summoned in the case of Mr. Joyce, many of them at great expense and loss of time. He further stated the formidable forces of the accused party as consisting of one pike, a tee-totum in a window at Sheffield, a camp in a back garret, an arsenal provided with nine muskets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad shilling, all of which were to be employed against the armed force and established government of Great Britain. Mr. Sheridan strenuously argued against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, as suspending the whole British constitution, and urged the authorities of sir Edward Coke and judge Blackstone. Such a measure could only be justified by an emergency, which, he contended, did not exist. The evidence even of sedition appeared, he said, in so questionable a shape, as ought to excite suspicion; it was supported by a system of espionage, which had been carried to a greater extent under the present administra-

tion, than in any former period in this country. In animated terms he set forth the mischiefs arising to society from this detestable practice. He appealed to the experience of the house, whether, as landlords, masters, or purchasers of different commodities, they perceived in the people any spirit of insubordination. That there was no danger existing at the present moment, he would not, he said, assert; but this danger arose from a contempt spreading amongst the people, of public men and public measures. To reform the conduct of government, and to correct abuses, would be the surest means of correcting discontent, and to render the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus act unnecessary. Again, advertng to the late trials, Mr. Sheridan asserted, that the parties had only imitated what had been done in the societies in 1780. "If then (added Mr. S.) we boast of equal laws, and these men are to be considered as guilty of high treason, let us have some retrospective hanging; and whatever in that case may happen to me, his majesty will derive the benefit, since he will get rid at least of a majority of his present cabinet." It was, he said, echoed from every quarter,—look at the example of France;—this, he thought, was a libel on the character of Great Britain. But were he to look to the example of France, "he would look to the prodigality, the corruption, the detestable system of spies and informers, the insolence of the higher, and the oppression of the lower orders, which had distinguished the old government of France, and produced all the evils of the present system, and would thence be taught to avoid a system of terror and corruption, to give back to the people

ple their rights and privileges, which rivetted their affection, and secured their obedience.

That the judgment of a jury might establish the legal innocence of a man, was admitted by Mr. Windham; but it did not, he said, set the presumption of his positive moral excellence even at par with his guilt. He would not presume to arraign the conduct of juries; but he knew that the difference in the application of the law lay in their way, because the laws of treason originated where there were no views to any danger of the present sort; and not claiming to frame new laws, the old were enlarged according to the necessities of the case, and extended by repeated constructions, so that unlettered men, not being able to trace the intermediate steps, started away from them, and would not find a verdict against the persons concerned. But was that a reason that they might not be guilty in a subordinate degree, though there was not a preponderance of guilt sufficient to satisfy them so as to bring in a verdict of guilty? Mr. Windham mentioned Watt and Downie, as proofs that the decisions of juries had not always, in these cases, been favourable to the accused. He denied that the old government of France was the source of the enormities which had since disgraced that country; if so, why did they not commence with the revolution, instead of increasing in proportion to their receding from that point. The true object of the societies was, he said, the destruction of the constitution, and asserted that the contagion of French principles had spread, and would spread still further, if not stopped. In the course of a very warm speech, he denied

having ever uttered the words so often imputed to him—"Perish our commerce, &c."—and this celebrated phrase, thus rejected by Mr. Windham, was owned or adopted by Mr. Hardinge.

Mr. Erskine considered the question as being ultimately, whether a necessity for passing the act ever existed, and whether it still continued to exist. The necessity stated for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, in the message to the house last year, was, that his majesty had discovered the existence of a traitorous conspiracy to hold a convention which was to subvert government, and assume to itself the functions of parliament. The second committee declared the existence of the same conspiracy; and the bill was moved for on the same plea. The act then was suspended till the first of February, as to a time in which the matter contained in the report on *ex parte* evidence would be confirmed or negatived. The indictment charged, as the crime, the conspiracy to hold this convention for the traitorous purposes assumed by the reports. The question submitted to the jury, therefore, was, whether the defendants compassed and imagined the king's death; and whether, in pursuance of this traitorous intention, they conspired to hold a convention which should assume the functions of parliament? whether they conspired to provide arms, and published the various papers contained in the reports, with the purpose of holding a convention for the traitorous purposes charged, or to levy war and rebellion against the king? The grand jury, on *ex parte* evidence, had found the bill; they were bending beneath the authority of the king and

and the two houses of parliament, whose pre-judgment had loaded the press for months together; and upon this charge, and under peculiar difficulties, the parties were put on their trials. Mr. Erskine then entered into a review of the whole proceedings on the trials, and said he was prepared to shew, by the sequel of the proceedings, that the juries, by their verdicts, had, not merely by probable inference, but almost directly and technically, negatived the existence of the conspiracy upon which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was founded. He then proceeded to consider the cause of Mr. Hardy, which the attorney-general had divided into three branches; the 1st. whether the treasonable conspiracy, charged in the report, existed at all in any body. 2d. Whether Mr. Hardy had a share in it. 3. The legal consequence of the establishment of these two propositions of fact;—and contended, that the acquittal proceeded from the disbelief of the jury in the existence of the conspiracy. Mr. Erskine then went into Mr. Tooke's trial and acquittal; after which, Messrs. Joyce, Holcroft, Kydd, and Bonney, the only indicted members of the Constitutional Society, were discharged by consent, which could only be done upon two principles, uniting to shew that Mr. Tooke was honestly and justly acquitted, else his acquittal generated no conclusion in favour of those who stood in a similar predicament. Mr. Thelwall was the only remaining prisoner on this indictment; and on his trial none ever entertained a doubt on any part of his case. It would have been inconsistent if they had. It remained to see how these proceedings affected the case before the house. No man in England had been convicted.

Was it meant to state to the house to go on with new prosecutions to establish this conspiracy to call a convention? If they said yes, let them state the progress: who were the criminals, what the members, and why are they not now ready for trial? But supposing they meant to proceed, and were still unprepared for trial, the Habeas Corpus act had no operation on treason which could affect the case: if they were not ready for trial in any particular case, they might postpone the trial under the wise exception in the Habeas Corpus act, that the prisoner shall not be bailed or discharged, though not brought to trial in the ordinary course, provided the witnesses for the crown are absent. Supposing, therefore, individuals charged even with this specific treason, they might be proceeded against according to law, without a total suspension of the liberties of the whole nation. He thought it also extremely impolitic, in the present calamitous conjuncture, to affront and tease the people with groundless jealousies.

Mr. Sergeant Adair mentioned, that a great mistake had generally prevailed in the belief that the whole of the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, whereas it was that part alone which related to treason. The acquittals, in the late trials, made no alteration, he said, in the state of the question. No man, versed in the law of England, would contend, that from an acquittal by a jury, it followed as an inevitable consequence, that the person tried was an innocent man, though to all legal purposes he might be so. It appeared to him a new doctrine, that the verdicts of juries should not be investigated, and incompatible with the law and constitution. What, in such a case, became of the

power of parliament? What security had the people against packed juries? against corrupt judges? or oppressive ministers? He must equally reject the notion, that the jury had made up their opinion, either from mistating the case and the law, or that there was a failure of evidence to prove the facts, or that no such conspiracy existed. Had the charge been found out to be groundless, the judges would not have proceeded in the trials; on the contrary, they considered the conspiracy as made out; and the jury, on one of the trials, where the evidence was nearly the same as on those that went before, were out an hour and fifty-five minutes before they gave a verdict that the individual was not concerned in the conspiracy. The grand jury must have thought there was sufficient evidence of the conspiracy, and that there was probable presumption against the parties accused. The determination of a jury, which had been so much insisted upon, he could not think equal to the collective wisdom of parliament. It was perfectly clear the jury might acquit the prisoner (Hardy) upon any of the three grounds stated from the bench: why then were the house to suppose the verdict of the jury was founded on their disbelief of the conspiracy? Had that been the case, they would naturally have stopped the counsel for the crown, when the evidence for the general conspiracy was finished. From a review of the proceedings of the societies, he contended that parliamentary reform was merely to veil the most detestable and treasonable practices; from this censure he excepted only the Friends of the People. The general conspiracy, and other charges, forming the major propositions of

the indictment, had been, he said, clearly and indisputably proved. Circumstances had proved the necessity for the law in question last year; and they were not in any degree changed so as to induce them to a repeal of it.

Mr. Fox thought, that whenever the repeal of the suspension was proposed, the *onus probandi*, as to the necessity of the suspension, lay entirely on the side of ministers. They were further bound to prove it useful. They were now called upon to say what object they hoped to obtain by continuing the suspension, for their old object was gone. Would they say they had prosecuted the wrong persons; and as the conspiracy still existed, they would go on prosecuting? It was unworthy the talents of the learned serjeant to attempt influencing the house by arguing, as if it were intended to set up the decision of a jury as paramount to the authority of parliament. Would it at all derogate from the dignity of parliament to yield to the decisions of juries, perhaps more in the habit of investigating evidence, and with more evidence before them? Mr. Hardy, he contended, was acquitted, because a treasonable conspiracy was not made out. All the papers alluded to by the last speaker had been signed by Hardy, or brought home to him as a party; and if the jury thought those papers contained proofs of treason, they could have no difficulty in finding that Hardy was an accomplice in the treason. Were he to admit a conspiracy, there must be a conspiracy without conspirators. Gentlemen of such acuteness as to define and divide our successes in the campaign, could easily conceive the abstract of a conspiracy without conspirators; but if they had tried every

every person in the kingdom, and found that none of them were conspirators, this conspiracy could not be very formidable. This had been, in fact, done; several had been tried, and the jury had returned the verdict *not guilty*. If these verdicts were thought wrong, why did they not go on? In fact, they ceased to prosecute, because they knew they could not convict. They had, therefore, virtually acquitted all of this treasonable conspiracy, of which nothing but the abstract was left. Was it to guard against the abstract of a conspiracy that the Habeas Corpus act was to remain suspended, and the people deprived of the best safeguard of their liberties? He insisted that the acquittals had not, in the least, arisen from a want of evidence; proof was not wanting of the actions, the words, and almost the thoughts of the persons charged with treason. A jury, it was said, was bound to acquit in doubtful cases. The house was then sitting as a jury on the palladium of English liberty, and ought not to decide against it without proof. It was said that suspending its operation would save the necessity of bringing other persons to trial; this was similar to the defence of *lettres de cachet*; they saved the necessity of bringing people to trial; but they might do this for the whole life of the prisoner. Even in Scotland, where the house had been taught to believe that the growth of treason was the most formidable, nothing like it had been proved against more than one obscure man; this man had been in the pay of government as an informer; and either disgusted with his employers, or with a view of enhancing the price of his discoveries, he had endeavoured to inflame the minds of those with whom he associated, and to provoke

them to criminal excesses. The consequence was, that he fell a victim to his own violence or treachery. Mr. Fox, in pointed terms, charged ministers with having excited continual alarms for interested purposes, with promoting, by their measures, continual discontents, which they charged against the opposition, in the same manner in which they charged the dissenters with being the enemies of the state, and proving the charge upon them by an orthodox and loyal mob burning their houses, menacing their persons, and plundering their property. Not a single argument for continuing the suspension had, he thought, been adduced. Where, he asked, did treason lurk? every step taken since the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, only proved that the allegations of treason were not founded. The suspension gave no power over sedition or misdemeanour; for its operation was restricted to treason.

The Master of the Rolls insisted that the late trials had proved the existence of a treasonable plot. A conventional assembly instituted by any body of people in this country for choosing their own government, or making their own laws, was treason. The suspension was censured by Mr. Milbanke and Mr. Thompson, who cited several outrages against the liberties of the subject which had taken place in different parts of the country, particularly by inferior magistrates, since the bill passed. After a short speech from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he intimated a renewal of the suspension bill, the house divided at three o'clock, when there appeared for the repeal 41, against it 185.

On the 15th January, the Attorney

ney General moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act for a limited time. A short debate ensued, in which the motion was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, lord William Russel, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, and supported by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. sergeant Watson, after which there appeared for the motion 71, against it 13.

The second reading of the bill, which took place on the 23d, was ably opposed by Mr. Lambton, who reverted to the proclamation in May 1792 against seditious and inflammatory publications, and doubted the professed object of those who advised such a measure. Had it been to warn the public against their possible effect, the proclamation should have been nearly coeval with the offensive publications, instead of two years afterwards. He thought that proclamation had different views from those which it expressed; and his suspicion increased when these facts were adduced as a ground for calling out the militia and assembling parliament without the usual notice. The proceedings of persons unconnected with Mr. Paine or any of his writings, were, he suspected, the real objects of the minister's first attack; and these suspicions were confirmed when the motion for an inquiry into these alleged plots and conspiracies had been opposed by the minister, and negatived. Inquiry suited not the views of ministers at that time; but sixteen months afterwards, the minister had thought proper to call for an inquiry into them; and a *confiding* parliament had given credit to his assertions, and agreed to suspend the Habeas Corpus act

upon the strength of them. With respect to what had been urged that this bill was not a total suspension of the act, he could consider this only as a quibble. The minister of this country was empowered by it to imprison whom he pleased, without affording the person any information of the crime with which he was charged, or even who was his accuser; and such a person could not be tried till it suited the good pleasure of the minister. He believed the suspension had never been more general. With respect to the persons who had been tried, they had been acquitted, according to the deductions of common sense, both of treason and sedition, because the object of the prosecution was to substantiate treason out of many acts of sedition: the facts failed on the part of the prosecution, and their own evidence disproved the case on the part of the crown. As to the grand jury having found the bill, the evidence given before it was *ex parte* evidence, most probably that of spies and informers, who afterwards committed perjury at the trials. He wished to know on what pretence ministers wanted a renewal of the bill, and demanded some information on these plots and conspiracies—

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

Nothing had appeared of such magnitude as to call for the entrusting so dangerous a power to the executive government.

Mr. Lambton proceeded to vindicate the proceedings of the society of the Friends of the People, of which he professed himself a member; and added, that though they had, for the present, from prudential motives, discontinued their efforts

efforts for a parliamentary reform, they should certainly resume them when the present calamities were removed.

The Attorney-General strongly professed, that, had he not seen the absolute necessity of continuing the suspension bill, he should, before the present period, have moved for its repeal. He lamented the advantage which was given to persons disaffected to government by the arguments of a speaker of such importance as the gentleman who had last spoken. The view in which the opinion in question was considered by the juries, and the purpose for which they investigated it, were so extremely different from the grounds on which it was examined in parliament, that the decision of the one had no effect upon the other. It appeared to him by no means necessary that any of the persons charged with treason should have been convicted in order to justify parliament for passing the bill, since it was not proposed on account of the guilt of any particular individual, but upon the existence of a conspiracy; of which, though the verdicts had acquitted the persons accused, they had said nothing; and, indeed, on this subject parliament was of itself fully sufficient to decide. As a member of the committee, and as Attorney-General, he had found himself compelled to carry the business before a grand jury, and his opinion had been supported by some of the ablest men in the profession. He then justified the conduct of the grand jury, and said, that few of the spies had been examined before it, who had certainly, on the trial, not mistated facts. The Attorney-General adduced several cases in which the verdict of not guilty could not establish the innocence of the accu-

sed. From the conduct of the societies, in their encomiums on the French and on the writings of Mess. Paine and Barlow, he inferred their dangerous tendency, and the necessity of arming government with extraordinary powers. From the proceedings in the Scotch convention, it was, he said, absurd to suppose it was their intention to apply to parliament for redress; and, from the similarity in the arms produced, contended that it was impossible to suppose them to have been manufactured in different parts of the kingdom by accident.

The conduct of the societies in instructing their representatives to obtain a reform in parliament was justified by Mr. Jekyll, who asked, whether any man was weak enough to suppose that parliament, if left alone, would ever set about reforming itself? With great pleasantry he noticed the assertion that no punishment had been inflicted by the imprisonment of those who had been taken into custody on suspicion, and read, from the pamphlet of lord Mornington, a declamation against the French for their violation of personal liberty, their apprehending persons suspected, and their deeming amongst this class those who had been acquitted after a regular and solemn trial, which was represented as the perfection of tyranny. Mr. Jekyll adverted, in pointed terms, to the phrase of acquitted felons, which had been applied to persons of that description in this country, and the derision with which the late acquittals of the juries had been treated in the house. He adverted to the trials in Scotland, where, he said, after much management and preparation on the part of ministers, one of their own spies was hanged. He

knew

knew not whether it was any part of the original contract, that this spy should submit to be hanged when it was found necessary for the service of the cause. No cause had certainly been offered for renewing the suspension act; but it was now considered as an annual motion, like the clandestine outlawry bill, &c. The fact however was, that the force of an alarm was to be persisted in, to induce the people to a continuance of the present disgraceful and disastrous war. As a proof of the continuance of this system, Mr. Jekyll read a letter, extracted from one of the public papers, from a person who had been solicited to engage as a spy,

“SIR,

“Having had the misfortune to be applied to on the part of ministry, by Mr. William Metcalfe, of No. 6, Dowgate-hill, to become one of the numerous spies by which the present virtuous administration are supported, I conceive the best mode of avoiding their courtly importunity, without falling a victim to their disappointment, will be by laying the proposal before the public at once.

“The application was made to me on Sunday the 14th instant; when Mr. Metcalfe, visiting my humble dwelling, after some ridicule, and jokes on public virtue, observed, that government already had one spy in the committee of correspondence, but they wished to have another, to report the proceedings, that they might be assured of his fidelity or treachery.

“So anxious was the tempter for the success of his snare, that his visit was renewed on Tuesday, when I not being at home, he again came on Wednesday; not being at home this time either, he left word, that

I should call upon him at his house, and he would wait my arrival at any time in the afternoon. Not choosing to do this, I received a fourth visit on Thursday, when he again urged his proposals, offering to introduce me to Mr. Ford, at the Duke of Portland's office, Whitehall; or to receive any information himself, at his own house, under cover; that, if I would accept the office, I should have fifty guineas prompt payment, and one guinea regularly for each weekly report.”

The bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Curwen and Mr. Francis; the latter of whom observed the inconsistency of the Attorney-General in professing a regard for juries, affirming the decision of a grand jury a strong presumption of guilt, and the verdict of a common jury but a slender presumption of innocence, What was the necessity of suspending the Habeas Corpus act, if no new case had arisen? Why might not the same course be pursued as last year, and if any emergency should occur, suspend the act in one day? The suspension was further opposed by Lord W. Russell,

The Solicitor-General cited the case of captain Porteus, as a proof that a conspiracy might exist without the possibility of producing any evidence of it. From the temporary nature of the suspension, he inferred the little probability of danger from its adoption, and contended for the absolute necessity of such a measure, from the certainty of a conspiracy still existing, which endangered the established government.

Mr. Hardinge strongly contended for the existence of a conspiracy, though no conspirators had yet been found whom the law had been able to reach as guilty of high treason.

son. The existence of a conspiracy had, he said, been legislatively inferred by the suspension bill, by the facts proved before them: those facts had been proved at a later period, both to the jury and the public. Such a degree of treasonable conspiracy, he contended, existed, now, as to warrant the continuance of the suspension bill. The verdict of the juries had left a body and mass of treason upon authenticated proofs, which the rules of law had not enabled the interest of the people to correct by a verdict of conviction against any one conspirator. This would of itself encourage those who had embarked in those wicked councils, would heighten the alarm, and make the danger. Nor was it, he said, *common treason* that lay before them. Had it been *English treason*, he might have been satisfied that no such interposition would be necessary to repress it; but it was *French* to the very bone. He noticed the intercourse which had been kept up between the societies here and the Jacobin societies of France, which, he said, had never been disavowed since the war had made this kind of intercourse treason: and observed, that it was the more necessary to mark the continuance of this mischievous intercourse, as a veil had been thrown over it, which had misled thousands into the real design before they were themselves apprised of it.

Mr. Erskine professed that the demonstration of the last speaker, that "the acquittals were so far from material, that the mass of treason before the house, in the report, was more confirmed by them," was perfectly beyond his comprehension. He would, indeed, agree that a conspiracy in the abstract might, for a long time, exist without precisely known or convicted conspirators;

but it should be recollected that the conspiracy charged in the report, and on which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act proceeded, was a specific conspiracy to hold a convention; and that the evidence which Mr. Hardinge held incontrovertible, were the letters and papers in the report. Had these been discovered, and the authors of them been unknown, the proposition, supposing the papers to contain treason, would have been made out. But what became of the demonstration, when the authors had been known by government for two years, and been prosecuted at last without effect? how could the conspirators be said to be unknown? From a full review of the evidence, he maintained that the verdicts completely negatived the conspiracy. He was, he said, loudly and repeatedly asked to account for these papers on any other principle than the traitorous spirit imputed to them. He could do it without difficulty; they were not the sentiments of a few obscure individuals, but of a large portion of the people. The papers were written to revile and degrade the house of commons, and were dictated by contempt and indignation against its departure from its duty, as the representatives of the people. If that was dangerous, the cure was at hand—they had only to cease to deserve reproaches. "Is it a time, said he, to treat the people with severity, and repeal their most essential privileges, when your very existence, as a government, depends wholly upon their affections?" The conduct of government in this country reminded him of the conduct of the imperial councils in Brabant, where the people clamoured for the *joyeuse entrée*, their ancient constitution, like the clamours for reform in England;

England; but the reformers were persecuted and punished. When, however, the French appeared on the frontier, the Austrian government vanished; and the *joyeuse entrée*, sent to them by the archduchess on her flight from Brussels, emblazoned with all the colours of the rainbow, was spurned by the people, who preferred even foreign conquest to servitude under corruption; and the throne of that kingdom sunk, to rise no more. He referred to Holland and America, as other instances where the same system had produced similar effects. "Kings' friends, he feared, would never be quiet till they had destroyed all kingly governments in the world; for every loss of power and affection had uniformly arisen from their pernicious counsels."

The existence of a conspiracy was maintained by Sergeant Adair, who referred to the different proceedings of the societies in favour of this assertion. It was, however, the duty of the house, and generous and patriotic to the public, to prevent those who were conspiring from bringing their evil intentions to such mischievous maturity as might render all efforts to crush it ineffectual. There were, he said, many cases which might require timely legislative interposition, that nevertheless were not high treason. The time to interpose was when we had just grounds to suspect and prevent the communication of that contagion which may endanger, and perhaps sacrifice, the lives of others. The numbers concerned had, he said, only been insignificant from the timely interposition of government. That the jury had no doubt of the existence of a conspiracy, he inferred from their hesitation in delivering some of the verdicts.

Mr. Fox considered the principle of prosecuting persons who might be guilty of treason, and confining those in *inchoate guilt*, to prevent the completion of crimes they might afterwards commit, as inconsistent with English law. This argument was not even supported by the bill of last year; and such a system was a desertion from the principles and policy of our ancestors, in favour of the infernal policy which had peopled the bastiles and dungeons of tyranny. If, by treasonable practices, any thing was meant short of high treason, there was a considerable difference between the statute of Edward III. and the Habeas Corpus act. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act only went to treason as defined by the statute; but by the construction which had taken place, any person might be apprehended for sedition or misdemeanour, if they chose to call these treasonable practices. Mr. Fox spoke highly of the juries, who had, after hearing every part of the evidence, acquitted the prisoners; and those acquittals had been so decisive, that it had not been thought advisable to prosecute any more; it was not therefore very fanciful to say, that every man and woman in England was acquitted, since his ideas were too gross and concrete to conceive a conspiracy without conspirators. The arguments of those who opposed the bill were said to be few: they had however on their side the law and the constitution; and were original arguments ever so abundant, he should not set them up in preference to the law of Edward III. and of Charles II. He strongly contended for the general affection of all ranks towards the constitution: such then being the case at the time when the Habeas Corpus act was taken away, at what time

time could its restoration be hoped for? Some discontented persons must be expected to exist in every government which fell short of perfection, and in which all men were not wise and virtuous. But since the epoch of the French revolution, there had been no instance of resistance to lawful authority, except when the zeal of loyalty was exerted to burn the houses of the dissenters. He insisted upon the necessity of a reform in the house of commons; which, though it was true, was capable of receiving an impression from the people, it had been most calamitously proved in the American war, did not receive that impression soon enough; and there were cases, such as the present was, in which delay might involve the house, lords, king, and people, in one common ruin.

Mr. Pitt said, that, supposing the existence of the danger, the only questions were, whether the remedy was applicable to the danger, and whether the application was likely to produce evil consequences? It was merely a constitutional remedy, often applied, and always with the best effects. The present case, he thought, peculiarly demanded it; and the prevention of crimes, which, if not prevented, it might be too late to punish, was, he stated, the principle of the bill. By this prevention, the houses of Orange and Brunswick had been maintained on the throne. The circumstances of the times demanded that a discretionary power should be vested in ministers. A power must be given by the bill to commit on something less than legal proof of treason, or the bill itself must be nugatory; and the bill was therefore a measure of sound precaution, both for the individuals who might engage in such designs, and for the public. Where persons were committed

on legal proof of treason, it might take much time to explore all the ramifications of guilt; and, consequently, much time before the offender could be tried, consistent with a due regard for the public safety. He contended that the conspiracy had been fully proved. The refusal to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act would be to declare that all the acts proved on the trials were innocent.

Mr. Grey urged the importance of a cool and deliberate reconsideration of the present question. The reasons for which the Habeas Corpus act had been last year suspended, were judged of by *ex parte* evidence; it was therefore material not to maintain an opinion which has in some instances been contradicted, without an impartial and thorough investigation. He called upon the last speaker to state any period, except in cases of actual danger, when the pressure and necessity were really urgent, or where plots of a treasonable nature against the life and person of the king were manifest. The charge of high treason against the persons tried, had, he urged, been completely negatived. As to its being considered as an expedient to guard against Jacobinism and French principles, he would quote the sentiments of Mr. Burke, respecting America, that "general rebellions are not encouraged, but provoked." The discontents, raised in this country, were not to be attributed to the offensive books of Paine and Barlow, but to government. The discontents of France had not, he remarked, proceeded from the want of power or imprisonment. The Dutch were accused of supineness; they were not supine under Philip II. nor would they now have been so, had they not wanted cause for exertion.

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This might serve as a practical lesson for us.

On the question being loudly called for, the ayes were 230; noes 53. The bill was then a second time read, and the ministers were earnest to go immediately into a committee upon it, though it was then three o'clock in the morning. This was, however, strongly opposed by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, and deferred to the 28th. It was then again opposed by Mr. Fox, but was carried by a considerable majority.

On the third reading of this bill in the house of lords, the earl of Lauderdale moved an amendment, limiting the operation of the bill to the 1st day of July; whereas, by the words of the bill, the crown, by its power of not proroguing parliament, was vested with the privilege of continuing the suspension for an indefinite time. This he forcibly urged on the ground of preventing a dangerous precedent on future occasions. This amendment was agreed to;

and the bill read a third time; after which, lord Grenville moved that it should pass. His lordship entered at large into the proceedings of the societies, to prove the existence of the conspiracy, insisting that the late verdicts did not negative that, but only considered whether the persons put upon their defence were guilty to the extent stated in the indictments. The earl of Guildford replied to his lordship in a pointed speech; and a spirited debate ensued, in which the suspension was supported by the dukes of Leeds and Portland, the lords Carlisle, Warwick, Hawkesbury, Spencer, Sydney, Hay, Auckland; and the Lord Chancellor; and opposed by the duke of Bedford, the marquis of Lansdowne, and the earl of Lauderdale. The question was then put and carried without a division. A protest was, however, entered against the bill, which was signed by the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, and the lords Lauderdale and Guildford.

CHAP. II.

Committee of Supply. Motion and Debate relative to the Navy. Army Estimates. Debate on that Subject. Further Debate on the Army, &c. New Plan for manning the Navy by Requisition. Proposal to oblige Placemen and Pensioners to contribute towards manning the Navy. Army Discharge of Arries. Debate on this Subject. Message from his Majesty respecting the Imperial Loan. Debate on the Prussian Subsidy. Debate on the Imperial Loan in the House of Commons. Debate on the same Subject in the Lords. Budget. Debate on the Bill for an additional Tax on Wines. Debates on the Regulation of Franking. Discussions on the Hair Powder License Bill, &c.

ON the 2d of January the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply, when Mr. Fox desired to be informed

when the subject of the loan was to be discussed, in order that there might be as full an attendance of the house as possible. In reply to an

an observation made by Mr. Steele, that the minister had acted, respecting the loan, in the mode usually observed not only in loans, but in subsidiary treaties, Mr. Fox represented these cases as essentially different in their nature. The case of a treaty was that, he said, of an act of royal prerogative and authority; but the case of a loan was a bargain between the minister and individuals on behalf of the country, on which the house had a right to be consulted, as holding the purse of the nation, as soon as possible after the minister felt inclined to the terms proposed. The discussion of the imperial loan was deferred to a future time; but, at the desire of Mr. Jekyll, the minister, a few days afterwards, informed the house that the amount of the money paid to the king of Prussia by this country was 1,200,000 pounds.

Admiral Gardner, in the committee of supply, January 7th, moved, that the number of 100,000 seamen, including 15,000 marines, should be voted for the service of the current year. Mr. M. Robinson strongly enforced the necessity and propriety of fully strengthening the navy, but noticed a capital defect in the construction of English vessels, which made them very inferior, in point of sailing, to the French. This was in part admitted by captain Berkeley, who allowed that the French ships were better built, but did not sail faster than the English; but thought the inquiry upon this subject would be more proper in time of peace, and recommended the consulting of scientific persons upon the subject of improving the construction. Though the French models were better than ours, yet, he said, our workmanship was superior. Admiral Gardner,

however, so far differed from the captain, as to admit the superiority of the French ships with respect to sailing, and attributed their superior construction to the mode they adopted whenever a ship was to be built, of offering a premium for the best model, which was submitted to the decision of the academy of sciences. But the English had, he said, lately greatly improved in the construction of their ships, in consequence of the French prizes which we had taken.

Mr. Fox urged the necessity of our navy being placed upon a respectable footing, and thought it had not had that effect upon the decision of the contest, which it ought to have had from its great superiority to that of the enemy. Our naval exertions had, he said, been obstructed by an ostentatious display of zeal in the land service. Upwards of twenty pounds had been given for a man, which had greatly injured the recruiting for the navy. He felt, he said, much more secure, in case of an invasion, from a certain superiority at sea, than from any number of land forces. It was not, he said; very honourable to the diligence of the minister, or very flattering to the science, industry, and glory of the country, to be content with imitating the improvements of other nations. He was informed that it did not belong to the admiralty to attend to the construction of ships, though he had always understood that the admiralty had the superintending power respecting the navy; and he was entitled to ask them, why measures had not been sooner taken to improve the construction of our ships? Its being a time of war was the very circumstance which, in his mind, made it necessary that some measures for this end should be

be adopted without loss of time; and he should deem it a criminal neglect, if care was not taken to set on foot the building of ships upon the improved construction in every dock in the kingdom. The navy of England was, he said, of more importance now than at any former period; and the whole of the campaign ought to convince ministers of the inefficacy of military operations.

The conduct of the naval department was strongly vindicated by Mr. Dundas, who stated that, at the commencement of the war, we had only 16,000 men, and had now no less than 95,000. The exertions on this account he stated to be very considerable, the more, as from the situation of the enemy, the common stimulus to the English sailor, an expectation of prize-money, did not exist. He believed that our present naval force was at present double that of the most exaggerated account of the naval force of the enemy. He was ready to admit that our ships might be inferior in point of construction to the French; but he doubted not our superiority in whatever related to the working; and though it might appear paradoxical, he would assign as one reason for the superiority of the French ships in point of construction, the general and received opinion of the superiority of our naval force. Another reason for the superiority was the hatred in which, in this country, a projector was always held; he should, however, he professed, be always ready to receive any suggestions which presented the prospect of an improvement in our naval architecture. Our victories, he said, proved, however, the superiority of our ships in action; and the respectable state of our navy admitted of no ground for despondency.

The latter part of Mr. Dundas's opinions were ridiculed by Mr. Sheridan. If the contempt in which projectors were held occasioned the superiority of the enemy in the construction of their ships, he thought the matter would still be neglected, particularly as the last speaker had, at the time that he admitted the superiority of the enemy in one respect, and the defectiveness of construction in our ships, conveyed an idea that our ships were as good as they need be, though this was not the opinion of the best naval officers in this country. As to talking of blowing the enemy out of the water, there was one thing to be done first, namely, to catch them, which was not very likely to be done, while they sailed faster than us. One gentleman (captain Berkeley) had said, that single ships of the enemy sailed better than ours, but they did not sail better in a body; he did not pretend to much knowledge in sailing; but as a fleet could not be formed but by a collection of single ships, he did not see how the distinction could be supported by fair reasoning. He perfectly agreed that nothing was to be got by the war; but when government was to be so highly accredited for overcoming the difficulties attending the manning of the navy, the committee ought to have been reminded of another circumstance which tended to facilitate it,—that of our having no privateers. He thought the supply demanded was, if any thing, too small, considering the strength of the enemy, and that we depended entirely on the navy in this war. He reminded the house of the intelligence he had brought forward, on former occasions, respecting the state of Halifax, and the

the speech of lord Dorchester to the Indian tribes, both of which had been controverted by ministers at the time, though it had since been proved that he was right.

Mr. Pitt admitted that the exertions of the French had been very extraordinary, but that they only proved their rapid approach to a state of imbecility, and that their resources would soon be exhausted. They were, he said, the consequence of unparalleled pressure and unprecedented violence: and could it be supposed that a system, founded on artificial finance and barbarous extortion, could continue to operate with that vigour and effect, which a just cause and a permanent system were calculated to enforce? From our system of warfare, we might expect success, while theirs contained within itself the seeds of its dissolution. These exertions were, however, represented by general Tarleton as unbounded, and directed not merely to vanquishing their active opponents, but endeavouring to conciliate their fallen foes. Since the death of Robespierre, all restraint had, he said, been withdrawn from the British officers and seamen, who had been made prisoners; and he feared that many of them might even be tempted to enter into the French service, as some, in conjunction with Americans, had already done. In the course of the debate, many animadversions were made on the conduct of the late lord of the admiralty, in which the want of a proper protection to our shipping was imputed to him by the one party, and his conduct warmly defended by the other; by the latter, his private character was represented as particularly amiable. It was not, however, Mr. Sheridan observed, an amiable first lord of the admiralty that we want-

1795.

ed, but an attentive, active, and vigilant first lord of the admiralty; and if this was the character of the noble lord, he was shamefully deserted by his colleagues, and ungratefully treated by the public.

Admiral Gardner stated, that from Jan. 1794, to Jan. 1795, one hundred and eight convoys had been applied for, and granted, and that in this service 140 ships of war were employed, besides 16 constantly on duty for the protection of the coasting trade. A college, with a board, &c. was recommended for the improvement of naval architecture; and a project of the French was mentioned by Mr. Lambton, who stated that they had sent, all over the country where timber was to be found, models of the several parts and individual timbers of ships of the line, by which the people were instructed to cut down and hew out in the rough the several parts, which were afterwards finished and put together in the dockyards, so that in a short time they would be able to launch sixty new ships. These, they were aware, would not last long: but number, not durability, was their object. Thinking, therefore, that every possible effort ought to be made in the naval department of this country, he should have willingly voted for a much larger number of seamen. Mr. Pitt thought the present number fully sufficient for the present occasion; and on the following day the resolution for one hundred thousand men, for the sea service, for thirteen months, at 5*l.* per man per month, was agreed to, *nem. con.*

The account of the army estimates was laid before the house of commons by Mr. Windham, on the 21st of January. The whole force on foot, consisting of regulars, militia, and fencibles, he stated at 149,627 men: with the Indian regi-

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ments, it amounted to a much larger number. This force he thought very consolatory to Great Britain, with respect to the contest in which she was engaged, though the great expence, at which it must be supported, operated as some drawback. The expence of this force amounted to 6,652,742*l*. The increased force he stated at 73,029 men, and the additional expence at 217,548*l*. and concluded by moving, that a number of land forces, amounting to 110,000 men, including 3882 invalids, should be employed for the service of the year 1795.

The present system of recruiting was censured by General Tarleton in a very spirited speech. He dated its origin in the year 1791, on the occasion of the Russian armament; and stated, that by this mode veteran officers were either laid under heavy contributions, or exposed to have school-boys put over their heads. By the modern regulation, two lieutenant-colonels were appointed; and if the major should purchase, he might perhaps be reduced soon after. The captains were in a still worse situation; if the eldest captain should choose to purchase, he must pay 700*l*. and the second captain 500*l*. and then be reduced to half-pay. The general proceeded to state, from calculations, that, by the mode of raising independent companies, and the pay granted to the officers, each man, instead of the nominal sum of 3*l*. cost the country no less than 19*l*. The new levies were, he said, raised by school-boys and crimps. He referred to the instance of a nobleman (lord Granard), who commenced his military career in November 1794, and, after a rapid elevation to the rank of major, had been deemed qualified, upon the ex-

perience of 17 days, to command a regiment, and had since jumped into the rank of lieutenant-colonel commandant. To the enormous sum of six millions, were yet to be added the sums for the ordnance, for the extraordinaries of the army, and for the support of our different allies. He proceeded to review the conduct of the war and of the last campaign. In the West Indies, sir C. Grey had been promised a reinforcement of 10,000 men; but the whole of the troops in that quarter amounted only to 5000; and the islands we had taken there, had not, he said, a sufficient force to defend them; the more so, as the troops, reduced by pestilential disorders, did not amount to more than 2000, while the troops that should have been sent were pining on board transports, or languishing in inactivity in the harbour of Portsmouth. After all the disastrous events of the campaign, of which the general took a full review, he asked, what consolation was to be derived from the economical arrangements of ministers? A system of lavish expence was persisted in without any object; and the profusion and credulity of Great Britain kept pace with the avarice and perfidy of her allies. Notwithstanding the reasonings of ministerialists and alarmists, every change in France had been prejudicial to this country; and if even the operations of the next campaign were completely successful, it would cost fifty millions, and torrents of blood, to restore the country to the situation in which it was at the commencement of the last campaign. The result of a full view of the subject was, he said, an expensive war, conducted without skill or energy; an improvident and unconstitutional mode of recruiting; generals, who had been only able to exercise their abilities in retreats; and

and the army left in a most perilous situation. The allies had lost 350,000 men; 50,000,000*l.* had been expended by this country; a most extraordinary loan had been contracted by ministers in a manner equally extraordinary, and the country was loaded with a debt of 350 millions.

Mr. Hussey wished to report progress, and made a motion to that effect. He wished that, in the present exigence, the manning of the navy should supersede all other considerations; and censured the measures pursued in the new-raised regiments, in some of which he had found men between seventy and eighty, and scarcely able to carry a knapsack, and boys of twelve or thirteen. A man in his neighbourhood, who had ten years since been discharged as unfit for the service, was lately enlisted at a bounty of seven guineas.

Mr. Pitt observed, that to put the army on a respectable footing was the best method to render our naval superiority more secure, and said, though the war, which it had lately been the fashion to term disgraceful, had been attended with severe pressure, still our resources had increased beyond the proportion of our expences; and in whatever related to the commerce and credit of the country, and to the means of recruiting both the army and navy, there never was a war in which, after two years of hostility, the aspect was so flattering and prosperous.

Had the prosperity of the country been really such as in the reign of queen Anne, and during the administration of lord Chatham, Mr. Fox thought it would not have become ministers to adopt the style and tone at present made use of. But in a minister so peculiarly unfortunate, and in a situation which,

in point of real calamity, was perhaps never equalled in this country, it was adding insult to injury. If it was the fashion to call the war disgraceful, he should be glad to know who was the cause of it. After recounting the losses we had sustained, he asked what was the present object of the minister? Had he now any hope of effecting a counter-revolution in France? Was not that object given up by every power in Europe but ourselves? Ministry and their friends told us, he said, that the British forces had been ably conducted: if so, our hopes must be at an end; for, with all this advantage, the result to us had been calamity and disgrace. Mr. Fox blamed the situation in which the British troops had been left in Holland. He joined the minister in his sanguine belief in the power of this country to raise money; but the greatest difficulty, he thought, was to raise men. He thought the army had much more than its due proportion, when compared with the navy, on which so much depended in the present war. Nothing could be concluded from the vote then under consideration, but that we were again going to send out thousands of British troops to be slaughtered in Germany, or imprisoned in France. If they were not to be sent, where was the necessity of such an increase in the establishment? If they were, what visionary scheme could induce us to send them to a place whence we never can hope to see them return? From a short review of the conduct of administration, he maintained that many measures had been pursued highly injurious to the interests of the country, and others omitted, by which it would have been greatly benefited. It was, indeed, his custom to say what he knew;

and it ought to be the custom of the people to express what they felt. The finances and resources of this country he would admit to be high; but it ought to be remembered that our debt was extremely great; and our continuance in the present ruinous war might bring it to a question, how were we to pay off the interest, and support the government? The war had, however, certainly injured our manufactures, even before we lost Holland as an ally and a customer.

Mr. Pitt defended the conduct of ministry. He admitted that the war had in some respects been highly unfortunate, which was not, however, imputable to ministers, but to causes they could neither foresee nor prevent; and called the attention of the house to the naval war, which, he thought, certainly afforded no room for despair, and to the war out of Europe. If we looked at our pecuniary resources, at the credit and the commerce of the country, the balance was, he said, infinitely in our favour. He acknowledged our want of success in various instances; but this, instead of inducing us to give up the contest in despair, ought only to induce the people to redouble their energy, and call forth all their force. Whatever might be said by the opposition members, no disgrace had, he said, attended our arms in any quarter. The army had never stood higher in point of military glory for skill, valour, and perseverance. Both in the naval war and that out of Europe, we had, he contended, the most solid ground of exultation. With respect to the troops allotted to the expedition in the West Indies, it was certainly

true that a part had been withdrawn for an important expedition to the coast of France, which, from the posture of affairs that was likely soon to take place there, if it could have been carried into effect, was likely to be attended with the most beneficial consequences. The expedition to the West Indies had, he said, succeeded in every part; the force, therefore, had certainly been sufficient. Every possible exertion had been made to send out succours to the West Indies; and though in some instances they had been retarded, it was from causes which could not be prevented. With respect to the unprosperous situation of the campaign in Flanders, as that had arisen from circumstances which could not be foreseen, the want of success there was no more imputable to ministers than the present intense frost. In the conduct of our allies, there was, he said, much to lament, something to censure, but nothing to deprive us of hope. It was not sufficient, in order to attach guilt upon ministers, to shew that the allies were unfortunate in Flanders, or that Holland had fallen a sacrifice to the enemy; it must be proved that this was owing to the want of attention, breach of faith, or supineness of the English government. To have withdrawn the army sooner from the continent, would, he contended, have been inconsistent with our faith towards our allies. After an extended and spirited debate, the motion for reporting progress was negatived without a division, and the original motion put and carried.

On the following day the votes of the committee of supply were reported and agreed to, and consisted of

£	s.	d.	
2,777,534	19	1	For guards and garrisons.
691,307	15	7	For forces in the plantations.

£	s.	d.	
115,820	0	3	For general and staff officers, &c.
40,096	9	9	For difference between the pay of British and Irish establishments.
135	16	8	For allowance to reduced horse guards.
8,323	17	10½	For troops in the East Indies.
385,000	0	0	For recruiting land forces, and contingencies, &c.
480,000	0	0	Levy money, &c. for augmentations to the forces.
79,978	4	4	Full pay to supernumerary officers of his majesty's land forces and marines.
1,000	0	0	To ditto of the Scotch brigade.
52,500	0	0	To ditto of his majesty's American forces.
7,500	0	0	For allowance to ditto.
10,387	13	3	For widows' pensions.
4,500	0	0	For Scotch roads and bridges.
930,047	12	3	For embodied militia and fencible infantry.
210,000	0	0	For contingencies, &c. for ditto.
107,137	11	6	For clothing for the militia.
280,048	8	3	For fencible cavalry.
80,000	0	0	For allowances of bread and necessaries for ditto.
334,155	1	9	For expences of land service and ordnance, not provided for in 1793.
25,375	14	5	For expence of sea service and ordnance, for the year 1793.
1,045,305	19	8	For expence of ordnance and land service in 1794.
39,307	0	3	For expence of ordnance and sea service in 1794.
1,176,804	17	9	For charge of ordnance and land service for 1795.
997,226	0	0	For the estimate of the charge of foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain for 1795.

The report of the committee of supply on the army was brought up on the 22d, when Mr. Fox observed that the land service had in this war received a much larger portion of the exertion of government, in comparison with the navy, than in any former war. He wished to know whether ministers meant to persevere in the present plan of recruiting the navy, and whether any exertions had been made for the army, that impeded the manning of the navy, which he conceived of infinitely more importance. The true interest of the country was stated by Mr. Pitt to be the making the most vigorous exertions in both services, not only to distract the enemy, but that in cases of necessity the land service might be brought

in aid of the navy, by turning land-men into marines. The attempt to set the naval in opposition to the military force, he thought bad policy; sometimes the army required an augmentation, sometimes the navy, according to the exigence of circumstances.

The marines were understood, by Mr. Sheridan, as prohibited by an order from the admiralty, from going aloft, or doing the duty of a sailor. In the course of his speech he demanded from the secretary at war whether he intended to take any pains to prevent the inhuman and disgraceful practice of crimping, and adverted, in strong terms, to the dreadful state of the troops at Plymouth, who had been embarked in August and were now sick to the

amount of 14 or 1500, partly owing to want of clothing, and partly to an infectious disease prevailing on board. He wished to know whether they were still intended to be sent to the West Indies: if they were, he feared there would scarcely be any of them alive to land there. The secretary at war stated their detention to have arisen from contrary winds, and from the apprehension of meeting with an enemy in superior force; he professed his intention to suppress, if in his power, the detestable practice of crimping, and stated that the sick on board the transports had every supply of necessaries which was usual and proper. The destination of the troops he thought an improper communication; and was pointedly ridiculed by Mr. Sheridan for his care of a secret which every body knew.

Mr. Dundas thought it necessary either to shew that the army was sufficient for our safety and protection, or to admit the necessity of new levies. He stated, with respect to the marine corps, that all the old force had been either sent to the continent, or applied to the foreign possessions. Seven old regiments had, he said, also been transferred to the fleet as marines. Every effort had been made to increase the marine service; but there had been peculiar difficulty in procuring hands for this branch of the service, as those who wished to go into the army enlisted as soldiers, and those who wished to go on board ship entered as sailors. If an order had been given, prohibiting marines from becoming sailors, it was the most political order that could be given, as it was always easier to obtain sailors than marines. He strongly vindicated the conduct of

administration towards the troops on board the transports, and professed his readiness to meet every inquiry on the subject of their detention, and to apply every remedy which the nature of the grievance, and the cause of humanity, could require.

It was strongly objected to ministers in the course of the debate, that sir Charles Grey had not been sufficiently supported in the West Indies, and ought to have been reinforced. He had sailed in November 1793 with an inadequate force, or if sufficient to conquer the West India islands, completely unfitted to keep what was conquered: and no reinforcement had yet been sent out to him. It was further asserted by Mr. Fox, that ministers were wholly ignorant of the sailing of the Brest fleet, though on that information depended the safety of our homeward bound fleets, without adverting to that of the enemy, laden with naval stores from the Baltic, which ought to have been intercepted. Mr. Dundas admitted, according to the observation of Mr. Francis, that some single ships had certainly made the voyage, but that the circumstances were such as rendered it impossible for a fleet with convoy to sail with any chance of security, and that the ships of war were directed to attempt the voyage at all hazards to accomplish the security of the islands; and it was further observed, that it was not within human prudence to foresee the sailing of the French fleet. The resolutions were read and agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in accordingly.

On the 2d of February Mr. Pitt brought forward his plan for manning the navy. All had, he observed, expressed, and, he hoped, sincerely

cerely felt the necessity of extraordinary burdens to support the exertions which were indispensable at the present crisis. To this end, a great degree of inconvenience must unavoidably be sustained; but he trusted, in the present instance, instead of attempting to throw the burden upon any particular class of society, every class would cheerfully unite to consider the proportion which each could afford to bear. In proposing the means for best carrying the plan into effect, he must necessarily look to the great source of the national force, which was undoubtedly the trade of the country. He proposed looking to the mercantile marine as the best qualified to support the exertions at present called for, and as being peculiarly interested that the country should be able to maintain its superiority by sea, and supply adequate convoys. An uncertain degree of pressing, and embargoes, would, he said, be avoided by his plan, which was to fix a certain number of men in proportion to the tonnage to be furnished by every vessel previous to clearing out. The shipping of England and Scotland, he stated, employed 100,000 men; and the proportion of men was one to every 14 tons. He proposed to take one seaman out of every seven; or, instead of that, two landmen. No proportion was to be required from vessels under thirty-five tons burden, which, as employed in the coasting trade, were continually fitting out; but, above that number up to seventy, every vessel was to find one landman; and every one up to 105, to find one seaman, or two landmen; and all above 140 tons, to find one landman progressively for every 50 tons. The whole number which might be obtained in this way, he

computed at between 18 and 20,000. He proposed also to raise men from every parish; from which he thought 10,000 men might be obtained, supposing 10,000 parishes each to furnish one. The mode of arranging what each parish should raise, he would leave to the justices of the peace, at a special sessions held for the purpose, providing only, that a larger sum than should be adequate to the bounty given to volunteers, should be levied on every parish which should be a defaulter. He further proposed raising a certain number of men from those employed in inland navigation, but could not ascertain the probable amount of this supply, till he had procured a list of the barges. One other measure he should propose, which was to enable the magistrates to apprehend all idle and disorderly persons who might be able to serve his majesty.

Mr. Harrison, Mr. Jolliffe, and several other gentlemen, thought that exertions for manning the navy were in the highest degree necessary, but that those now proposed were peculiarly partial and oppressive. The former gentleman proposed that every person holding a place or pension of 300 pounds *per annum*, should provide one seaman, or two landmen, for the service of the navy; persons possessing 400 pounds *per annum*, two seamen, or three landmen; those possessing 500 pounds *per annum*, two seamen, or four landmen; and for every 100 pounds *per annum*, above 500 pounds, one man should be added. Mr. Jolliffe proposed to call into action hair-dressers, man-miliners, and idle footmen, and all those indolent drones who occupied places which might be filled by indigent and industrious women. After re-

peated observations in the committee of supply, the bill passed, with a few modifications.

On the 20th of February the Secretary at war moved that 3,063,968 pounds should be granted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, &c. from December 1793 to December 1794. Mr. Hussey, colonel Maitland, and Mr. Fox, objected strongly to several articles of expenditure. Amongst these, a sum to the enormous amount of 1,189,000 pounds was paid upon bills drawn by Mr. Brook Watson; and there was an account of bills drawn by Mr. Watson to the amount of 1,900,000 pounds. Mr. Hussey wished to know whether these accounts were joint or separate, and for different years? It was further objected, that, during the whole of the year 1794, when we obtained Martinique, Guadaloupe, &c. it only cost us 191,000 pounds; whereas the extraordinary expenditure at Toulon amounted to 400,000 pounds. With respect to the money granted to sir Gilbert Elliot as civil commissioner in France, it was not conceived that, after the evacuation of Toulon, such an office was necessary, though he had certainly received the salary till he was appointed viceroy of Corsica.

Mr. Fox further censured the charge of a large sum of money to sir G. Elliot for plate and equipage, which, he observed, ought to have been given out of the civil list, as it was for similar charges that was instituted, and if too small, it ought to be made larger. A large sum of money, amounting to 15,000 pounds, was also observed to have been paid to a member of that house (colonel Fullarton) for services performed fifteen years ago; and the erection of barracks, in

which 500,000 pounds had been already expended, and to every one of which some degree of patronage was annexed, was censured as dangerous, unconstitutional, and expensive.

These objections were replied to by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, that as all the bills were drawn before the 24th of December 1794, they were of course arranged in the accounts of that year; that as all the bills had not been received, a precise statement of the account could not be given; but Mr. Watson would of course give an account of the application of the money. With respect to sir G. Elliot, he had been employed on public business in Italy, and engaged in very important services till he was appointed viceroy. When it was considered that we got Toulon in consequence of the pressure of famine, and that a very large force was to be supplied with provisions; it was not wonderful that the expence of this service should be greater than in an expedition where provisions were supplied by this country. The vote of money to sir Gilbert was very trivial; and though the distinction was certainly just, generally speaking, yet there could be no practical utility in observing it in this particular instance. With respect to the money paid to colonel Fullarton, Mr. Pitt stated that in the course of the last war that gentleman had been employed in a service of great secrecy, in which he had expended a large sum of money out of his own pocket. From the report of the commissioners on the merits of the service, and on the interest due for the monies advanced, it would be found that the sum of 15,000 pounds was by no means an extravagant allowance.

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With respect to the barracks, Mr. Pitt thought them highly advantageous to the health and discipline of the troops, and to the innkeepers and publicans. The sum of 427,629 pounds was moved for in this committee by Mr. Windham, for raising, &c. a corps of emigrants, which was also agreed to; and on the motion of sir John Sinclair, 3,000 pounds were granted to the board of agriculture.

During the course of the preceding debates (on 4th February) Mr. Pitt brought down to the house a message from his majesty, expressing the great inclination of his imperial majesty to make the greatest exertions in the common cause in the ensuing campaign. These exertions, however, required a loan of four millions on the credit of the revenues of his hereditary dominions, guaranteed by his majesty. This would enable him to bring against the common enemy 200,000 men; but as his majesty thought a similar loan to a larger extent would enable the emperor to employ a still more considerable force, he had desired his minister at Vienna to express his readiness to recommend such an arrangement to parliament. Some temporary advances which his majesty had made for the supply of the Austrian army, were to be included in the arrangement, of the whole of which his majesty would not fail to communicate the result to parliament as soon as the negotiation was concluded. As any measure of this sort was, however, connected with the provision for the current service of the year, he would not delay this communication, relying upon his faithful commons to take such measures, &c. &c.

The consideration of his majesty's message was deferred to the fol-

lowing day; but, previous to the discussion, a conversation took place respecting the subsidy which had in the former session been granted to Prussia. The conduct of his Prussian majesty was warmly reprobated by Mr. Sheridan, who thought, however, that his misconduct was no ground for refusing a loan to the emperor, but that it ought to operate as a caution with respect to similar transactions. He censured, as unbecoming, the language which had been held in another country, by which parliament were told of the absolute determination of his majesty to guarantee the imperial loan. Before such a determination was expressed, he should have wished to have had something like a positive determination from his imperial majesty, to make the exertions which were the conditions of the loan, and the more, as his court had been proverbially distinguished for ill faith. Some men were, he observed, more callous to the calls of honour than to a sense of shame; such might, perhaps, be found amongst the Austrian ministers; and it might be of importance, in order to warn them, to come to some resolution expressive of indignation and contempt with respect to the violation of faith in his Prussian majesty. No commissioner had, he said, been appointed to watch over the observance of that article in the treaty, which stipulated that 60,000 Prussian troops should co-operate with the British; which would not have been thought of, if ministers had not foreseen that the king of Prussia was averse to performing his duty. The emperor had stated that the co-operation of the Prussians might have saved Brabant, and consequently Holland. Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving, that the king of Prussia received

received from this country 1,200,000 pounds in consequence of the treaty at the Hague in 1794, and did not appear to have performed the stipulations of that treaty. The motion was seconded by Mr. Jekyll.

Mr. Pitt explained, that the terms of the treaty were, that the Prussian force was to co-operate in the most effectual way for the common cause. The country, he admitted, had great cause of dissatisfaction with respect to the king of Prussia: yet, when he considered what he had produced by retarding the progress of the French, he could not consider the pecuniary sacrifice as too great.

This opinion was echoed by sir W. Pulteny, who was firmly persuaded that the king of Prussia had rendered much more material assistance to the common cause by the manner in which he had acted, than he could have done by the most scrupulous adherence to his original engagements. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Francis and Mr. Whitbread thought the question of too much importance to be thus dismissed. It was, they conceived, of much consequence to consider, before they sent money to one German despot, what had been done by another. There was every reason to believe that the emperor and the king of Prussia were engaged in the common cause of subjugating Poland; but it became the house to pause before they sanctioned this last execrable measure. Mr. Fox observed, that it was of consequence to discuss whether ministers had so far mistaken the interests of the country, that the only advantage derived from the treaty arose from the non-compliance of the king of Prussia. It was the

more necessary, as what had been held out might serve as an inducement to the emperor to treat and stipulate, and afterwards conceive that he might most effectually serve the common cause by not complying with his engagements. He might conceive that the best way to destroy those French principles against which the war was carried on, was to apply the money to the dismemberment of Poland. Such was the object assigned in all the memorials of the empress of Russia for her conduct to that unhappy country. If the king of Prussia, however, had really acted best for the common cause, his conduct ought not only to be vindicated from stigma, but the house should vote him an extraordinary motion of thanks. We had stipulated with him to furnish men, money, and artillery; but he had furnished what was of infinitely more consequence,—wisdom to ministers, and abilities for carrying on the war. After some further debate, in which general Tarleton, from a statement of facts, asserted, that, had the Prussian troops been brought up according to the stipulations of the treaty, the greatest advantages might have been derived to the common cause, the house passed to the order of the day.

Mr. Pitt professed himself extremely happy at the opportunity afforded by his majesty's message to discuss the general principle of the imperial loan; the details of the measure could not, however, possibly be entered into till the negotiation was concluded. If the question, now, was to decide whether it was proper for his majesty to guarantee a loan for a particular force, three points were to be considered,—the utility of the co-operation of Austria, the security for performance

performance of the stipulations, and whether the risk was greater than the probable advantage. For the first, the general policy of the measure, he stated the impossibility of procuring peace, which had been admitted by a majority of the house; the powerful exertions which had been recommended even by those who advised negotiation; and the enemy, powerful in men and resources, with whom we had never contended so successfully as when our maritime strength had been aided by a powerful land force on the continent. It was necessary to oppose to them the same means which they employed against us. Such was the proud situation of this country, that money, forces, and a navy, were to be found in Great Britain; if there was a deficiency, it was in the number of our land forces. For these, we must look to some great power on the continent; and to whom could we look, but to the emperor, both from his extensive means, local situation, the military character of his subjects, and his interest in the prosecution of the present contest? From the admission of Talien, corroborated by several members of the convention, the internal pressure of France was such, that it could not long be supported, unless the mass of paper currency was reduced, which could only be effected by the reduction of the military force. Was it then wise to abandon that mode of distressing the enemy, which, upon their own confession, will have the most sure operation? As it was probable the king of Prussia would not come forward with the same force as in the last campaign, this was a ground for double exertions on our part. The question was, whether or not we would be parties to the

French scheme of policy, by allowing the emperor to withdraw his forces for want of pecuniary assistance? It was with the wish of pursuing the war with unabated rancour against this country, that they desired peace with the other powers of the confederacy. The proposition was, he said, attended with benefit to the navy, in favour of which an unanimous sentiment had pervaded the house. There were two ways by which we maintained our superiority at sea,—first, by increasing our navy to its utmost extent,—and secondly, pursuing such measures as would tend to weaken the naval strength of the enemy. If, by the assistance given to the emperor, he could bring into the field 200,000 men, the French could not pay the attention to their marine which they otherwise would. With respect to the objections he had heard against the measure, the first, as to the reasonable assurances of the fulfilment of the stipulations, and the chance of the burden falling ultimately upon us,—in support of the first, an argument had been adduced, which, if carried to its extent, would end in the annihilation of every system of alliance. Were we never to enter into a treaty with any monarch, because one had broken his faith? The general grounds of alliance between nations, Mr. Pitt stated to be confidence in their good faith, a common interest, and an apparent sincere inclination to fulfil their engagements. On these grounds he defended the sincerity of Austria, and vindicated the character of that court, except during a period of two years, which had been a departure from her general conduct. It was the interest of the emperor to fulfil his engagements; and pride
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and honour called upon him to exert himself with effect. There was every reason to believe the emperor perfectly disposed to a co-operation with us. This was manifest from his applying to borrow money at a large rate of interest, after having been burdened with the expences of three campaigns; and after his having joined us in the defence of Holland and the Rhine; and he was now making the greatest exertions to obtain pecuniary aid in his own dominions. As to the security, was the sum of six millions to be put in competition with the acquisition of the whole Austrian force? Comparing the sum with the assistance required, it was purchasing the assistance very reasonably. The force of Austria, without our assistance, must remain inactive; which, even if the whole of this expence fell upon us, would not be wise or politic to suffer. He further argued the improbability of a breach of faith on the part of Austria, from her situation in Europe, which rendered it improbable she could do without loans on future occasions, which a failure in the present instance must prevent her obtaining. Mr. Pitt insisted upon the advantage of continental connections, and added that the treaty would contain stipulations, that, for every 300 pounds advanced, an obligation for 400 pounds upon the bank of Vienna would be transmitted to this country; and the emperor might be sued in his own courts. He concluded by moving an address, thanking his majesty for the communication of the state of the negotiation,—that when his majesty shall be enabled to lay before the house the result and the arrangement relative to the temporary advances made in the latter

part of the campaign, they should proceed further to consider it; that in the mean time the house entertained a strong sense of the advantages to be derived from the co-operation of an Austrian army in the next campaign, and that if it should appear that this advantage may be secured by enabling his majesty to guarantee, under proper conditions, a loan to be raised by the emperor to such an amount as may be reasonable and proportioned to his efforts, the adoption of such a measure may be essentially conducive to the interests of his majesty's subjects at this time, and to the great object of re-establishing the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms, and of Europe.

Mr. Fox recalled the attention of the house to his opinion the preceding sessions on account of the Prussian subsidy, when he had said, that if that was granted, applications would be made from other quarters, and to a still larger amount. This had been called the language of peevishness. What had been said this night, was, he observed, precisely the arguments which had been made use of on account of the Prussian treaty; and he believed they were equally applicable to the king of Prussia and to the emperor. Whatever had been said by Talien, was, he remarked, only to be considered as the assertion of a man who might speak, upon a particular point, any thing to answer a purpose which he had in view; and he was, as it was well known, opposed on that point in the convention by Cambon. He must therefore entreat the house to be careful what credit they gave to any account of the decay of the French resources: it was their great business to take care that the resources of England should not fail
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in contending with France. Would the ministers say, that if this loan was granted, and eventually to be paid by this country, we could possibly carry on the war for many years to come? The money might, as had been observed, possibly not be applied with advantage to the navy this year; but granting that, which he doubted, might it not in future years? Mr. Fox argued, from experience, against the policy of employing foreign troops in this war. It had been confessed that there were points in the conduct of the Austrians difficult to explain; he believed it not only difficult, but impossible; and it was not wonderful the minister declined a detail which involved every thing that was suspicious. But ought he not, before the house voted such an enormous sum of money, to give some account of the conduct of the Austrians before Tournay, the precipitate evacuation of the Netherlands, and of the surrender of the captured fortresses? Even the Gazette accounts proved that there was no amicable co-operation between the Austrian and the British army. What was the case at Toulon? Five thousand Austrian troops were to sail from Leghorn to reinforce the garrison; but when they came to the place of embarkation, the commanding officer said he had orders not to embark without further directions from Vienna. As to the so much vaunted faith of the house of Austria, it was only necessary to read the two manifestos from the prince of Saxe Cobourg in the case of Dumouriez, to find that nothing could be more iniquitous in all the reprobated conduct of the French, nor could there be an instance of greater perfidy in the history of the world, even in the conduct of the king of Prussia respecting Poland.

He would not, he said, himself trust either Prussia or Austria, while their conduct was directed by the same persons. This was a sort of prudence which was perfectly understood, when it was asked what faith could be reposed in Robespierre, or any of the men who directed the government of France? Mr. Fox said, he thought we ought to be more attentive to the characters of those with whom we were to treat for alliance and co-operation in carrying on the war, than of those with whom we were to treat simply for peace. He vindicated the phrase of despot, as applied to the emperor and king of Prussia, from a view of their conduct, particularly respecting the treatment of La Fayette. With respect to the instances which had been given of the motives of the emperor to maintain the credit of his finances by good faith, it was indeed necessary to deny his despotism; for the finance and power of a despot, respecting public credit, always run in an inverse ratio. Nor could he discover the interest of the emperor in the war. In concert with the other members of the diet, he had agreed, that while preparations were making for another campaign, serious endeavours should be made to negotiate for peace. Should the empire negotiate a peace, upon what side was the emperor, as duke of Austria, to attack France? Would it then be his interest, or in his power, to fulfil his engagements with this country? Many well-informed men, (and he joined them in opinion) did not believe the emperor had it in his power to supply the men stipulated for. As to his resources, he referred the house to the opinion of men commonly very quick sighted, those who had money to lend.

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The emperor had tried them upon better terms than those of the present loan, and completely failed. This would satisfy him of the insolvency of the emperor. Let it be inquired what we must lose even in the event of the emperor fulfilling his engagement. He offered a high rate of interest upon his own security. We enabled him, by the proposed loan, to borrow at a lower rate; and as money and credit were both marketable, we lost precisely the difference. Mr. Fox thought a loan more objectionable than a subsidy, as the latter was paid by monthly instalments, and, if necessary, might be stopped; but should the emperor fail in his engagements, we should still be obliged to pay the amount of the loan, and, should he fail to pay the interest, should have to raise 450,000 pounds a year to make it good, while, for the same sum, we could borrow ten millions on our own account. From the unanimous wish for peace amongst the emperor's subjects, he might withdraw from the contest; but still we must pay the loan, as the credit of the country was pledged for it. With respect to the emperor's revenues, if he was not able to pay, we might pronounce as many eulogiums on his honour as we pleased; but if he was not able, we must after all pay for him. Mr. Fox mentioned, as an instance, the Silesian loan to the late king of Prussia, which he had refused to pay. This loan was to continue the war for a year; but if the war (which was not likely) was not terminated in that period, the emperor must come every year for a like or a larger supply. From every appearance, the expences of this war would fall entirely upon us. He would advise that we should add this money

to our naval strength, and depend on our own exertions instead of those of treacherous allies. From a review of the conduct of other powers, he thought they were not in earnest against the enemy. Was it then prudent, he asked, to proceed with such enormous loans, or to trust to ourselves,—to offer peace, but to prepare for war? He thought the loan was much the more reprehensible, as it would not affect the supplies of the present year, as the people would not now feel the weight of a burden which might fall upon them when they were unprepared for it. A better way would, he thought, be to provide for it at once by taxes. Mr. Fox concluded by moving, as an amendment, that all the words after the word "deserve," should be left out of the address: it was, however, negatived by a majority of 115.

At the same time a similar message from his majesty was brought down to the house of lords, and taken into consideration on the 9th of February, when lord Grenville, after recapitulating several of the arguments of Mr. Pitt in the lower house, moved the address, which corresponded in substance with the message.

The marquis of Lansdowne differed entirely from his lordship respecting continental alliances, which, he said, had been considered as impolitic by the best and wisest politicians of the wisest ages, and by the ancestors of his majesty's present ministers. They had ransacked the English language to find terms sufficiently strong to reprobate the extravagance of our German alliances, which were, however, trifling, compared with what we were now going to enter into. From a review of English history since the revolution, his lordship contended that

that they were foolish and rash, and particularly so at present. He reprobated warmly the conduct of ministers, who jumped from a loan of two millions to one of twenty-six millions, the sole return for which to the people must be distress and misery. He proceeded to state several reasons to shew that it was not the interest of the emperor to continue the war, and professed, that, with respect to the fulfilment of pecuniary engagements by the court of Vienna, he had not any pleasing recollection of the past, and consequently no very flattering prospect of the future. His lordship gave an account in what manner the court had reduced the interest of money in the bank of Vienna from 6 to 4 per cent. which, he affirmed, was a trick as unworthy of that court, as injurious to the losers. Was the bank of Vienna, he asked, able to pay this loan? or had the emperor the ability? His subjects amounted to twenty millions; his revenue was ten millions a year: what sort of credit could he have, when, in such a situation, he could not raise four millions to carry on a war in which he was said to be more interested than any prince in Europe? It was a mere attempt to borrow money, the return of which it would be childish to expect. Such a system must, he contended, end in the speedy ruin of the country. The Secretary of State had, he said, maintained that the emperor was the most to be depended upon in the contest against the French; but he had not adverted to the geographical situation of the parties. The nearest of the places to which the Austrian troops could march to attack the French, was not less than 300 miles: what probability was there then of success against

the French, who would be fighting upon their own ground? His lordship mentioned several modes in which the money, if it must be spent, would be more effectually employed; one of which was, to solicit Sweden and Denmark to assist us with ships, which would procure us the sovereignty of the North Seas, at the expence of only one of the millions which were now to be given away. He ended by moving an amendment, to leave out the latter part of the address, and to inform his majesty that the house would consider what measures were advisable at present.

The earl of Mansfield vindicated continental alliances, which, he said, were supported by the great duke of Marlborough, and by many modern statesmen. He censured the conduct of England on former occasions, for separating the interests of Austria from England, and thought it for the interest of this country to preserve the strongest alliance with that nation. The public credit of Austria, and the actions of the bank of Vienna, had, he said, always been rated high; and he knew no reason why they should now be depreciated. As the terms of the loan were not before the house, their lordships could, he said, only consider the principle, and could not vote against the address, unless they considered it as preposterous to carry on the war. The address was further supported by lord Hawkesbury and lord Auckland, and the amendment by the earl of Guildford.

The earl of Lauderdale thought, that, if the terms of the loan could not now be laid before the house, it was improper to involve their lordships in a discussion, for which they had not the requisite information. He ridiculed the idea of su-

ing the emperor in his own courts of law: it was not, he said, in such courts that suits between great nations were conducted; and the subscribers to the loan would not be very forward, if they were told they must prosecute their claims through all the Austrian courts of law, before they could resort to the security pledged by parliament. The bank of Vienna was so connected with the government, that it could not be considered even as collateral security; and to lay any stress on the actions of that bank, was the same as if we, negotiating a loan in a foreign country, should offer exchequer bills as a guarantee on the part of government. His lordship, adverting to the security of the emperor's hereditary dominions, observed, that, before the loss of the Netherlands, monied men did not think them good security. In a former time of distress, though much inferior to the present, in 1751, when an extraordinary contribution was required in the hereditary states, two districts only would pay their share. The same message, which held out the affluence of the imperial states, stated the actual poverty to be such, that his majesty had been obliged to advance sums of fifty and sixty thousand pounds for temporary aid, without the authority of parliament. Four millions were now to be advanced for the emperor's

greatest exertions; and then we were to offer two millions more for exertions greater than his greatest. But if he could obtain more troops by this additional sum, they must come into the field raw and undisciplined. He wished to be informed whether, from the exertions of the Austrians to defend the Netherlands, there were any reasonable hopes of their regaining them; and stated that he had been informed that the Austrians were much disgusted with the service, and required coercion to make them act. It was said that the loan would make a diversion in favour of our naval exertions; we had been purchasing this diversion with the blood and treasure of the country for two years. Notwithstanding these arguments, the amendment was negatived, and the address carried without a division.

On the 23d of February the minister came forward with the general statement of supplies, ways, and means, &c. He prefaced the particulars of it by dividing the subject into three heads, the first of which included the particulars and amount of the sums voted or estimated, the unfunded debt to be provided for, and certain charges, of which no accurate estimate could yet be formed. Mr. Pitt proceeded to state the various services for which parliament were called upon to provide, which consisted of

N A V Y.

100,000 seamen	-	-	£.5,200,000	0	0			
Ordinary	-	£.589,683	3	9		1,115,523	3	9
Extraordinaries	-	525,840	0	0				
						<hr/>		
						6,315,523	3	9

A R M Y.

Guards and garrisons, 119,000 men	£. 2,777,534	19	1			
Plantations, Chelsea, &c.	2,563,734	19	3	£.	s.	d.
				5,341,269	18	4
Militia and fencibles, clothing for ditto, contingen-				} 1,607,233	12	0
cies for ditto						
Foreign troops				997,226	0	0
French corps				427,269	0	0
Roads and bridges in Scotland				4,500	0	0
Extraordinaries of the army				2,663,968	12	4
Sardinian subsidy				200,000	0	0
Ordnance				2,321,010	13	10
Balance due to the Landgrave of Hesse				68,850	12	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto to Oswald's executors				41,688	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Miscellaneous service				257,043	16	5
Annual addition to sinking fund				200,000	0	0
Deficiency of grants				745,000	0	0
Ditto land and malt				350,000	0	0
Exchequer bills				6,000,000	0	0
				£. 27,540,584	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

The minister next proceeded to detail the ways and means by which the supply was to be raised. These, he said, consisted of the

	£.	s.	d.
Land tax	2,000,000	0	0
Malt	750,000	0	0
Growing produce of consolidated fund			
from 5th of April 1795, to 5th of April			
1796	£. 2,235,000		
Imprest monies to be repaid	100,000		
East India company	500,000		
	2,895,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
Loan	18,000,000	0	0
	£. 27,145,000	0	0

The amount of those, he said, being set against the amount of the supply (supposing the East India company not able to pay the deficiency), amounted to 983,000*l.* but if the company made it good, the deficiency would only be 483,000*l.* The loan might, indeed, he said, fail of answering all the exigencies of the year; but it would not be 1795.

very material with respect to the service. He meant, he stated, to find taxes not only for the deficiency of 483,000*l.* but also of the 500,000*l.* due from the company. To this must be added the increase in the navy unfunded debt. Last year 1,000,000*l.* of this debt had been funded; but the great exertions made in the navy department, had

had increased the debt to the amount of 3,900,000*l.* He now meant to fund about 1,600,000*l.* and meant to take a vote of credit for 2,500,000*l.* for the naval, and of 1,500,000*l.* for the land service. The country was so far from having less favourable terms for the loan from granting one to the emperor, that better terms had been offered in consequence of it. For every 100*l.* subscribed, they were to have 100*l.* capital in the 3 per cents, one-third of a 100*l.* capital in the 4 per cents, and a long annuity of 8*s.* 6*d.* If the loan to the emperor should be sanctioned by parliament, they were to have one-third of 100*l.* of that loan for every 100*l.* of the loan of 18,000,000*l.* If the imperial loan should not be sanctioned, they were to have a sum equivalent to their bonds upon that loan, which they estimated at 4 per cent. Should that loan be less than

6,000,000*l.* a proportionate addition must be made to the *bonus* upon our own loan, the interest of which would be 4*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* per cent. instead of 4*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* The profit to the lenders he stated as amounting to only 10*s.* per cent. independent of their share in the imperial loan. For all the other charges, unfunded debt, and unforeseen expences, he wished to make an ample provision. The interest and redemption fund for the loan, he stated at 1,107,750*l.* annual charge; for the deficiencies, 61,590*l.* for the navy debt, 160,000*l.* and for the unforeseen expences, 307,000*l.* in all about 1,637,000*l.* but of this sum 357,000*l.* was to be applied to the progressive redemption of the debt.

The minister proceeded, in the third place, to the new taxes, and the probable amount, which were a duty on

Wine	-	-	-	-	500,000
Foreign and home-made spirits	-	-	-	-	259,000
Tea	-	-	-	-	180,000
Coffee and cocoa	-	-	-	-	40,000
Insurances	-	-	-	-	160,000
Raisins, lemons, &c.	-	-	-	-	77,000
Deals and fir-timber	-	-	-	-	110,000
Affidavits, writs, &c.	-	-	-	-	68,000
Franking	-	-	-	-	40,000
Powdered heads, male and female, at a guinea a head	-	-	-	-	210,000

Total - £. 1,644,000

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Pitt took a review of the credit, situation, and resources of the country. The articles he had proposed for taxation, shewed, he thought, the sufficiency of the resources of this country. The circumstance of being able to raise so large a sum by loan, was a strong proof of the high state of the national credit. In the third year of the war, we were, he said,

in a state of prosperity unexampled in former wars. A sum of 2,000,000*l.* was now applicable for the purchasing stock for the reduction of our debt. Our security for the continuance of the national prosperity, did not, however, he said, rest upon a temporary state of the revenue or of credit, but on the permanent ground of our unexampled and increasing extent of commerce.

merce. Mr. Pitt produced a statement, from which he inferred that the total amount of the trade, during the last year of the war, exceeded what had been the case, in the brightest periods of tranquillity; that the exports of manufactures, during the last year, were only exceeded by the exports of two years of the greatest prosperity, and that the extent of our foreign trade surpassed the results of the most flourishing years of peace.

Mr. Fox blamed the minister for not having encouraged a competition amongst the subscribers to the loan. He doubted not of the statement that the terms were made a considerable time before they were to take place, which was pretended to be a fortunate circumstance for the public; but the fact was, that all depended on the state of the funds. From a calculation of the terms of the loan, he contended that there was nearly, if not quite, 2 per cent. against us; and, upon another calculation, instead of an advantage of 1l. 16s. to the subscribers, there might be a sum of 1l. 17s. disadvantage. Upon another condition, he observed, there was a *bonus* upon the Austrian loan; but how the minister could come forward with such a stipulation, without stating the terms on which the Austrian loan was made, was to him matter of astonishment. The emperor's bargain had, he observed, been disadvantageous to him, by being connected with our loan. If he had betrayed such uncommon negligence as not to inquire into the nature and condition of the terms upon which he borrowed money, he thought there was the more reason to suspect his integrity. Those were the most ready to comply with exorbitant demands, who were the least punctual in fulfilling their en-

agements. He censured the terms of the loan as highly extravagant, and said, that if the bargain was open, the terms could be made much cheaper. Three millions of money might, he understood, be saved to the emperor. He expressed his surprise by what calculation the minister could argue for the probability of a surplus of the revenue amounting to 200,000l. Respecting the additional tax on wine and spirits, merit was taken from taxes which were inconsistent with each other. Tea and spirits formed the greatest part of the consumption of the poor. The advantages alleged to have arisen from the commutation tax, only proved that those advantages were not so much owing to the prevention of smuggling, as to the increase of the consumption; but if the tax on tea diminished the consumption, why had we increased it by the commutation? The tax on wine would, he contended, give the retailer an unfair advantage; and if it did not diminish the consumption, and thus defeat the object, it would be oppressive, and improperly administered. The tax on spirits he considered as of a temporary nature, depending upon the present situation of Europe, and therefore not to be deemed a source of permanent revenue. This was also the case with the tax on hair-powder, which solely depended upon fashion. The minister had, he observed, on a former day expressed his satisfaction that we proceeded in diminishing the old debt; but who could be so blind as not to perceive the magnitude of the new debt, which was daily increasing? The expence of this war had been stated at fifty millions; he believed it much more: by the loans of 1793, 1794, and that of the present day,

we had added to the funded debt a capital of forty-six millions, to which might be added a heavy load of unfunded debt. He insisted that we ought not to regard the exports of last year as a fair test of our revenue: we had then considerable acquisitions in the West Indies, some of which we still retained; and our exports were, in consequence, increased: but who could prophesy that the exports of next year would be equivalent? The state of the West Indies was already changed; the situation of Holland was materially altered; and he would appeal to the representative of a great manufacturing town (Mr. Hobart), whether the retrospect of last year was favourable to the prospect of the ensuing? Our exports had, he allowed, considerably increased; but our commerce was at present perilous, and a great degree of diffidence prevailed. The price of insurance to the Mediterranean, he stated at the enormous rate of 30, while 15 only is remitted on return of the convoy. To Portugal, the insurance was, he said, 20, with the return of 10; and to the nearer ports in the same proportion. While we suffered so many captures, and such a heavy insurance, the advantages we pretended to derive from the increase of exports, were greatly overbalanced. Mr. Fox took a serious view of our great expenditure, and thought, that when the house was voting so many millions for the present year, it ought to regard the probability of our being able not only to continue that sum annually, but also to add a much larger sum. When we considered that we were to contend for a form of government in France, that man must be sanguine indeed, who expected that house to vote, or the people to pay the expences of the

contest. The situation of the country was, indeed, such, that taxes, however severely felt, must be submitted to: but every means ought to be devised to procure a speedy peace.

Mr. Pitt explained, that the *bonuses* of the subscribers to the loan was to arise from the Austrian loan. For every 100l. advanced, the subscriber was to have five-sixths in the 3 per cents, and an annuity of 5l. for 25 years, which, at 5 per cent. was valued at 14 years' purchase, but it might sell for 13, and was therefore, in the present case, only rated at 10. The subscribers to the imperial loan had, upon the whole, the advantage of about 6 per cent. Borrowing 24 millions made the terms worse for the country, than if we only borrowed 18. It was therefore right so to arrange the terms as might secure us a compensation for the damage sustained. The poor would, he said, get teas better and cheaper; and the wines would be less adulterated. After a further debate between Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Hussey, Mr. Baxter, sir Francis Barry, and Mr. M. Robinson, the resolutions were put and agreed to.

On the second reading of the wine bill, March 3d, Mr. alderman Anderson presented a petition from the wine-merchants of the city of London, against the regulation of the bill that the duty should take place from the 23d of February, and remarked that it was unusual that a duty should be laid on an article before the bill had received the royal assent. This was further opposed by Mr. Grey, on the ground that no regularity had been observed in taking the stock,—but supported by Mr. Rose, who contended that the practice was not novel, and the wine merchants had sufficient

cient notice of what was intended. The motion for receiving the petition was withdrawn; but when the bill went into the committee, a motion was made by Mr. alderman Anderson, "that the duty should not commence till the bill had passed;" when a long conversation took place, in which several hardships to individuals, and in particular to country dealers, were stated and enforced by Mr. Howard, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox. The retrospective operation of the bill was, however, supported by Mr. Pitt, who asserted that every possible provision had been made to prevent the inconveniences that might be suffered from it; and that, as the price of the wine would be raised by the retailers, the whole question resolved itself into this, whether they were to receive an extraordinary profit, or whether the advantage should be given to the public? The bill was further opposed in the house of lords by lord Lauderdale, and defended by lord Grenville.

The regulation of franking excited repeated discussion in the house. Mr. Buxton, sir F. Baring, and Mr. Martin, contended for the propriety of a total abolition of this privilege; and, in the course of the debates, several abuses of the privilege were instanced, which occasioned considerable loss to the revenue. Mr. Long mentioned that there were about 100 clerks in public offices, whose franks amount annually to 30,000*l.* and of about 40 members of parliament, who were merchants and brokers, the franks amounted to 20,000*l.* It was further stated, that, in consequence of the abuses of franking in the public offices, the annual amount of franks, which in 1784 was 6,000*l.* had increased to 30,000*l.*

On a division of the house, there was a majority of 84 in favour of the weight being limited to one instead of two ounces. The numbers of franked letters to be received by any one member in a day, was restricted to 15.

On the reading of the bill for certificates for wearing hair-powder, several clauses were introduced exempting from the tax all clergymen, whether of the establishment or dissenters, whose income did not amount to 100*l.* a year,—all subaltern officers, and all officers in the navy, under the rank of master and commander,—and all the daughters, except two, in large families. Mr. Dent urged strongly the propriety of a prohibition of this article, considering the exorbitant price of bread, and the great probability that the crop of corn in the ground for the supply of the coming winter must have been severely injured by the intense and continued cold.

Mr. Pitt and lord Sheffield, however, relieved his fears,—the former, by saying that he had no information which gave him reason to apprehend scarcity; and his lordship averred, that he had taken the utmost pains to inform himself upon the subject; and the result was, that there was not the smallest danger of scarcity; and even in those places where there was the most apparent scarcity, great quantities of grain were deposited!!!!

Sir M. W. Ridley objected to the full operation of the tax, where gentlemen had the *misfortune* to have seven or eight servants; and his arguments were enforced by general Smith, who spoke in feeling terms of the pleasure enjoyed by gentlemen in being attended at table by a spruce powdered footman, and thought it very hard to be obliged

to pay so dearly for the gratification of so innocent a vanity. General Macleod remarked, with pointed severity, upon the expression of the baronet; and Mr. Courtenay, with great humour, strongly ridiculed the *innocent vanity* of the general.

Mr. Martin, with his usual plain sense and honesty, thought no gentleman derived any dignity from the number of his servants; and censured the meretricious taste of modern times. He had, he said, entirely discarded the use of hair-powder, because he would not contribute to the support of such a war, nor, in a moment of real or apprehended distress, steal one morsel

from the poor, to gratify the silly vanity of appearances.

The motion for raising seven hundred and fifty-eight thousand five hundred and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence, in part of the supply required, was agreed to. The tax, which had been proposed on life-insurances, was, however, objected to as pregnant with inconveniences, and was accordingly withdrawn by Mr. Pitt, who stated that he was enabled thus to act, by the sum which would be produced beyond the estimate on the additional duty on spirits in Scotland, which would be more than equal to the produce of the tax which was relinquished.

CHAP. III.

Earl Stanhope's Motion for Peace. Motion to the same Effect in the House of Commons, by Mr. Grey. Duke of Bedford's Motion in the House of Lords, declaring that no Form of Government in France ought to preclude a Negotiation. Mr. Grey's Motion in the House of Commons to the same Effect. Further Effort of the Duke of Bedford for the Attainment of Peace. Mr. Fox's Motion for an Inquiry into the State of the Nation. Lord Guildford's Motion on the same Subject in the House of Lords. Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for Peace. Lord Lauderdale's Motion on the same Subject. Debates on the Convention with Austria, and the Loan to the Emperor.—In the Commons.—In the Lords.

AT a very early period in the session, earl Stanhope resumed his endeavours for the attainment of peace. On the 6th of January, he moved in the house of lords, "that this country ought not, and will not, interfere in the internal affairs of France, and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the same." This resolution his lordship prefaced by a speech, in which he stated that this measure opened a path for negotiation. Ministers, he said, had, on the first day of the session, grounded their recommend-

ations to persist in the continuance of war, on the declining finances and exhausted resources of France. This was, however, he said, as false as it was absurd. He grounded his motion, he said, on the principle of justice, which compelled him to declare that the French had solemnly disclaimed all interference with the government of other countries; and, for the truth of this, he appealed to the note of M^r. Chauvelin, and to the 118th and 119th articles of the present French constitution. His lordship adverted to his

his former opinions of the French, every one of which, he said, had been verified by the event,—and stated that at present they had the best clothed, the best fed, and the largest army in Europe,—twelve hundred thousand men completely disciplined, first by adversity, and afterwards by success. They had been furnished, by their conquests, with abundance of clothing, and had taken from the enemy cannon by thousands, and muskets by hundreds of thousands. The indignation excited by the threat of starving the people of France, had, he said, produced the spirit and exertions made by the French last year. His lordship not only reprobated the system of starvation, but thought such an expedient impracticable, considering their naval force, and their possession of the fertile provinces they had taken. So much, he said, for an undisciplined army and starvation, the principal delusions of last year. That of the present was, he said, the reduction of their finances; but they were, in fact, great and flourishing. His lordship stated their property by seizures, confiscation, and plunder, at four hundred millions sterling, besides land. The depreciation of assignats was, he said, favourable to the convention, as it enabled them to pay off, and take out of circulation, a greater number of assignats; and their immense property enabled them to buy them up upon terms of advantage. In the nations they conquered, they took away the specie, and in exchange gave them assignats; and thus contrived to give them an interest in the support of the French government. It had, he said, been contended that the French had issued assignats to the amount of 266 millions; he would suppose it even greater, and amount-

ing to 400 millions: assignats were now at a depreciation of 75; the French, therefore, in calling in the depreciated assignats, would leave a clear surplus of 300 millions untouched. The depreciation, he allowed, injured individuals, but was gainful to government. What sort of a nation must that be, which could pay 120 millions a year, and which, since the revolution, had paid off two thirds of the old debt? In their whole conduct respecting assignats, the French, he said, had acted wisely. At their first issue they had great armies to raise; and the expence was enormous: they therefore issued assignats, and took care to keep them at par till the object was achieved. They then found more resources in a forced loan, and suffered assignats to depreciate, till, like water, they found their own level. But if ministers could even say that assignats were at par, the argument, though specious, would be certainly delusive. His lordship further exhorted the house to contemplate the consequences of the junction of the Dutch and Spanish navies to the French. It was urged, against pacific measures, that we had yet lost nothing by the contest:—we had, indeed, he said, gained some islands, but we had lost Holland, the Austrian Low Countries, and 130,000 of our allies; we had also, with those losses, lost the balance of our trade, much of the best blood of the kingdom, many millions of money, and, still more, our character, as our conduct made us appear envious that any country should enjoy the blessings of liberty but ourselves. On these accounts, and on the immutable principles of justice, his lordship said, he submitted his resolution to the house.

The commencement and continuance

tinuance of the war were vindicated by lord Abingdon on the ground of retaliation; and the proposition of earl Stanhope was opposed by the earl of Carlisle, as, though not objectionable in itself, yet objectionable in the application, since, though it was true that no nation has a right to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another government, yet, on occasions where their regulations tended to render our existence insecure, we were justified in overleaping the limits prescribed by the law of nations. This, his lordship contended, was the case in the present instance, and referred to the French decree of November 19, 1792, which had, in fact, been acted upon. It was not against the French republic, as a republic, that we acted, but as it threatened Europe with destruction. He thought a proposition so general and indefinite as the present, not likely to answer the purpose of accelerating peace, and therefore moved for an adjournment of the house.

Lord Auckland took a view of the causes which had operated, *under Providence*, to the bad success of the war. While the French had been trying and hazarding every thing, and, contrary to all the rules of war and prudence, had been successful, the conduct of a principal part of our allies was of a very different description, and their alliance had been positively prejudicial to us, by leading us to miscalculate our means; and it was much less owing to what had been called republican energy and virtue, than to the disjointed, ill-combined, and discordant conduct of the allies, that we were in our present position. The public opinion seemed, his lordship said, to balance between whether the war could be prosecuted with any hope of suc-

cess, or whether any measure could be adopted towards attaining a pacification. His lordship admitted the unforeseen successes of the French, the stated danger of Europe, the loss of the Netherlands, the precarious situation of the colonies, and the formidable and increasing power of the French navy. Under these circumstances, he observed, the house was called upon to decide whether it would be wise for this country to come forward with overtures for peace, and particularly to consider whether it would be expedient to declare "that this country will not interfere with the internal affairs of France." It would be prudent to consider the object to which we directed our steps, before we decided on the means of attaining it. He had, at the first of this arduous struggle, thought we had a full right to prosecute the war till we could obtain security for the future, and indemnity for the past, the latter of which might be qualified or even renounced, according to contingencies; but that it was the interest of the nation to prosecute the war till a secure and permanent peace might be obtained; but the question of national security, in framing a pacification, should, in all preliminary debates, be left general and indefinite; and its first arrangements must necessarily be confided to the prerogative of the crown, and the responsibility of ministers. The decree, which had been cited to prove that the convention had lately renounced their intolerant and malignant principles, was only a provisional clause of a constitution not yet in force; but if the doctrine of that decree was unequivocally demonstrated, he would never wish to interrupt France in her political arrange-

arrangements. On the eventual acknowledgment of the French republic, he should, however, deplore the ruin of many illustrious families involved in the abolition of the French monarchy; and he should think it a fair pretension, during the war, to direct our efforts to the restoration of the monarchy, though he never would allow that this country should bury herself under the ruins of Europe, rather than acknowledge the French republic. We had not commenced the war for any unreasonable, wild, or unjust object; it was not prosecuted to gratify an obstinacy of opinion; and he was desirous of a secure and permanent peace; but it was neither wise, honourable, nor necessary, to express a despondency which we had no cause to feel; and he thought any negotiation would be more dangerous, than the continuance of war. Would France make peace with us, if she was in so flourishing a state as some affected to think? If she was sinking, it was our duty and interest not to make peace with her. His lordship admitted that the present rulers in France were less abandoned than their predecessors; but still they might not be disposed to peace, though the inhabitants at large must naturally wish and require it. He was desirous of avoiding the two extremes of regarding the finances of France as exhausted, or as exhaustless; they were stretched beyond what any other nation could bear, and might, perhaps, be borne longer: but reason must at last prevail; and the question was, whether, in the mean time, we could avoid the ruin which was overwhelming other countries? If the impossibility of maintaining the contest was demonstrated, he would

acknowledge the moment was come for saying,

Oremus pacem, et dextras tendamus inimicis!

But this was not the case: and he thought a secure pacification could be attainable only through the firmness and energy recommended in his majesty's speech. From a view of the state of affairs at the commencement of the war, in which he was particularly concerned, his lordship pronounced the war inevitable.

The earl of Mansfield stated several passages from history, to prove that at all times it had been deemed expedient and warrantable for one country to interfere with the government of another, when it was obvious that something injurious, either to its interests or safety, was meditated and avowed. The opinion that the more assignats were depreciated in value, the more advantageous it would be to the French government, reminded him of the line,

"My wound is great, because it is so small,"

and the answer,

"Then 'twould be greater, were it none at all."

Both the marquis of Lansdowne and the duke of Bedford approved the principle of the motion; but disapproved the terms in which it was expressed. Earl Stanhope, in his reply, asserted, that what had been erroneously called the decree of the convention of the 19th of November, and which had been so much insisted upon, was, in fact, not a decree of the convention, and had mistakenly been thought so in consequence of a mistranslation. On a division of the house for the question, his lordship

ship was left alone in the minority against a majority of 62, and entered upon the journals a spirited and solemn protest.

This effort to open a path for a pacification, was followed, on the 26th of January, by a motion in the house of commons from Mr. Grey, "that the existence of the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding, at this time, a negotiation for peace." This he premised by an extended and animated speech, in which he considered the vast importance of the question, which was to be decided on the broad basis of national interest, as it affected the happiness, the safety, possibly the very existence of the country. He observed, that, after two years of war, which had drained this country of its blood and treasure, we did not appear to be one point nearer to the object for which it was undertaken. From the words of the minister on a former occasion, Mr. Grey inferred, that the war was a war *usque ad internecionem*, and that nothing short of the utter ruin of this country would induce him to treat for peace. It was his intention, by the present motion, to put the point at issue, whether this opinion was countenanced by the house. It was the duty of the house to lay aside every party prejudice, all animosity, all artifice and mystery, and declare to the people the danger with which they were threatened. The French also had a right to expect the house to come to a decision, and to know against what they were fighting. They ought to know whether they had the right of determining upon their own form of government; and, by holding out a placable disposition,

they would see whether they are misled by their own rulers, should they be averse to pacific measures. It was also necessary to the minister to know whether the house was prepared to go to the lengths he chose. Were he to pursue his own wishes, he should move for an immediate negotiation with France; but the present motion only went to render it possible for the French, if so disposed, to negotiate with us. The minister had declared the wording of the present motion satisfactory, and he therefore hoped that the question would not be evaded. He reverted to the thanks of the house which had been voted to his majesty, December 1792, posterior to the deposition of the French king, for abstaining from interfering with the internal affairs of France, to evince, that, though their conduct was as objectionable as it could now be, and their government republican, we had not thought it incompatible with our safety: nor did he remember any decision of the house which had negatived that opinion. It was not his intention to propose any thing incompatible with what the house had already done; but it became that assembly to consider whether they would impose upon themselves that responsibility which had hitherto been attached to administration solely. He contended that, though the declaration of war had arisen from the French, we had provoked it. If the house believed that the existence of this country depended upon forcing the French to abandon their present government, he could have nothing to offer against our trying to accomplish it; but he thought the contrary, and saw nothing to preclude our treating with them. Without entering into the question

question of the right of one nation to interfere with the internal government of another—supposing the destruction of the present government of France was a desirable object to this country, it became us to inquire into the probable chance of success. This chance, he understood, was derived from the possibility of a counter-revolution, and the reduced state of their resources. The people of France were, he contended, too firmly attached to a republican government, to be likely to give it up, however they might change their leaders; and the moderation of the present government afforded little hopes of such a surrender. All hopes of a counter-revolution were, he contended, ill-founded and fallacious. A dependence upon the decay of their finances was, he contended, equally ill-founded. Both in the American war and the present, the affairs of the nation were in the hands of persons unable to distinguish between the fallacy of imperfect calculations, and the energy and enthusiasm of a people struggling for freedom. From the report of Johannot to the French convention concerning the finances of France, Mr. Grey contended that the resources of that country were very greatly superior to those of America during the war against that country. The most exaggerated account of the probable debt of France amounted only to four hundred and twenty millions (about one hundred millions beyond the truth); and the value of their landed estate was admitted to be above six hundred millions sterling. With this, was to be considered the addition of the money of Holland, the population of France, which was equal to that of one-sixth of the whole of Europe, and the distracted

and impoverished state of our allies. Our own resources were, he doubted not, equal to every thing to which they ought to be applied, but not equal to the conquest of France, or to a war of aggression. For the exhausted state of the emperor's finances, he appealed to his own memorial addressed to the circles of the Upper Rhine. Was it then from him,—from the Italian states,—the kings of Sardinia, Naples, and Spain,—or from our disgraceful alliance with the empress of Russia, that we expected assistance? Or was it from our good German ally, who had taken twelve hundred thousand pounds of our money? who had not brought into the field the sixty-two thousand men for which he stipulated, who had denied our right to command any of the Prussian troops, and contended that they ought not to march against the French, but to remain to defend Germany. The strongest reason which a great nation could have for war, was the defence of its honour; this, he contended, we had so fully vindicated, as to secure us from future insult. The decree of the convention, November 19, 1792, was no bar to a negotiation, as that declaration had been repealed, and followed by a contrary declaration. It had been stated that there had been periods at which a negotiation could commence. It was a proper period at the time the misunderstanding commenced with this country; and at several times when we had been successful since, negotiation might have been begun. This had been repeatedly advised from his side the house: and thus much misery might have been prevented. While we possessed great power and great resources, was the time for negotiation. Should the French proceed
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in their rapid eager of conquest, it would not be easy. Were even the house willing to trust ministers with the prosecution of the war, would the minister declare he could trust the allies? This, therefore, was a time for negotiation; and should our attempts of that nature prove fruitless, the house and the people would cheerfully concur in a vigorous prosecution of the war; and we should then resemble France in the only point in which she was to be envied, — the unanimity of the people with their government. As additional reasons, Mr. Grey noticed the debates in the diet at Ratisbon, in which all parties agreed for overtures to the enemy, except the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse, — and the capture of Holland. The motion was seconded by Mr. W. Smith, who entered into a very full comparison between the events of the American and the present war, and the conduct of ministers at that and the present time.

Mr. Pitt referred to a passage in his majesty's speech in January 1794, to the declaration of the 29th of October 1793, and that at Toulon the 20th of November 1793, to shew the sentiments expressed by his majesty and by parliament. There was nothing, he said, in the situation of this country, or of Europe, to induce a departure from the sentiments contained in them; and the motion was utterly inconsistent with them. He should, in the outset of his reply, mention the amendment he meant to propose, which in substance was, "that it was the determination of the house to prosecute the war as the only means of procuring a permanent and secure peace, relying on the intention of his majesty vigorously to employ the force of this coun-

try in support of its interests, and on his desire uniformly manifested of effecting a pacification with France under any government capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity." The speeches of his majesty, and the sentiments of almost every man in this country, were in favour of the restoration of monarchy in France. This restoration, upon the old principle, had, however, never been insisted upon as a *sine qua non* or preliminary to peace; nor had any particular government been insisted upon. After the utmost aggressions on the part of France, the only government required by his majesty, was one which was sufficient for the safety of other nations. No man, he thought, could wish that his majesty, or parliament, had not made the declarations, or say that they did not arise from the necessity of the case. The amendment he had endeavoured to state nearly in the terms of those declarations. Whatever might be the opinion of gentlemen respecting the impropriety of interfering with the government of other countries, he must contend that every nation at war with another ought not to treat for peace with a government that could not give security. He was therefore not ready to treat with the present government of France. The situation of France since the commencement of the present war had been such, that there did not exist in that country a government capable of maintaining with other nations the accustomed relations he had stated; and it was now in a situation in which no security that could be given to a peace, made it preferable to the continuance of a difficult and hazardous war. The honourable mover of the present question thought, supposing the terms

terms of peace could be settled, we were not to consider our security as affected by the internal situation of France. The house had, however, said directly the reverse, and, he hoped, would say the same again. Every man must be convinced that, in the termination of every war, there were two objects, reparation and security;—but the great object was security. Could such a security be hoped from a government constructed like that of the French? The question was, he said, narrowed to a plain point, that the evils of war, however great, were, upon the whole, less painful than the dangers attending an insecure and dishonourable peace. The immediate question between him and the honourable mover was, whether the present circumstances of the internal government of France did or did not afford a prospect of a sufficient security for peace? What did we naturally look to in the state of any country, but to the manner in which they performed their engagements,—to their stability, their apparent authority, and the reliance that might be placed on their pacific dispositions? Nothing but a series of revolutions had been generated under the system and principles now prevalent in France. He did not, however, wish to rest the question on the ground of so many successive changes; but whether the manner in which the pride and passions of the people had been erected into the criterion of government, afforded any rational ground of security for peace. If that was not so, what were the grounds for permanence at present, that could give us a dependence for stability? It could not be merely the question of moderantism: though there was some relaxation of terror, that was

not sufficient. It was a moderation which arose only from comparison; the system of revolutionary tribunals was not essentially varied, that leading article on which the happiness of the people so much depended. Robespierre possessed the highest degree of power and terror; and gentlemen on the opposite side the house had thence inferred his stability: but the present rulers of France, being disarmed of that force, had no chance of being supported but by the opinions of the people. The present government did not, however, recommend itself by greater mildness in the collection of the revenue. Within little more than a year and a half, the confiscations there exceeded three hundred millions sterling; and these confiscations were founded upon what would be looked upon in this country with the utmost horror. Whether the charge of guilt upon which the confiscations had been made, had been falsely or truly applied, it equally made for his argument. In one view, it furnished the strongest proof of oppression in consequence of the system of terror; and in another, it was an incontestable proof of the division of the sentiments of the people of France, from whom three hundred millions sterling had been taken, because they did not admire the principles of the revolution. It would appear what weight was due to the assertion that the French were united in one cause; and if such confiscations had hitherto formed its principal resources,—in renouncing this system, the present government must have crippled their power of action. The agriculture and commerce of France were stated, by Mr. Pitt, to be in the most disastrous situation, and justice almost unknown. With respect

spect to their religion, would the house willingly treat with a nation of atheists? He wished not, however, to regard in that light the people at large. Though the present convention had professed to renounce the crimes of their predecessors, had there been more apparent unanimity among the present rulers? On the contrary, there had never been stronger instances of opposition, distraction, and confusion. He would not, however, say that they might not improve: but that time had not arrived. When it did, if they gave to their government that stability and authority which afforded grounds of moral probability that we might treat for peace with security, then we might negotiate; but we ought, in prudence, to wait the return of such circumstances as would afford us a probability of treating with success. As he considered the French as regarding their own as the only lawful government, and as having begun the war upon that principle, they must persevere in their hostility till they ceased to act upon that system. The convention had been far from desiring peace with this country; they had professedly desired a peace with some of the powers that they might ruin others; their moderation was reserved for Holland; and their vindictive principles for this country. In April 1793, the French had enacted the penalty of death upon any person who should propose peace with any country which did not acknowledge the French republic one and indivisible, founded on the principles of equality. The admission of these principles amounted to a confession of the usurpation and injustice of every other government. In treating for peace with France, one preparatory step was the acknow-

ledgment of what they had hitherto denied. They must acknowledge those principles which condemned the usurpation of all other governments, and denied the very power they were exercising. Were peace to be obtained, he thought the country in the utmost danger from French emissaries: and if a peace should be so impermanent as to require us to remain in a state of vigilant jealousy and never-ceasing suspicion, we must retain an establishment burdensome to peace, and ineffectual to war. With respect to the comparative revenues of this country and France, the latter had, he stated, expended 260 millions sterling during the two last years; and the difference of expenditure stated between the honourable mover and himself, arose from there being a difference of two years in the time of commencing their calculations. Assignats, he said, were at 15 per cent. and every thing proclaimed a rapid decay of the French resources. Ministers, he declared, had never looked to the conquest of France. Peace was not obstructed by any form of government, but by the internal circumstances of France. An attempt to treat, instead of accelerating peace, would only be productive of danger: it would encourage the enemy, and sink the spirits of the people of this country.

Mr. Wilberforce wished the motion had been so worded as to render a direct decision upon it unavoidable. On one point the house appeared perfectly agreed—the propriety of declaring the republican form of government no bar to negotiation. He thought the terms of the amendment not sufficiently explicit. It proposed relying on the dispositions always manifested by his majesty:—the prejudices entertained

tained both in France and here, could never be cured by a repetition of the prejudices originally entertained. Neither had his majesty always made a clear manifestation of such a disposition. The declaration of the allies gave the French reason to believe we meditated the restoration of the old government. The great error of those who argued against negotiation, was the forgetting that we had only a choice of evils. Such a peace as could be made with the present government of France, was a less evil than continuing the war on the principles by which it had been directed, and far less than such a peace as we might ultimately be obliged to accept. He recommended peace, in order to prevent discontents at home; and thought a counter-revolution in France more likely to be effected by it, as the armies would then be at leisure to attend to and interfere in the internal affairs of the country. The picture drawn of their internal situation proved the probability of their uniting to demolish a government, to which, in peace, they must impute all their sufferings. The pains taken to exterminate religious sentiments, would render them less submissive to sufferings. However much their assignats were depreciated, they might and would continue to issue them as long as they were worth any thing. The circulation of these, and the sale of confiscated property, would augment the number of persons interested in maintaining a system upon which the value of both depended. These were powerful reasons why the resistance of the present government would be great in proportion to the pressure of external force. There were, he stated, various means by which nations

might treat without humiliation on either side. The characteristic of this nation was, he observed from Hume, too great a propensity to go to war, and too great obstinacy in continuing it. The terms obtained by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, had been refused in 1692; and the terms obtained by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, were rejected in 1743.

The tergiversation of the minister, who, when the motion was first mentioned, had agreed to the terms in which it was worded, yet afterwards had proposed an amendment, was pointedly noticed by Mr. Fox, who inferred from it a design to evade the question, and to delude the house by a little temporary concession which meant nothing. He approved of the amendment, in so far as it stated that there was nothing in the present form of government in France that prevented a negotiation. For two successive years, the opposition had moved a similar amendment; and for this they had been called the advocates of France, jacobins, republicans, enemies of their king and country, &c. Astonishing to tell, however, all this time they were speaking the sentiments of ministers. But the minister had, in fact, found it necessary to alter his conduct, had found that the absurd, impolitic, and he might say diabolical, speech he had put into the mouth of his majesty at the opening of the session, had made a serious impression on the public mind, which must be done away. So far from the success of our arms being of service to the internal tranquillity of France, Mr. Fox, from a review of the different revolutions there, insisted that, in proportion as we had been discomfited and driven from

from the French territory, the French had exerted themselves for their own deliverance from internal tyranny. The motion, so far from binding the hands of ministers, would remove an obstacle to peace; and it could not prevent them from stipulating the terms. Without this declaration, persons holding the government of France knew that it had been uniformly declared by our ministers that they could not treat with them. But the consistency of the house of commons was said to stand in the way. He thought there might now be an end of this declamatory nonsense. In all questions of policy, nations must yield to imperious necessity:—it would be obstinacy, and not honour, to persevere in an opinion known to be wrong. In the case of Oczakoff, the minister had not hesitated to retract without a blush, when he found the public opinion against him. He then declared our means not equal to the object: why not now compare the object with the means? Upon the principle of not treating because we were unsuccessful, he thought we might never treat; for it was not to be expected that the French government would be the first to negotiate, after the declarations made against them by ministers. What, he asked, would have been the feelings of Englishmen, if the convention had determined never to treat with them till there was a reform in the English government? We must do away all our arrogant expressions against France; and then, even though we should not obtain peace, yet we should take from them the cause of their enthusiasm, that which roused every national feeling, and had carried them to unparalleled exertions. They would not then feel that

they were to fight to extremity for daring to give to their own country the government they liked. He wished us not to diminish our force; but surely we could fight just as well, if necessary, after declaring we had no intention to reduce a people to slavery. He ridiculed the idea of danger from the influx of French principles, and observed that the constitution of this country had been endeared to us from the fatal experiments made in France. He called to the recollection of Mr. Pitt the declaration of his father, "that they should die on the last breach, before they granted the independence of America;" yet the first act of his political life had been to sign the very independence which his father had deprecated. Necessity dictated that act; and he must now, on the same account, retract his declaration respecting France.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, on the ground that it would fetter the executive government in their negotiations for peace; and he thought we had the utmost reason to expect success from the prosecution of the war: at least it was a fair presumption that our situation would not be worse, if we continued the war.

Mr. Grey, in his reply to the speakers on the side of administration, complained of the manner in which his motion had been treated by ministers, who had, when he gave notice of it, declared their readiness to meet the question, the very words of which he had stated. One minister had, he observed, said the question at issue was, whether our present situation was such as to render it prudent to propose a negotiation for peace. Another had maintained we could not be in a worse state for negotiation. Either

Either of these suppositions would answer his purpose. If our danger was not great, we might hope to make peace with more advantage; if it was, the sooner we negotiated the better. The terms on which he would make peace, were "those which, at the time of negotiation, would appear the most honourable and advantageous." The amendment, he contended, excluded the possibility of peace till the present government of France was overthrown. For the security for peace which we had to expect, he called the attention of the house to the other countries with which the French had made peace. The motion was negatived by a majority of 183, and Mr. Pitt's amendment agreed to by a majority of 164. Mr. Sheridan then proposed another amendment, "that the house are not of opinion that there are circumstances in the present government of France which preclude all negotiation, or render it incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity." This amendment was, however, negatived, and the house adjourned at five o'clock in the morning.

On the following day the duke of Bedford moved in the house of lords, "that no form of government, which may prevail in France, should preclude a negotiation with that country, or prevent a peace whenever it could be made consistently with the interest, honour, and security of this nation." His grace urged the necessity of an explicit declaration of the real object of the war. This motion, he observed, obviated former objections. It did not confine ministers, or oblige them to accept whatever terms were offered by the enemy; the time was also left to the discretion

of the minister; nor did it require us to *sue* for peace. Ministers said negotiation was dishonourable, as the French were the aggressors. Admitting this, what scenes of blood must Europe have exhibited, had it been adopted as a general principle that no party should manifest a wish for peace which had not been the aggressor in the war. We had often offered to treat when our arms were successful; and in the American war, when they were not so, we had suspended offensive operations as a preliminary to negotiation. That the French, however, were not the aggressors, his grace contended, from the retraction of the offensive declaration,—from the explanation offered by their minister,—from different speeches in the convention,—and the decree that they would not interfere in the government of other countries. As to a permanent peace, where could such a thing be found in the absolute sense of the word? An equitable peace was the only one likely to be permanent; and arguing on relative permanency, he should think peace with a republic more likely to be permanent than with a monarchy. In the former, the question of peace and war must be examined and debated by many; in the latter, one must decide. One motive was urged for continuing the war, resulting from the danger of jacobinical principles, jacobinical emissaries, and jacobinical money. His grace ridiculed the idea, that whatever could be urged by such messengers would be well received by the people of this country, and asked where they were to get money? If the situation of France was such as ministers described, the government itself could not afford to send money out of

the country. His grace contended strongly against regarding the invigorating exertions to be made by the allies, as any argument for prosecuting the war. Declarations of this nature had been often repeated, but had been contradicted by events. He adverted to the proceedings of the diet at Ratisbon, and to the king of Prussia's acceding to the pacific resolutions. All the allies were, he said, in a much more desperate situation than at the commencement of the former campaigns. He did not believe the finances of France exhausted; but admitting they were nearly so, could we hope to ruin them? Certainly not. While there was property in the country, the government would find means to get it; and while the people were convinced it was a war of extermination, or unconditional submission, they would sacrifice their property. Still less was the probability of outnumbering them. Attempts had been made to excite their lordships' passions, by calling this a war in the cause of humanity and of God. Whatever it might have been during the life of the king, whose death he thought accelerated by our interference, it could no longer be called so. It had, as allowed by ministers, produced the system of terror in France; and could the death of 50,000 British subjects, and of hundreds of thousands of innocent soldiers on all sides, be called a circumstance favourable to humanity? It was agreed on all hands, that the present situation of France was infinitely preferable to what it had been: but, instead of assisting her rulers in the work of reformation, our ministers declared they should not restore order and justice, but by our means; and that we would not be satisfied, without

carrying war to their frontiers, and famine to their interior. By this course we should never conquer the armies or the opinions of France, but might regenerate the system of terror. The adoption of his motion would, his grace observed, unite the people of this country, if the war continued, and disunite the people of France. From a review of events during the war, he contended that a very small proportion of the people of France were friends to royalty, or averse to the cause for which they fought; that the depreciation of their assignats was not so great as was imagined, and that our stocks were reduced in value one-third. His grace concluded by adverting to the scarcity of provisions said to exist there, and with which this country was at the present moment threatened.

The usual reasons for commencing the war were dwelt upon at some length by lord Grenville, who thought the present was not a moment convenient or proper for negotiating or forwarding a negotiation. It never, he said, had been his opinion, that this country should not make peace with another, merely on account of their *form* of government; but, in such a negotiation, especial care should be taken to provide for that most important of all concerns—security. His lordship declared his belief, that a majority of the French were favourers of royalty; and the re-establishment of monarchy presented the most probable hopes of peace. Ministers had, he said, however, never declared that they would not treat with any government capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity. He had no objection to considering the motion as a general question

question of peace and war, but objected to it as a specific declaration applying to the particular occasion, and he therefore moved an amendment exactly similar to that introduced by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons the preceding evening. In support of this amendment, his lordship argued the declared hostility of men of every party in France against this country, and the instability of the party now in power. A person had been threatened with the terrors of the revolutionary tribunal, merely for publishing a dialogue which contained a doubt whether the majority of the people were most inclined to a monarchy or a republic. How did this prove an unanimous wish for a republic? Paris was, he observed, still distracted with violent factions; and the difficulty with which the monster Le Bon was punished, proved that the moderates had a very powerful party to oppose, which was no symptom of their permanency. His lordship entered into a detail of the shocking impleties of the French, and insisted upon the failure of their resources, and the disaffection of a considerable number towards the present ruling party, who had peremptorily refused to the lawful heirs the restoration of that wealth of which their fathers had been unjustly deprived. He allowed, that, by the new system in France, we were in a situation less remote from that in which we might treat with a rational prospect of security. Till that period, however, arrived, which he thought far distant, he conceived that a vigorous prosecution of the war was far preferable to any attempt to negotiate.

The original motion was approved of by the duke of Norfolk, as removing the bar to peace, which

had been laid by his majesty's speech; and he censured the amendment as uncandid, and calculated only to preclude any matter of importance from being discussed, which did not originate with ministers. His grace pointedly ridiculed the conclusion, that the present government of France could not continue, because the author of an obnoxious pamphlet had been threatened with punishment. He saw nothing extraordinary in this circumstance—the author had rashly offended against the laws of his country, and must abide their justice. Were any person, in 1745, to have agitated the question, whether the king should be sent back to Hanover, and the Stuarts placed upon the throne, would he not have been tried for high treason? His grace considered the amendment as dangerous and equivocal, and its effect, with regard to this country, as nugatory: the motion was simple and explicit.

The earl of Darnley supported the amendment, which was opposed in a speech of uncommon energy and glowing eloquence by the bishop of Llandaff. His lordship observed, that, though war was not directly prohibited by the sacred writings, yet few were the wars which could be conscientiously described as allowable. Adverting to what had been said of the *justice* and *necessity* of the war, he remarked that this proposition involved two distinct questions,—a war might be just without being necessary, though no war could be necessary which was not just. Previous to the commencement of war, every expedient should be tried to continue peace. Whether these means had been tried with France, he knew not. He thought that, at the end of the first campaign, when

Austria and Prussia were baffled in their efforts against France, a glorious opportunity had occurred for the interference of Great Britain, which might then with propriety and dignity have insisted upon the French confining themselves to their ancient bounds, but professing to have no right of interfering with their internal affairs. That such a conduct could not have been pursued, his lordship professed he could not believe on the mere assertion of any man. That the war was a concert of princes against French freedom, he professed himself equally unwilling to believe. It was too nefarious: and his majesty would not have lent his *fiat* to a deed so diabolical. His lordship argued against the absurdity of considering the war as necessary in order to stop the progress of democratical opinions, and added, that the governments of Europe would derive more solid strength and safety by relaxing the exercise of severity, than by all the standing armies, and all the acts of oppression they could exercise. A king of Great Britain had nothing to fear, but from an attempt to subvert the liberties of his people. There might be disaffected persons here, for there were such every where; but these were few in number, and amenable to the laws, which were fully adequate to punish them. His lordship thought it gross calumny upon the people, to suppose that a foreign war was necessary to make them love their own government. He opposed the opinion that this country ought to continue the war till some event, favourable to our cause, should take place in France. Why should the wealth of this country be employed that way? The most beneficial purpose to which we could

direct it, was for our own defence. Was it, he asked, in the term '*Republique*,' that so much danger was supposed to exist? The experience of ancient republics was little calculated to make men love them; and though a constitution founded on the rights of man and equality, or that of America, might be held out as objects of imitation, yet both remained to be tried; and the experience of a century was necessary, before they could properly be regarded as objects of imitation. The British constitution, he said, admitted of improvement, and admitted it not only with safety, but even with advantage. His lordship still further objected to considering the destruction of the present government of France as necessary to the preservation of the British constitution. He could not, he said, trace any connection of cause and effect between them, nor conceive that, because France was a republic, this country must become the same. He urged the importance of immediate negotiation in order to promote union at home, and to shew to the French, if refused by them, the ambition and oppression of their rulers. He was aware that some might object to negotiation on the ground of evincing an unworthy want of firmness; but, in that respect, firmness was out of the question. When circumstances rendered it prudent to alter a course, to persist was not firmness but obstinacy. It was a mistaken notion of firmness that lost America. It might be asked, if those who had been guilty of such atrocities ought to go unpunished? To this he would answer,—that though the atrocities of the French disgraced human nature, we were not the avengers: they ought to be left to the wisdom

dom and justice of God; or if any thing more was to be said, let their lordships pray to God for pardon to the guilty. Admitting the decay of the French resources, what could be hoped from another campaign? Were Louis XVII. despotic in France, what possible advantage could result to this country from such a circumstance? Would it restore the thousands who had perished, or the millions that had been expended? Taking it for granted that we could restore the throne of despotism, would the young monarch of France give us any indemnity? He could not do it,—his subjects would not suffer it,—the allies would not even see it done. With respect to the charge of atheism against the French as a reason for continuing the war, his lordship added, “Presumptuous idea! Miserable beings as we were, did we imagine that the arm of flesh was wanted to assist and enforce the will of the Almighty? Not one of the tribe of modern philosophers could affect or injure christianity. The abuse of religion had been mistaken for religion itself. Hence France, in the eagerness of her enthusiasm for reform of religious abuses, overlooked religion itself, and fell into atheism.” But the mist of infidelity would soon be dispersed, and christianity appear in a purer state.

Lord Hawkesbury repeated the arguments for commencing the war, and declared that ministers had at no time made the form of government in France an objection to negotiation, but had anxiously wished for such a form as should promise to be stable and capable of restoring the tranquillity of Europe, and the security of this country. Far different, however, had been the scene of factious contention and

anarchy; and could we now propose a negotiation with such an enemy flushed with victory, and intoxicated with success?

The expediency of an immediate negotiation for peace was strongly insisted upon by the marquis of Lansdowne, particularly on account of the important loss of Holland,—a loss of infinite magnitude to this country, and an acquisition of the utmost importance to the French. As a further reason, his lordship stated the extraordinary and unbounded exertions which must necessarily arise from a revolutionary government, which all the energy of an established government could never equal,—and the distress of the poor and middling classes at home. A revolutionary government ought not, he said, to be a bar to negotiation; and, in fact, had not been so in the case of America. He lamented that at the present period recourse was not had, as in former times, to the joint political knowledge of all the privy counsellors, both in and out of the administration; in which case his majesty could not but have heard the truth, and have been undeceived. As peace must be the object most desirable by all who thought rationally, the marquis remarked upon the folly and impropriety of using harsh language towards the French convention.

Earl Spencer and lord Hawke supported the amendment. The original motion was further opposed by the earl of Hardwicke, who thought the effect of it would be to weaken the executive government both at home and abroad, and defeat the desired object. He thought such a declaration entirely unnecessary, as ministers had never declared that any form of government in France was a bar to ne-

gotiation, or that the restoration of monarchy was a *sine qua non* of treaty. All interference in the internal affairs of France had been disclaimed by the king: in support of which his lordship cited the declaration at Toulon, November 20, 1793, and another of October 29, 1793. He charged the French, notwithstanding an apparent return of moderation at home, with being in the highest degree arbitrary, oppressive, and unjust in their conduct in Germany; and after reading from the *Hamburg Journal* some details of their transactions upon the Rhine, he inferred that the conduct of the French would be very atrocious in case of a successful invasion of this country, and that vigorous resistance was the only means of safety.

The amendment was warmly censured by the marquis of Abercorn, as calculated to shuffle off the question and evade the discussion. However abstract the motion might be, it was not uncommon for abstract propositions to be stated in the form of motions in both houses of parliament: but it depended solely on the circumstances of the moment, whether they ought to be set aside as mere abstract propositions, or entertained as necessarily called for, and entitled to adoption. This, he contended, was of the latter description. The amendment, he said, was not only out of the usual mode of setting aside a question, but it was a distinct motion, conveying an ambiguous meaning, and affording no satisfaction to the country.

Lord Mulgrave thought the motion improper in point of time, or fallacious in itself, as it would lead to more than it professed. If peace with the present government of France, with all its circumstances and principles, was not the object,

it was premature and impolitic; it professed an anxiety to make peace when circumstances did not admit of it; and if the French should not refuse to treat, we should either be obliged to retract, or to treat at an unfavourable and inconvenient time. His lordship wished a distinction to be made between forms of government and the principles on which they acted, and contended that there could be no safety or security for this country in a peace with the present government of France. Could we make an honourable peace by leaving them in possession of their conquests,—by restoring to them the West Indies,—sacrificing Savoy,—and surrendering Corsica? Yet such terms, he said, must be adopted, or the principles of the French government be changed. Nor would there be, his lordship urged, any probable permanence even in such a peace, considering the distressed and distracted state of France. What was the fate of Holland which had offered to treat? By a peace at this time we should be disarmed without security, and at peace without amity. Had he, his lordship said, a different opinion of French principles, French moderation, or French faith, he should still object to the impolicy of preliminary declarations. He would not declare that he would not treat with the present government of France: it was as impolitic to threaten, as to concede prematurely. The chances and calamities of war might reduce us to treat; but it could never be with more disadvantage than at present. With every discomfiture we had met with, we might still look to the Germanic body. Austria, Prussia, Spain, the states of Italy, and the French emigrants and royalists, might still be looked to. The resources

sources of the West Indies, the local advantage of Corsica, and a victorious navy, were still ours. The amendment was further supported by the earl of Carlisle, the lord Chancellor, lord Auckland, and the bishop of Durham; and the motion by the earl of Lauderdale, the duke of Leeds, and the earl of Guildford. The duke of Bedford, in a reply of some length, noticed the arguments that had been opposed to his motion, and the shifting and contradictory grounds upon which it had been opposed. Ministers had evaded his motion in a way which he must distinctly reprobate. They had then argued against his resolution as if it went to the length of *suing* for peace,—a circumstance which he had not only disclaimed, but which the proposition could not, in the smallest degree, warrant. On the contrary, he had brought it forward to lead ministers to some direct avowal of principle which might at least pave the way for negotiation, and hold out a ground to the country on which it might be possible to treat. On a division for the amendment, the contents were 88, not contents, 15.

A conversation afterwards arose, in which lord Grenville is reported to have said that the present government of France was one with which ministers could not treat. The duke of Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, contended that this was a full admission that the resolution now proposed to be voted was nugatory. The lords Grenville and Carlisle endeavoured to qualify this construction; but the words, in substance, were adhered to. The amended motion was carried without a division, and the house adjourned at half past four o'clock.

These efforts for facilitating the path to peace, though lost in both houses, were followed in each by motions nearly analogous in sense, though different in words. On the 6th of February Mr. Grey moved, that an equitable peace had been the object of the war, and that, for this end, it was necessary to remove every formal difficulty in the way of a pacific negotiation; and that without some acknowledgment of a competent power in France with which we may negotiate, there can be no termination of the war, but in the destruction of one of the parties. That the house therefore is of opinion, "that the government now existing in France is competent to entertain and conclude a negotiation for peace with Great Britain." The motion was introduced by an extended and animated speech, in which the necessity of informing the people for what they were contending, was strongly insisted upon, and a review was taken of the differing and discordant declarations which had taken place on this subject in the course of the war. The debate, in favour of the motion, was supported by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Winterforce; it was opposed by Mr. Dundas, sir E. Knatchbull, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Este, Mr. Burdon, sir W. Dolben, and Mr. Pitt. The arguments on both sides the house were nearly similar to those brought forward on Mr. Grey's former motion. In the course of the debate, Mr. Lambton spoke of efforts made by placemen, pensioners, bank-directors, and deans and chapters, to produce an impression respecting the war, contrary to the sense of the people at large. The cause of the re-

spectable placemen with whom he had the honour to act, was, however, ably defended by Mr. Rider, who denied that either they, or the other gentlemen alluded to, had employed intrigue or artifice to support the war. On a division for the previous question, which had been moved by Mr. Dundas, the ayes were 190, noes 60.

On the 13th of February the duke of Bedford followed up his former motion, by addressing the house in an impressive speech in which he said he conceived it necessary that a declaration should be made respecting the precise situation in which this country stood towards France, as he thought the address, brought forward so lately in the house, tended to shew that no peace could be made with a republican government in that country. The address stated that it had been the uniform desire of his majesty to conclude a peace with any government in France capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity. This was a circumstance of which both he and many others in this country and in France were entirely ignorant. After urging several important arguments in favour of this measure, his grace concluded by moving, that the situation of the governing powers of France was not such as precluded a speedy peace, if it could be obtained upon just and reasonable terms; but if the ambition of France should lead her to persevere in hostilities, either for the purpose of aggrandisement, or to carry the principles of her own government into other countries, the house felt itself called upon steadily to support his majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the war. The motion was strongly opposed by

lord Hawkesbury, the earl of Mansfield, lord Borlington, lord Mulgrave, and the earl of Carlisle; and supported by the dukes of Grafton and Leeds, the marquis of Lansdowne and the earl of Lauderdale. The arguments on both sides differed very little from what had been urged on occasion of the first motion of his grace. The previous question, which had been proposed by lord Hawkesbury, was carried by a majority of 63, and a protest entered upon the books, which was signed by the duke of Bedford, and the lords Guildford, Lauderdale, and Buckingham.

As all the partial efforts hitherto made for the restoration of peace and national prosperity, had been too successfully resisted by the influence of the minister, the comprehensive mind of Mr. Fox determined to excite the attention of the house of commons, or rather of the public, by a more enlarged view of the calamities to which the country was exposed on every side by the pertinacious prosecution of the present ruinous system. On the 24th of March he moved "that the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the nation." This solemn mode of inquiry ought not, he observed, ever to be resorted to but in cases of peculiar emergency; and such he esteemed the present. He had himself introduced a similar motion in 1777, after the surrender at Saratoga; but the perils to the country then were trifling and insignificant, compared with what they were at present. Then, however, though the majority of the house differed from him as to the cause of our misfortunes, they had fully entered into the inquiry. A general discontent was diffused

diffused through the country, from the idea that the house of commons was not the representative of the people; and what better argument could dissatisfied persons have, than to say that at such a moment the house of commons did not attempt to bring the executive government to account, or inquire into the measures which had uniformly produced such calamity and disaster? This argument would be strengthened by the general desire for peace. If, when the public mind was so changed, the house should continue to repose a blind confidence in ministers, to impose new burdens on the people, not only without driving ministers to negotiation, but even without requiring them to account for the blood and treasure they had squandered,—and should further resist a motion for inquiring into the use they had made of the confidence already granted to them,—great advantages must be given to whoever wished to disseminate dissatisfaction. If it were possible for the ministers of Great Britain to persevere in their measures under such a series of disasters, not only without responsibility, but even without inquiry, the most just accusation against despotic governments would be applicable to this, and the advocates for the British constitution would be deprived of their best arguments in its defence. Nothing more was, he thought, necessary, than to state to the house, that after a war of two years we had been uniformly unsuccessful, had lost the object for which the war was said to be undertaken, while the enemy had gained more than the wildest imaginations ever ascribed either to their ambition or principles. An inquiry, such as was necessary, divided itself into various branches.

The first object was an examination into our resources of money, of men, and of the probability of using them effectually. 1st. Our resources arose from our trade, manufactures, and population. 2d. From our allies, their will and power to serve the common cause. And, 3d. The principles of the war, and our conduct in it: upon that all eyes would be turned; and by retaining the character of moderation and justice, we could alone procure the resources of vigour, wisdom, and prudence. These were most essential parts of our resources; for if it should turn out, as ministers asserted, that we had entered upon the war with vigour, and conducted ourselves with prudence and moderation, if a system of wisdom and vigour was productive of such calamities, the result would be absolute despair. An inquiry must, in this view, be favourable to ministers; if they had thus acted, it was manifest the cause of failure lay in the principle itself, not in them. But if they had not acted with wisdom and vigour, it might be seen that the principle was good, though the conduct had been defective. They must, upon inquiry, either change the principle, or censure the conduct; and it was highly necessary to ascertain this essential truth. With respect to the first branch of his inquiry, it was impossible to state the loss of men we had incurred, independently of those lost by the allies. The accounts of the losses amongst the British troops, he stated as extremely erroneous and defective. Was it, he asked, true, in the only documents which we received of the proceedings in France, that more than 60,000 men had surrendered as prisoners of war during the last campaign? If this was true, what must

must be the mortality? The state of British population ought to be ascertained before the house consented to new drains of blood. This country had, not, Mr. Fox said, increased in population in proportion to the increase of wealth; and, in confirmation of this, he appealed to a paper then on the table, containing an account of the houses paying taxes to government, from which it appeared that the number had not materially increased since 1777. This fact appeared so extraordinary to those who saw houses every where starting up, that inquiry had been made into the truth; and it was found, that though many were built, they were not of a kind that paid taxes; and that though the number of houses had increased in Middlesex and Lancashire, other counties had decreased in proportion. The next argument respecting our resources was, that we had already funded 60,000,000*l.* which, with the unfunded debt, would make the sum we had spent in the present war between sixty and seventy millions. We had raised taxes little short of three millions of perpetual burden on the people, which, however laid, were felt by all classes. What was the extent of the burdens to be imposed next year? It was fit, before plunging the country into fresh expences, to prove its means were equal to such a demand. Our resources had been said to be supported by the manufactures and trade of the country:—the exports of the country were far short of what took place in 1792; and the diminution of trade, stated to have taken place in Lancashire, was to an astonishing extent. The decrease in population in that country had in some parishes been one-half in others one-third, and in

none so little as one-fourth. In the largest parish of Manchester, the decrease of births had been one-half; and the whole went to an extent that affected the population no less than 12,000 souls. Surely then it was necessary to inquire whether we could find the necessary numbers to recruit our armies. With respect to our trade, he thought it unable to bear the enormous weight of insurance, which was as high as when we contended with America, France, Spain, and Holland united; and to some parts of Spain the trade, on account of the insurance, was altogether stopped. Our next point of resource was our foreign alliances. Who were our allies? The conduct of the king of Prussia demanded an inquiry from the country. If he was no longer our ally, what became of the treaty of 1788, by which he was obliged to furnish 30,000 men? and this obligation had justified the treaty of 1793, by which we gave him 1,200,000*l.* to furnish 60,000. Why did he leave the allies in the midst of the campaign? and what was become of the treaty of 1788? Was he an ally? was he neutral? or was he an enemy? Perhaps the monarch of Prussia might urge, that, as the war was undertaken against jacobinical principles, he rendered the greatest service to the allies by the attack against Poland. If so, we had given 1,200,000*l.* to subdue Poland; for he had said he could do nothing without a subsidy; and if he was again to be considered as an ally, he must again be subsidised. With respect to the emperor, we were to give him four or six millions, which ever he pleased to accept, without having even the same tie upon him as we had upon Prussia; and if he

chose to withdraw in the middle of a campaign, we could not, and had no check on his conduct. What was, however, still more material, was, that next year he would be equally unable to move without another loan; and Great Britain must sustain the whole weight of the war. Though great subsidies were paid to the Italian princes, we scarcely heard of a movement in that country; and as to Sardinia, would its neutrality not have been as serviceable to us as the diversion it had made? Spain had lost Navarre, Biscay, and Catalonia; and her finances were in such a state, that they must either call for a subsidy, or make peace with the enemy. All this called for inquiry. It was the duty of the house to inquire whether our conduct had been such, since the commencement of the war, as entitled us to the good opinion of the virtuous and enlightened part of mankind. With respect to America, after taking her ships, we had agreed to pay for the damage she had sustained. To the court of Denmark we had sent repeated memorials complaining of her neutrality; the prudent answers to which had raised the character of M. Bernstorff higher than that of any former Danish minister. After repeatedly bullying the grand duke of Tuscany, we had not only submitted to his neutrality, but to his concluding a treaty of peace and amity with the French convention. We had presumed to direct the Swiss cantons to decline their neutrality, and had been answered, that they would preserve a neutrality, which his Britannic majesty had often commended, and even acknowledged as an obligation. We had used the most unjust menace, and the most meanly ex-

pressed, towards Genoa; but, after blockading the port, had withdrawn our ships, with an ungracious apology for the insult we had offered. Mr. Fox next insisted upon the necessity of a specific avowal of the object of the war. Ministers should, he said, either declare the form of government in France immaterial, and that we fought to repel an unprovoked aggression, and to protect the Dutch, or, according to the idea of Mr. Burke, we should have declared that we took up arms for the restoration of monarchy in France, and of the emigrants to their property, and the re-establishment of ancient institutions. Through a childish hope of grasping the advantage of both plans, ministers had not, however, gained the advantage of either. We had so shuffled and trimmed in our professions, that no party would flock to our standard. When Condé and Valenciennes surrendered, they were taken possession of in the name of the emperor. The garrison of Mentz was sent to fight against the royalists of La Vendée. The islands taken in the West Indies were not taken possession of for Louis XVII. but for ourselves, to be retained as conquests, if the chance of war permitted. Could it then be imagined that any emigrant, whose situation was not desperate, would join us, or that all who loved their country better than royalty, would not be against us? Had the allies been fighting either for or against France, what should have been their conduct towards Fayette and Dumouriez? The treatment of the first by the Austrians would damn their name to eternal infamy; and after extolling the virtue of Dumouriez at a time when it became extremely doubtful, he was treated as if a decree had passed, prohibit-

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ing a French general from coming over to the allies in future. Had they been fighting for France against the convention, they ought to have praised Dumouriez as a convert, and held him up as an example. If they were fighting against France, they should have considered all Frenchmen as enemies, in the common acceptation of the term; and by denouncing vengeance for crimes, as lord Auckland had done in a paper published at the Hague, given ground for that enthusiasm of resistance, which arose in men who thought their lives, as well as liberties, in danger. If the allies were fighting for the restoration of monarchy, &c. they ought not to have begun with thundering forth an insensate impotent manifesto, threatening destruction to Paris and all its inhabitants. If we were fighting for France, we ought to have published to its people that we had no views of aggrandisement, much less of dismembering the kingdom, and taking vengeance of the inhabitants. The terrifying of France by indiscriminate threats, he thought a fundamental error. To be convinced of the propriety of making an inquiry into this, it was only necessary for all who heard him to ask themselves whether it was possible, that if the convention should refuse any thing like reasonable terms of peace, they could call forth such exertions from the people as the idea of no alternative but victory or subjugation had enabled them to do. The lesser errors of the war, which he would name, were the loss of Toulon, owing to the smallness of the garrison left there, in order to send as many troops as possible to the West Indies, while this expedition

was crippled by collecting troops for a descent on the coast of France, which had not yet been found practicable. The error of the last campaign was confidence in the king of Prussia, the Belgians, and the Dutch. The last were drawn by us into a war, which they had no inclination to undertake, even in defence of the Scheldt. When we were driven out of the Netherlands, and the United Provinces were to be defended, the Dutch joined in welcoming the French; and this we ought to have foreseen. In the naval part of the campaign, Mr. Fox contended that the captures by the enemy were greater than in any former war, and our trade not greater in proportion. In the second year after France took part in the American war, the number of captures was 499. In the second year of this war, when we had France alone to contend with, the number was 860. So much delay had arisen in preparing our fleet for sea, that the French had been for two months masters of the sea; and after they had been ready to sail, it was said they were further detained for want of biscuit, which it was necessary to send after them by land carriage. All this demanded inquiry. Mr. Fox adverted to his opinions respecting the Netherlands, Holland, and the king of Prussia, at the commencement of the war. He was then told what he said was a libel upon our allies. Experience had, indeed, proved that it contained what had been deemed the strongest ingredient of libel,—*truth*.

Upon the same occasion he had adverted to Ireland*, but was told, "touch not Ireland;" the present irritated state of that country he ascribed, however, solely to the

* The reader will find the affairs of Ireland discussed at full length in the 6th chapter.

misconduct of ministers. He might be told that earl Fitzwilliam had gone beyond his instructions; but this he did not believe. However this might be, the danger from the irritation of the country was the same; and if the house refused an inquiry into the circumstances, they might make themselves responsible for the dismemberment of Ireland. He was, he said, aware, that, in such motions as the present, it might be said, that as the ultimate object of an inquiry was the removal of ministers, why not as well at once move for their removal? He would not do so, because, in the present state of affairs, he thought inquiry should precede a motion for their removal, which should however follow, if the inquiry was gone into. With such men and such measures, success was not, he thought, to be hoped for. Ministers had never decided whether they were making war for France, or upon France; and their conduct towards Ireland had been precisely similar. After describing the minister as *in rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil sincerum*, Mr. Fox concluded a speech of uncommon brilliancy and energy, by moving "that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation."

When the reader adverts to the length of Mr. Fox's speech, the vast variety of topics which it embraced, and the slight allusion which it contained to the affairs of Ireland, he will doubtless be astonished, when he is told that Mr. Pitt represented the whole of what had been brought forward by Mr. Fox, as done for the sole purpose of introducing the present situation of Ireland. Beginning with that, therefore, he would contend that there was, upon every principle of poli-

cy, the strongest reason that the house should negative the motion: He would admit that there was reason to regret some occurrences which had taken place in Ireland; but when the affair was fully investigated, it would be found that no blame attached to his majesty's servants here. More than this he could not at present say, except that if the sister-kingdom was in such a state of ferment and irritation, it was the strongest reason possible against an inquiry at present. Such an inquiry could not be made without the production of a variety of papers, which could not possibly be made public at present. If the probable effects of the embarrassments and irritation of Ireland were such (as had been stated) that we should not have a cordial co-operation from Ireland, was it likely they would procure us a better peace, for the immediate necessity of which they had been adduced as arguments? The dangers were, however, he contended, nothing near so great as had been represented. The house would feel that the business of the Roman catholics in Ireland, which had been referred to, could not with propriety be discussed in an English house of commons. It was productive of danger to them, and proclaiming to the enemy the difficulties under which we laboured at home. Would the house proclaim a danger with respect to themselves, which, if not proclaimed, might, in fact, have no existence? He had no complaint to make of the subjects selected for inquiry: if the house was convinced of the necessity of an inquiry, they were certainly the most important points for consideration. In such a case, however, was there any thing, however distantly related to external or internal

nal policy, which might not become a matter of discussion? At a period so arduous and important, and so late in the session, could it be expedient to commence so extensive an investigation? Every topic in the speech just spoken had been fully discussed and decided upon. Such a committee as that required, was therefore as unnecessary as improper. With respect to the resources, the house had already this session much more satisfactory proof than the committee could give: for the truth of this, Mr. Pitt referred to the terms upon which the loan for eighteen millions had been negotiated, and the productiveness of the taxes. As to the numbers lost in battle, the losses of the enemy, in this respect, were as ten to one, compared to ours; and to infer a decrease of population from an examination of the returns of houses paying taxes, was a very fallacious mode of judging, as those returns were very inaccurately taken. A criterion more accurate was the immense increase of manufactures, and the hands employed in them not drawn from any other branch. The calculation respecting Lancashire, though much insisted upon, had only estimated the decrease at 12,000 persons; and this, it must be recollected, was in a neighbourhood where the recruiting had been carried on with the greatest effect. The amazing extent of the army and navy must certainly affect population; yet so far from manufactures having decreased, the exports, the last year, had been greater than in any former year of war. However calamitous the war was represented, our commerce far exceeded that of the three or four years preceding the American war. Had any inquiry upon these subjects been ne-

cessary, they ought to have preceded the consideration of ways and means. The arguments respecting other nations, Mr. Pitt thought strange and unfounded. The failure of engagements in the king of Prussia was no reason for this country departing from a general system. A vote of censure from that house on the proceeding was not called for by honour, and could not be justified by reason; and if the emperor had the pecuniary inability imputed to him, the natural conclusion to be drawn from the former opinions of the house, was, that Great Britain, possessed of resources of money, should enable the emperor to bring his forces into the field. If our allies had not been victorious, they had divided a force which, if concentrated, must have been infinitely more destructive. The king of Sardinia had not the option of neutrality, as the French had declared war against him. An inquiry into the conduct of the executive government of this country to neutral nations, could answer no possible good end at the present moment; whenever a proper period arrived for investigation, it would be found conformable to the law of nations, and marked by moderation and forbearance. Both the grounds for the war, which had been submitted to ministers as an alternative, were extreme cases; and they might think it proper to adopt a middle policy, to which the whole of their conduct might be found perfectly reconcilable. The madness of fighting for the establishment of any particular government in France had been uniformly disclaimed by ministers. But this was no reason they should relinquish assistance, of which they had a right to avail themselves in every former war. He begged,

in the most distinct manner, to disavow the proposition that a nation, on entering into a war, was bound to state all its objects, and thus preclude itself from taking advantage of fortuitous circumstances which might arise. With respect to the increased price of insurance, that arose from the unexampled extent of our commerce, and the destruction of that of France, which led her attention to the equipment of privateers. In addition to this, as the enemy had seldom contended for the empire of the sea, small divisions of their fleet were enabled to harass our commerce. Every method had been used by Mr. Fox to confound the danger to be apprehended from the French, and to palliate their excesses. Entertaining such sentiments, and having always been adverse to the war, it was natural to lessen the value of our conquests, and to depreciate the splendor of our victories. Those who looked to an honourable termination of the war from vigorous exertions, rather than dishonourable submission, and who did not impute temporary want of success to incapacity or guilt, would not withdraw their confidence from his majesty's ministers, without proof of their want of capacity. If they did, it would not be, Mr. Pitt added, to make room for those who had disapproved of the war from its commencement, and who, instead of meeting the crisis, would be disposed to shrink back from it; but for persons better qualified to prosecute with vigour a war founded on justice, and connected with the most important interests of the country. He concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Sheridan thought the arguments of Mr. Fox were so far from controverted, that they were not

even answered. That gentleman had laid it down as an axiom, that when the country was placed in a state of unexampled calamity and disgrace, blame must rest somewhere; and he had next wished an inquiry to ascertain where the blame lay. This had been replied to merely by a request to the house to revise the votes they had already given in the course of the war; and it was asserted, that going into the inquiry was rescinding every former resolution on the subject of the war. This, he contended, was not fair argument. Whatever might be the opinion of the last speaker, there might be found, among the opposers of the war, men who, in all probability, were they in power, would never bring so much disgrace upon the country as his majesty's present ministers, though they were censured by them as bringing down disgrace and disaster upon the nation by objecting to the prosecution of the war. Every opportunity had been taken by his honourable friend of paying that tribute of just applause which the services of our navy and army had so repeatedly merited. Whatever might be said, had the present motion been agitated previous to the discussion of the ways and means, it would have been ascribed to the most factious motives. Now that ministers had brought the country into the extremest peril, they told the house, that, having agreed to provide for the necessities which their misconduct has occasioned, they have no right to inquire how that necessity has been produced. The retaining of ministers in their places after such flagrant misconduct, was unprecedented in the history of other nations. Without such an inquiry, no question which could be put to gentlemen

gentlemen by their constituents, could be clearly or satisfactorily answered; and were all inquiry to be resisted, every thing, during the war, might as well be left to the will of a dictator. Our moderation to neutral powers had been extolled,—but what was that moderation? We had used the most outrageous insolence towards the weaker powers, while our moderation had been carried to humble and mean submission towards those powers whom we dared not insult. Great praise had been given to the neutrality observed by this country while it continued neuter; but no sooner did she enter into war, than the neutrality of other states became criminal. Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the idea of a speech of three hours, containing incontrovertible arguments, being intended merely to introduce a discussion upon Ireland, which was a collateral subject not to be omitted. The motives and intentions of his friend had been known to many in the house long before Ireland was in her present critical situation. He urged the propriety of the affairs of Ireland being discussed in that house. If the period for making an inquiry was too late in the session, it was too late for the imperial loan. From the immense numbers carried away to recruit our armies (20,000 having been attested by one magistrate), and the appearance they exhibited,—old men and raw boys,—Mr. Sheridan inferred that our means of recruiting were nearly exhausted. The increase of commerce he attributed to the number of captures made by the French, which compelled us to re-export the same commodities. He argued strongly against the folly of attempting to establish monarchical government in France. He had no

alarm about the present republic; if their principles were so bad as represented, why not leave them to their own destruction? If we have peace, we must acknowledge that republic; and it was only the pride and folly of ministers, which prevented the retraction of their errors.

The critical state of affairs in Ireland was thought, by Mr. Canning, a sufficient reason for declining the present inquiry. With great eloquence he defended the administration for not having resorted to a tax upon pensions and places, of five shillings in the pound, similar to one laid in Spain, the imitation of which had been recommended by one of the speakers. A tax to a larger amount existed, he said, in this country, as the land-tax and other taxes amounted to about five shillings and six-pence in the pound. The principle on which such remunerations were derived, was what equalised all ranks of society, and enabled the state to avail itself of the talents of all its citizens, and to open as wide the doors of the senate and cabinet to acquired eminence and plebeian worth, as to ancestral dignity and hereditary virtue. Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. H. Major, disapproved the motion. Mr. Wilberforce approved it on the whole, but declined giving it his support, on account of the different opinion he entertained respecting Ireland.

The reply of Mr. Fox was uncommonly energetic. His design had been, he said, not to induce the discussion of what had already been discussed, but to inquire into the conduct of the war in general. It was perfectly consistent in gentlemen on the other side of the house to say they did not wish an inquiry:—an inquiry was likely to influence the opinion of the house upon

upon the conduct of ministers; and an address to the throne for their removal would be the probable result. But rather than they should lose their places, was the country to be lost? A hint had been insinuated, that if the minister and his associates were dismissed, neither his majesty nor the public would look to the supporters of the present motion for their assistance. Was the war to be carried on even by more able ministers upon the same principles hitherto avowed, and for the same object, there was, he said, nothing his majesty could offer to him,—nothing that any prince in Europe could offer to him,—that could induce him to take any share in it. Mr. Fox ridiculed the idea of ministers here not being answerable for the declarations of ministers abroad, and the assertion, that on inquiry they would be found to have acted properly respecting neutral nations,—when all inquiry was refused. With respect to the motion being mis-timed, his side of the house had not, he said, been negligent in bringing forward questions upon the war. He denied having introduced the present motion on account of affairs in Ireland, and appealed to the time in which notice of it had been given, in proof of this assertion, but thought a full investigation of that business of great importance. The cabinet certainly interfered in the affairs of that country; and he wished to know upon what principle it should do so, more than the parliament of this country. He had, he said, been told he endangered Ireland by such an inquiry; but wished to know who most endangered it, he who respected both that and this country as much as any man in that house; or those who conducted themselves as if they had no regard

to the interest of either, when in competition with their own power? “The right honourable gentleman says, added Mr. Fox, that my conduct, if not counteracted, tends to lower the dignity of this country. That a man, who has himself so lowered the dignity of this country, who has brought it to the verge of ruin by the obstinacy and the madness of his conduct, should presume even to think that any man else could lower it more than he has, is, I own, rather extraordinary. I desire to know, and I ask the minister to inform me, if he can,—I ask any man in this house to inform me,—when it was that I endeavoured to lower the dignity of this country? He alluded to the present war;—what has been his conduct, and what did I advise this house upon that subject? I would have offered reasonable terms to France before the war commenced; and for that purpose I proposed a negotiation: he affected to disdain it. What has been the event? Will even he himself now attempt to say, that there is a chance of making so good a peace at this time as we might have had then? Does he even hope he can ever negotiate with the French in a situation less dishonourable to us than the present? I would have negotiated with them before a fight. He must negotiate after a fight, and after a defeat too, if he negotiates at all. I would have negotiated with them while we were rich in our resources, and our commerce was entire. He must negotiate when both are desperately impaired. I would have negotiated before our allies were defeated, and while they were yet supposed to be in union. He must negotiate after victory has been declared in favour of the enemy, and the allies have

been deserting us and abandoning one another. After this, that such a man could possibly suppose he is supporting the dignity of this country, and that he should put himself on a footing with any gentleman who has not the misfortune to be in the present administration, is an extraordinary thing: but it is an assumption of merit which is peculiar to his majesty's present council. In the mean time, it is with heartfelt satisfaction I reflect, that in every thing I ever proposed, I have supported the dignity of this country; I regard it as a circumstance of good fortune to me, that *I never gave an opinion by which one drop of British blood was shed, or any of its treasure squandered.* The right honourable gentleman has insinuated, that neither I nor those with whom I act ever mention the glory of the British arms. The fact is notoriously otherwise,—we have been proud to praise them. Is it endurable, then, to hear a man accuse others of endeavouring to lower the dignity of this country, when we are doing all we can to save it, and are calling for an inquiry into the conduct of that man who has brought us to the very last stake, with which we are now contending for our existence? and shall it be still a question who is the best friend of the honour of Great Britain? But I wish again to ask, if this committee be not granted, what I am to say to my constituents if they ask—who are the allies of this country,—what is our relative situation with the king of Prussia,—what with the emperor,—what has been the conduct of administration with regard to the war,—what is the situation of Ireland? To all these questions I can only answer, “I cannot tell you any thing of these things. The house

of commons would not grant me an inquiry; they went hand in hand with the minister.” On the question for an adjournment, which had been moved by Mr. Pitt, there appeared for it 219, against it 63.

A motion of an exactly similar nature was made in the house of lords by the earl of Guildford, March 30. His lordship divided the objects, to which he called the attention of the house, into three heads,—the political, the military, and the naval system,—on each of which he thought there was the most urgent ground of inquiry. The greater part of the arguments adduced by his lordship on the first, was nearly what had been brought before the house of commons by Mr. Fox. With respect to the military conduct of the war, if the disasters we had met with did not afford decisive evidence of misconduct in ministers, they were fully sufficient to justify suspicion. His lordship mentioned the business of Dunkirk, which was still unexplained, and called loudly for investigation,—the proceedings at Toulon,—and the retention of so large a force at Corsica, to the detriment of our exertions in the West Indies, &c.—the long stay of so numerous a body of troops at Southampton,—the numbers who had perished with disease aboard the transports,—and what was a still more melancholy object of consideration, our brave troops on the Continent, who had gradually diminished, in useless conflicts, from thirty thousand to between seven and eight thousand, destitute of every comfort and convenience. The mode of raising new corps, instead of increasing old regiments, he thought very objectionable. In the navy, the same neglect and failure were, his lordship thought, equally discernible.

discernible. He mentioned the culpable deficiency of convoy, and the great number of captures: these had been ascribed to the increase of our commerce; but this argument was refuted by the high rates of insurance, which were so enormous as in many places to operate as an embargo upon trade. Notwithstanding our engaging in the war with a fleet so superior to that of France, the French fleet had paraded in our channel without opposition; and while so many of our vessels had been captured, the two most important convoys of the enemy had been permitted to reach in safety their destined ports. The blame on this occasion did not attach to the British seamen and commanders, but to those who had the direction and distribution of the naval force. These objects, the decrease of our resources, the situation of our allies, and the late disturbances in the Irish cabinet, his lordship thought, called loudly for an inquiry. He concluded by stating, that what more he had to say, he should wave till the house went into a committee, when remedies would yet be found; but whether these were to punish ministers for their misconduct, or to prosecute the war with vigour, it would then be his business to shew. The necessity for inquiry was further urged by the earl of Suffolk, who condemned the neglect of preparations for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recommended the appointment of a military committee to inquire into the past conduct of the war, and the best means of carrying it on in future, if it was to be continued.

Lord Grenville observed, that one point only of the speech, which introduced the motion, had the charm of novelty; and to that he

should first direct his attention. If, however, the irritation stated to have taken place in Ireland, really existed, all the most valuable interests of the country required that they should not meet with public discussion, which could only produce increased irritation, additional dangers, and incalculable inconveniences. He would pledge himself to prove, whenever it was right to discuss the question, that no blame could possibly attach to ministers on this side the water. Leaving, however, for the present, this subject, his lordship insisted that there was not even a *prima facie* presumption of the war being unsuccessful or ruinous to this country; on the contrary, it was successful and prosperous; and as far as related to England only against France, all the ill success was on the part of the enemy. We had, he said, been uniformly successful at sea, and in the East and West Indies. The commerce of the enemy was nearly destroyed. Our fleet rode triumphantly in the Mediterranean; and our consequence was adequate to that superiority. Toulon had, in consequence, yielded; and though it could not be retained, the taking of it gave an irrecoverable crush to the navy of France. At that moment the British fleet rode triumphant at her port, and intercepted her little remains of commerce. Corsica was taken, and in our possession. In the Channel our superiority was indisputable, as the brilliant victory of the first of June testified; and it was only on one occasion, even when our fleet came into port, that the enemy dared to venture out. They then saved the convoy, on which almost their existence depended: but the whole navy of France, in a degree, paid the price. We had, his lord-

ship said, met with many commercial losses; but great allowances should be made, when we considered the enemy had no trade of their own to protect, and of course nothing to divert or engage them from depredation and pillage. In the East Indies we had taken all their possessions; and in the West they possessed but one island, while we had not lost one island, had no port blocked up, nor were our fleet in any instance constrained to shrink from the enemy. The successes of the French on the continent, which his lordship admitted, were an argument for the necessity of our interference, without which they would have inundated Europe. On the object of the war, on the conduct of ministry towards the neutral powers, and to our allies, the arguments of his lordship were nearly those brought forward by Mr. Pitt in the lower house. With respect to the finances of this country, the noble lord, he said, had entirely omitted to take a comparative view of the enemy, of the state of whose resources he drew the most dreadful picture. The money borrowed in France was, he said, only one-fifth of the debt incurred; and from those who thought a loan of eighteen millions enormous, he would ask what they would say of France, where, after a three years war, and, what was worse, five years of revolutionary government, her expenditure, in one month, created a deficit of nearly twenty millions, which was more than was required by this government in one year. The war having been justified by necessity in the beginning, it was the duty of the country to pursue it vigorously; without which there could be no hopes of a secure, honourable, and advantageous peace.

The practice of refusing copies of instructions, &c. given to generals or admirals, or an account of the disposition of forces, if called for by either house of parliament, was pointedly censured by the marquis of Lansdowne. These had, he observed, been always granted, down to 1721, since which the practice of refusing them had been daily gaining ground; and the dignity of parliament was proportionably so much impaired, that he feared it would never be recovered without some important renovation in its constitution,—a renovation which he wished might not be forced upon them in times of trouble and commotion. His lordship forcibly censured the conduct of the allies: one of them, he observed, had that day been mentioned as likely at last to afford more substantial aid than prayers and manifestos. Whence such hopes originated, he could not tell; but it was not wonderful that Russia should think of forming more intimate connections with Great Britain, when she saw herself threatened with an alliance of almost all Europe to oppose her inordinate power and ambition. In fact, the liberty of Europe depended upon the independence of Germany. Hence it had always been the policy of France to support the weaker states against the stronger. What was now the situation of Germany, hemmed in by the great powers of France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia? France was still disposed to assist in defending the independence of Germany; and it was an argument fitter for a company of porters, than men sitting in a cabinet, to maintain that this disposition was to be counteracted on account of her internal government. Was it the conduct of statesmen to force
France

France to enter into the spirit of partition, and purchase the tacit assent of other powers to the French making conquests, by conniving at the conquests of others? Prussia being a state whose power depended on artificial means, it was to be expected, and perhaps justified, that its monarch should, on all occasions, think only of his own particular interests,—that he should avail himself of our money in pursuing those interests, if we chose to cram it down his throat. At present Austria might negotiate with France, with us in her pocket. She could say, “England is so bent upon the war, that from her I can, when I please, have my own terms,—what have you to offer as an equivalent for my renouncing my connection with England?” So that ultimately our allies would have got out of the war and secured themselves, and we should have the leavings of every other power, or, what was still worse, be left to contend with France alone. The fair criterion of the success of the war, and the protection afforded, was the rate of insurance. So much had the credit of private underwriters been hurt by the losses, that merchants preferred giving 10 per cent. to insurance companies, to seven to individual underwriters. Twenty-five guineas premium had been refused for a voyage to Jamaica. For near eight months our trade to Bilbao, which was doubly valuable, as it brought us wool, and took off our goods, had been at a stand. Respecting the North Seas, a few days past, the merchants had been more than seventy days without returns of correspondence, which, under other circumstances, might have been received in eight. Of the three West India islands taken

Martinico alone remained. For the whole of the West India islands, 20,000 men were requisite; and we had not there, at present, 6000. Of the troops now talked of to be sent, the earliest could not go before April, and would arrive at their destination at a season when they must fall sacrifices to the climate like their predecessors. If their lordships went into the inquiry, they would find that such only of the manufactures as were called for by the war, and paid for with our own money, had flourished. This was also the case with our remaining commerce. This country, from the peculiar circumstances of the war, had become the depot of commercial property, which, on the restoration of peace, would revert to its former channels. The taxes of the year were proofs of our difficulties; most of the articles it had been the policy of preceding years to exempt from taxation in order to prevent smuggling; and they would only be productive till the revival of smuggling. His lordship reprobated the idea of assisting the Chouans in Brittany, which he called the Wales of France: much better would it be to negotiate with the French for the restoration of the emigrants, or to give them half a million of money, as we had done to the American loyalists, not as rivals to France, but on motives of humanity. His lordship severely censured the late proceedings in Ireland, and said, that of all the misfortunes of this successful war, as they chose to call it, the greatest, perhaps, was, that ministers always misjudged the character of the people with whom they had to deal. They had acted thus with America; but he hoped the people of Ireland would imitate their exam-

ple, and not suffer themselves to be irritated by the peevishness, passion, or prejudice of any ministry. They had misjudged the character of the people of France and of Holland; and he much feared they were now likely to misjudge the character of the people of this country. His lordship cited some strong passages in the speech of Boissy d'Anglas, in the French convention, as inviting to negotiation. He would not enter into the nonsense of supposing that the French did not feel the distresses of war, and were not anxiously desirous of peace; but, with all this desire, it was idle to suppose they would truckle for it in the hour of victory. It remained to be seen, where so many objects of inquiry existed, whether ministers would make a new precedent, and refuse it for no reason but because inquiry was necessary.

The inquiry was opposed by the duke of Richmond, as productive of embarrassment to the executive government, at a time when the most unconstrained exertion was necessary. His grace disapproved, however, in several respects, of the conduct of the war, but justified its commencement. Both the time and circumstances for entering into an inquiry, were objected to by the earl of Kinnoul. The dukes of Bedford and Grafton supported the motion, which was further opposed by lord Sydney and the earl of Mansfield, who, though he admitted that it was the duty of the house to watch over the executive government, yet believed that, in the exercise of that duty, their lordships were not to be guided by precedent, but discretion. Would, he asked, going into a committee of inquiry contribute to the great end to which the house stood pledged? Their lordships had declared a vigorous

prosecution of the war necessary. Was it wise now to adopt a measure which would not only impede its vigorous prosecution, but counteract negotiation, if that was practicable? His lordship vindicated continental alliances, and the principles of the war, and gave great credit to lord Grenville's calculations on the French finances. Supposing, however, the reverse of this statement, and that the resources were in the most flourishing state, it was only, his lordship added, an additional reason for increased vigour on our part. He should prefer a direct motion for the removal of ministers, which might be of little consequence: but a change of system was an object of great magnitude.

The earl of Lauderdale, in a most forcible and eloquent speech, supported the inquiry. Ministers, he said, talked of their successes, when every man who recollected the conquests made by France, must regard such vapouring with derision. Sir Gilbert Elliot said our allies were the whole human race, — the secretary of state said our wealth was the wealth of the world, — and thus, according to them, with allies innumerable, and wealth inexhaustible, we were successfully fighting for the existence of society. What the skill and valour of lord Howe had obtained, the unaccountable mismanagement of ministers contrived to throw away; and thus the glorious victory of the 1st of June had crippled our fleet, which did not get out again till February. The French account of that victory differed materially from ours; and the detention of the ships afterwards in port favoured their accounts. So deficient were ministers in foresight, that in November or December last, an order

order had been given for cutting down sixty-four-gun ships to frigates; and, in February, ministers had thought proper to purchase a number of Indiamen for the purpose of converting them into sixty-fours. They could not even imagine the possibility of Holland's being soon in the hands of the French, or recollect that in such an event sixty-fours would be the ships wanted to protect the North Seas, and the eastern coast of this kingdom. His lordship entered into a very animated detail of the proceedings in Ireland, and of the dispositions of the people of that country.

The debate was closed by the duke of Norfolk, who forcibly recommended the inquiry, particularly respecting Ireland. With respect to the victory of the first of June, the conduct of the admiralty had been such as demanded inquiry, even from the event of that day. In former wars, if the fleet of England was not equal in strength and numbers to the combined fleet of the house of Bourbon, it would have been reckoned criminal misconduct in the admiralty board, and a fit subject of inquiry and censure. In this combat we had to oppose superior numbers; but had our number been what it ought, we might have avoided a battle which cost us much blood; and had we been able to do this by keeping the French in port, might have intercepted that important convoy so necessary to the very existence of France. The motion was lost by a majority of 90.

One of the last efforts, in the course of the session, to rescue the nation from the calamities of war, was made by Mr. Wilberforce on the 27th of May. He began by stating the general expectation of pacifi-

cation, and the consequent pleasure which had arisen from it. He did not profess to go the length of *Vox populi vox Dei*, but thought the general opinion of the people should only be superseded by extraordinary circumstances. It was an important duty in every war to look out continually for every opening which might lead to a conclusion,—to see whether the original motives continued, and whether it was needful to pursue the path we were treading. The general subject of the effect of the war on our finances, population and commerce, had been so lately and so ably discussed, that he should dwell briefly on these points. There was, however, much mistake in taking credit for the present magnitude of our export manufactures, when that very export was to be ascribed to the war itself; and, in confirmation of this, he quoted Dr. Adam Smith on the Wealth of Nations, and the mistake which had arisen in a former war on this point. With respect to the superiority of our navy, the advantage to be derived from that was not to be expected to be very great, considering the commerce and territory we had to defend, and the increase of the French fleet by a junction with the Dutch. He next adverted to the state of the allied powers, and the late rescript of the emperor, signed on the same day in which he signed the treaty with this country for a loan to carry on the war. He had heard that this rescript was only to amuse the German powers; but could it be supposed, when the emperor said, as in the rescript, that “he was ready to enter into negotiation,” that he really meant to avoid it,—when he said “he would consult the general interests of the empire,” that he meant not

to consult their interests,—and when he spoke of a “permanent and secure peace with the French republic,” and of “his endeavouring to accomplish so desirable an end,” that he thought a secure peace impossible or undesirable,—or thought the French republic ought not to be acknowledged? Mr. Wilberforce reprobated such duplicity on the part of the emperor, and argued from it the little ground we had to expect fidelity from him in other engagements. Should even the rescript be explained away, the professed object of the emperor was to arrest a treaty which was commencing without him, by saying, “that he also was willing to treat.” This was acknowledging that he thought France might be treated with. What then was the state of the confederacy? From a full review of the situation of our allies, Mr. Wilberforce thought little or nothing was to be expected from them. He next adverted to the state of France, which, he thought, presented a new aspect which had not yet been considered by the house, and mentioned the insurrections quelled there, which left her armies more disengaged, and able to act with more effect, while the allies were, some weakened, and others withdrawn,—the British troops removed from the continent,—the line of frontier narrowed by the capture of Holland, and the peace with Prussia. The advantage to the French by the desertion of the allies, and the accession of their own strength, he computed at between two and three hundred thousand men. Notwithstanding the depreciation of their paper money, every thing proceeded as usual. The example of America, indeed, proved the fallacy of supposing that the pecuniary

means of a nation must end with its paper credit. Provisions, he stated, were cheaper in France than in England; her harvest was approaching, and she had a source for provision in her new allies. With respect to their armies, they exhibited no symptoms of disaffection. There was no appearance of a general rising in the country. They had not, indeed, a motive for it, since, like the people here, they expected peace, and thus their evils appeared temporary; and this sentiment was encouraged by the treaty with the duke of Tuscany, the peace with Prussia, and the recognition of the republic by Sweden. He had, he said, heard, since coming into the house, of new commotions in Paris; this, he contended, was no argument for continuing the war; the happiness of the people of England was not to be the sport of such events. Was the grand question of war or peace to turn upon matters like these? What if France should, on her side, urge the scarcity here, the bounties given to our troops, the efforts made to procure them, and the commotions which had arisen in different parts of the country, as proofs of the exhaustion of our resources, and the improbability of our continuing the war? These circumstances made little to the general argument in either party. With respect to the West Indies, success there was very uncertain. We had extended territories to defend; which was not the case with our enemies. If it continued to be the policy of the French rather to ruin us than assist themselves, the accession of territory in St. Domingo was not to be desired. There were 400,000 slaves there, many of whom were in actual rebellion, and others had had great concessions made

made to them. In Guadaloupe, a British fort had been taken by armed blacks. Government admitted that no naval force could effectually secure our West India possessions; and though in the East we were more out of the reach of the enemy, the recent treaty with Holland affected our interests there, where the native princes were ever ready to attack us when we were otherwise involved. The situation of Ireland presented another ground for the necessity of peace. At home there was much more danger of the diffusion of French principles against which the war had been undertaken, by its continuance, than its termination. Another bad effect of the war was the drawing off the people from peaceable pursuits and industry, the danger of exciting the jealousy of the Americans from the idea of our monopolizing the West Indies, and our hatred of republican government. As to France, he was persuaded the war tended rather to prevent a counter-revolution than to accelerate one,—to retard rather than to forward a regular form of government. Suppose even the most successful events of war on our part,—it would only unite her the more. Suppose the continuation of their interlor animosities,—we had already seen that France, though disturbed in her centre, was terrible in her extremities. The argument against peace, that if made with one party in France, who might afterwards be dispossessed, it would not be abided by, was indeed plausible. But the fact was, the people there all wished for peace, and therefore every new party must court their favour by promoting it, and the present party were peculiarly favourable to peace. Mr. Wilberforce next

took a view of the advantages to be derived from peace, and particularly noticed that our markets, which the prolongation of the war might deprive us of, remained still open. What then obstructed it? He was persuaded it would meet the wishes of the people here, of the allies, and of the French government and people. The motion he meant to propose, merely prepared the way for treating, and was much weaker than the words used in the rescript of the emperor. It was, “that it is the opinion of the house that the present circumstances of France ought not to preclude the British government from entertaining proposals for a general pacification, and that it is for the interest of Great Britain to make peace with France, if it can be fairly and honourably effected.”

The former objections to peace were, he remarked, now turned, through a change of circumstances, against those who used them. If we wished to secure a future co-operation of allies, our way would be to dissolve what remains of the confederacy, by consent, before it dissolved itself, as the only chance of resuming it, if hereafter necessary. The argument that we could not make peace with France without acknowledging the republic as founded on principles of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, was contradicted by the treaties with Prussia, Sweden, and Tuscany. Had these powers signed their own deposition? As to the safety of Europe, if it determined to take care of itself, and to make peace, did it belong to Great Britain to fight her battles, and almost without assistance? When was the entire ruin of the French resources, so much talked of, to take place? He thought, he said, there was a prospect

prospect of general war in Europe, which, putting all humanity out of the question, it was for the interest of Britain to keep out of. The motion was seconded by Mr. Duncombe.

Mr. Windham contended that no change had taken place which rendered peace in the present moment preferable to war! It was necessary to consider, in every question, the persons with whom we were arguing. He would, therefore, in the present instance, confine his arguments to those who, like the mover and seconder of the present motion, had approved the war in its outset, and considered it as just and necessary. In every question respecting peace, it was necessary to consider what sort of peace was to be gained, and the means of gaining it. Peace at the present moment, he contended, was neither safe nor honourable. Was to express a desire of peace on the part of this country, the best means of attaining it? Ought the inclination for peace manifested by France to operate as an inducement on this country to manifest its disposition for the same purpose? What change had taken place in France, which tended to render a negotiation for peace more secure? The government was neither more durable, nor the people changed. The present boasted system of moderation acquired its praise merely from being contrasted with the former infamous government. It was now evident that the exertions of the government had relaxed; that its fortune had reached its height, and that it exhibited unequivocal symptoms of decay. The distress in the interior of France was excessive; and the late commotions in Paris were very violent. Whatever might be the defection of our allies, real

or supposed, he would oppose to it the state of distress and of opinions in France. Nothing but such conduct as that of the mover of the bill, and such motions as the present, could prevent a speedy termination of the contest! How had the former motion of the honourable gentleman, on the present subject, been treated by the convention? They had declared they would listen to no overtures from this country, but would humble its pride and its power. Mr. Windham accused the mover of the motion of great inconsistencies in the course of his speech,—sometimes that the possessions of this country were too large to be protected, and its burdens too great to be borne; that it had attained a degree of prosperity which it was well if it could keep, but in which every risk might be attended with fatal consequences. Sometimes the constitution was fully protected by the loyalty of the people: and sometimes they were so irritated that the slightest addition to their burdens would endanger their allegiance. Another inconsistency it was, to suppose the war had occasioned all the atrocities of France; yet, if left to themselves, they would destroy each other. The revival of the confederacy, in the event of peace, was, in the highest degree, improbable. Mr. Windham contended that all France were adopting the sentiments of La Vendée! and that there was no argument for discontinuing the war, which might not have been urged with more propriety long before. The motion, he thought, tended to remove ministers from their situations. The prospects for continuing the war were infinitely better than they had ever been! He vindicated continental connections, and thought that

that our military character, views of general policy, our national honour, and the welfare of Europe, required our continuance of the war. The motion, he thought, tended to promote disaffection at home, to strengthen the enemy; and said that the cry of peace proceeded from the jacobin party in this country, all of whom wished for peace. This was, indeed, a characteristic of the party all over Europe. He concluded by moving the order of the day, and was seconded by Sir B. Hammet.

In reply to the question why this motion had been made, Mr. Fox observed, that it was made to shew the people that there were persons in parliament ready to defend their rights, and to avert the calamities by which they were threatened by an obstinate perseverance in a disastrous and hopeless system. He entered into a review of the various disasters which had attended our arms. When the gentleman who moved the order of the day, had talked of the motion as tending to remove ministers from their situations, he wished he had recollected the debates about Ockzakoff, of which he might say, *quorum pars magna fui*: it would then have occurred to him that it was not impossible to make the minister abandon his system, however much he might appear wedded to it, without relinquishing his place. If the emperor was ready to negotiate with France, why could not we? The least exceptionable thing done by the Prussian cabinet since the commencement of war, was concluding a treaty of peace. Those we had forced into the war had shrunk out of it; and, instead of experiencing any disaffection of their subjects from an alliance with the French, never were subjects more

grateful to their prince for any political act, than those of the duke of Tuscany for this. When it was asked what had Holland gained by her disposition to negotiate? he would ask what she had gained by her allies? It was said the destruction of their system of terror had relaxed the energy of the French. That was destroyed on the 27th of July; and what had since been the progress of their arms? Sufficient to counterbalance any hopes from a late insurrection at Paris. Whatever changes took place, we had nothing to hope from them. Mr. Fox said he was accused of having approved the French revolution, as if that was an approbation of the cruelties of which it was made the pretence. If there was any probability of restoring royalty in France, it must be when the French were left to decide for themselves. When the allies talked of giving them a constitution, royalty had the odium of being supposed to aid the foreign enemy. To attempt giving to any country a constitution, was detestable; every country had a right to frame its own. We were not making war for any interests of our own (it was pompously asserted), but, on motives of beneficence and justice, for the interests of Europe. There might be chivalry in succouring those who called for succour; but the chivalry of succouring those who said they did not want it, was madness. Did any of our allies call upon us to continue the war? No; but we had got a new ally, the empress of Russia. She, however, was one of the earliest allies in this business; and, instead of her not doing any thing in consequence of a new alliance, the novelty would be her doing any thing in consequence of the old. Were
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he her advocate, he should say she had contributed more than her share to the purposes of the grand confederacy,—she had completely extinguished jacobinism in Poland; which, but for the arms of Great Britain, she could not have done: and this was all she would do. Every party, but Great Britain, was inclined to peace. The jacobins of this country, who had been alluded to, were, he supposed, those who wished for a reform in parliament at all hazards. Such were not numerous; but even in the city of Norwich they refused to sign a petition for peace, because they said the continuance of the war, and of the present ministers in office, tended most effectually to promote their views. The probable security of a peace with France, though not so great as might be wished, was not less than with any other power, or than in a treaty with those we called our allies. The evils of war we had felt; those of peace were matters of speculation; was it then fit to balance speculation against experience? Every debate upon the subject led the public to discuss the question; and the more they discussed it, the more they were inclined to peace.

Mr. Pitt said, however unfortunate it might be for the people of Holland, it was better for the world that they were united to France, after a severe and unsuccessful struggle, and when Holland could be no great acquisition to her! He admitted, he said, the diminution of the confederacy, but begged to know whether that confederacy had not furnished grounds for arguing upon in the discussion of peace and war, which they could not have had without it? Greater exertions had, he contended, never been made in the West Indies than

during the present war; and the great distresses there had been aggravated by a great mortality, and other incidental causes. At the present moment, he contended, perseverance in the contest was more wise and prudent, and more likely to effect a safe, lasting, and honourable peace, than any attempt at negotiation. To say that ministers ought to receive overtures for peace, was not only taking the first step, but taking it in the most exceptionable manner, and narrowing every advantage which could be gained by ministers in the negotiation for peace. On this account Mr. Pitt observed that the legislature did not interfere in such transactions as could only be fully understood by a few, and therefore it had been wisely committed to the executive government. Would then parliament step forward and assume this power of the crown at a crisis of peculiar delicacy? The object of the present motion had, he contended, been repeatedly negatived. One circumstance alone had been altered since that time, the increasing weakness of France; but this was by no means a reason for our negotiating. From taking all circumstances into consideration, Mr. Pitt said it was not, nor had it been since the commencement of the war, the interest of England to institute a negotiation with the ruling powers then existing in France. If the declaration of the emperor was authentic, it could only bind him as head of the empire; which did not prevent him, as duke of Austria, &c. from performing any agreement on his own account in these capacities. The French could not, he contended, reap any advantage from the submission of the Vendéens to the republic. With respect to the naval force which France

France was to derive from Holland, the present state of that country made that circumstance more favourable for this than we had reason to expect it would have been, when Holland was over-run by the French. The question, Mr. Pitt said, was whether the state of France was not so weak, the distractions and disturbances of the country, and the discontents of the people so great, that a new order of things, more favourable than has ever yet appeared, might not be expected! The number and efforts of their armies, the state of their magazines, the manner in which their requisitions had been carried on, and the speeches in the convention,—all, he said, proved that the vigour and exertion of the country had been diminishing. The depressed state of the assignats, and their incredible expence, proved them in a state of bankruptcy; and the scarcity and dearth of provisions gave every reason to hope for a new order of things more favourable to a general pacification. All this Mr. Pitt contrasted with the situation of this country, where, though taxes had, he said, been laid to an unexampled amount, they were borne without any material severe pressure.

The motion to facilitate the making peace with France was got rid of by the order for the day, for which the ayes were 209, noes 86.

A similar motion by the earl of Lauderdale was intended to have been introduced on the same evening into the house of lords, but, on account of his lordship's indisposition, was deferred till the 5th of June. His lordship then observed to the house, that whatever determination their lordships had come to on former occasions, some recent

events called upon them for a different decision. If they examined the present situation of this country, and the condition of the allies,—without quarrelling with their former decisions, their lordships would find it their duty to come to some specific proposition at this time, that would alter the nature of their former declarations. He should desire their lordships to compare the present situation of this country, in point of alliances, connections, and supposed prospects of success, and that in which it stood two years ago. Even the expence of the war must, he observed, if long continued, be the ruin of this nation, as there was not one of the allies, Spain excepted, which must not be eventually in the pay of Great Britain. His lordship took a view of the external and internal situation of the country, and of the conduct of the emperor during the last campaign. He thought the house under a necessity of coming to some determination which might remove some of the difficulties under which we laboured, and thought we had little to expect from the exertions of the emperor, whose resources, he inferred, from the difficulty he met with in negotiating a loan, must be nearly exhausted. The readiness of the London merchants to lend money when the terms were advantageous, occurred in the administration of sir Robert Walpole, though the attorney-general declared it to be contrary to law. From the treaty between the king of Prussia and the French, it was plain that no troops of the emperor, as king of Bohemia, would be allowed to pass through the Prussian territories. Considering the loss of Holland, and the situation of affairs on the continent, the idea of any great force being brought by the

the emperor against France, appeared to him ridiculous. But if the emperor had the power, how stood his inclination? His lordship took a view of the rescript, and pointedly ridiculed the idea of the emperor of Germany being at war with the king of Bohemia, especially in a war not for the acquisition of territory, but because France could not maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity. For this absurd distinction between the emperor and the king of Bohemia, the people of England were to pay between four and five millions, while the other expences of the war were incalculable. What chance of indemnification had we for the loss of blood and treasure we must sustain? If it were urged that there was no government in France with which we could treat, he would answer that it would not be found in any good book on the law of nations, that a government acquiesced in may not be treated with; and many instances of this occurred in the history of this country. Every power in Europe, Russia excepted, had already acknowledged the government of France: even we had negotiated with them by proposing an exchange of prisoners. The old argument would perhaps be used on this occasion, that, if any negotiation was to take place, it should be left to ministers: but he had seen no such wish expressed by them; and therefore he thought parliament ought to interfere. He was confident the French felt a disposition to peace, and thought Great Britain should manifest a similar disposition. His lordship called the attention of the house to the state of the poor suffering under the pressure of the war, and combated the idea that it was a war in support of the constitu-

tion. Ministers, he observed, would not at all be injured by the business before the house. He called to the recollection of the house the inviolable honour with which the French had fulfilled the alliances and negotiations into which they had entered with neutral nations, and the moderation of the present rulers. His lordship concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, praying him to enter into an immediate negotiation with the French republic, and to endeavour to procure a speedy and honourable peace.

The motion was opposed by lord Grenville, who observed, that it was very different from the question of expediency of negotiation, since, if there was no good argument for attempting to negotiate, there were still many arguments against the house coming forward at this time to regulate the conduct of the executive government. Parliament might come forward in certain cases to put an end to the measures of the executive government: the question was on the exercise of that right. It was quite uncertain whether any negotiation would at this time procure peace, still less a safe, honourable, and lasting peace. This motion, if carried, would have the most fatal effects: the enemy would argue from it, that parliament had no hopes of success: it would put it out of the power of ministers, whoever they might be, to make either peace or war. With respect to the exhausted finances of Austria, it was true, pecuniary assistance was wanted there; but parliament was about to grant effectual aid to that power, without any additional burdens on this country, for which we were to have great military aid, by which we were to hope for success by land, and to continue our
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superiority at sea. Could the rescript of the emperor, even if issued in the name of the king of Bohemia, &c. procure to Europe a safe and honourable peace? To obtain this, the best way was to be prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war. To confound the ideas of what the emperor might do in the diet, and as king of Bohemia, &c. might suit coffee-house politicians, but not their lordships. Besides, the grounds of the quarrel between the empire and the French, and those of the other sovereign states, were very different. Whatever might be the event of the negotiation between the empire and France, sure he was, that if the French retained their present possessions, the rest of Europe would not be safe. His lordship enlarged upon the distresses of France, arising from the depreciation of her paper money, which, he said, was greater than the most sanguine calculation could have predicted. There must, he added, be some regular and acknowledged government in France before we could treat with them. An attempt had already been made in the proposed exchange of prisoners, which had failed; for they had refused.

The motion was supported by the earl of Guildford, and opposed by lord Mulgrave. A conversation ensued between the earl of Lauderdale and lord Grenville, in which the former with great animation and force replied to the observations which had been made, and asserted that the proposal made to the French for an exchange of prisoners had been illiberal and unfair, that as such it had been seen by them, and as such refused. They refused to treat upon a subject which was temporary and partial, and which was intended only to enable us to carry on the war against

them with additional vigour. Two years had elapsed before any exchange of seamen had been thought of; and then the experiment was tried at a time when, after having declared to the world, by our measures at home, the difficulty we have in manning the navy, it was impossible any proposal could be agreed to on their part. The embassy of sir Frederick Eden was declared by lord Grenville to have been merely experimental; and as to the assertion that no overtures had been made,—he believed, had such been offered, they would not have been attended with much success. On a division of the house, the contents were 8; not contents 53.

Many spirited petitions were, in the course of the session, presented against the war: but any effects they might have produced were destroyed by counter-petitions from nearly the whole of those places whence addresses on this subject had appeared. The influence which the expences of a war create, was never more sensibly felt than in the present. Almost the whole of the monied interest have been gainers by it: and though the signatures to these counter-petitions were not numerous, yet it must be allowed that the weight of property was on the side of administration.

The convention between his majesty and the emperor of Germany, though frequently alluded to in the different debates, was not fully submitted to the consideration of the house of commons till very late in the session. On the 28th of May, the house resolved itself into a committee on this subject, when the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that, as the house had already decided upon the propriety and reasonableness of availing ourselves

selves of every means of assistance or the vigorous prosecution of the contest in which we were engaged, it was unnecessary to urge these points further. The house had, however, reserved to themselves to judge as to the security afforded for that assistance to the stipulated extent, and the repayment of the sums advanced. The advances already made went to about 550,000 l. and from the former votes of the house he thought this would meet with their approbation. After stating the terms of the loan, the security afforded for the stipulations, and for the repayment of the sum, Mr. Pitt added, that every precaution had been taken to render the transaction safe and advantageous to us. The subscribers had suffered anxiety and inconvenience from the delay which had taken place, and the necessity they were under of having their money in readiness; but the transaction presented to them a very advantageous prospect, which was a symptom of the flourishing state of public credit; and it was fair that those who had run the risque should reap the advantage of whatever change might arise. He concluded by moving, that provision be made for guaranteeing the payment of dividends on the loan, &c.

The thin attendance of members on a question of such importance was thought very extraordinary by Mr. Fox. He noticed, that, in a former debate on this business, four millions were to be granted to the emperor, on the ground of his providing two hundred thousand men,—that if he provided a larger army, there would be no objection on our part to grant him six millions,—that the emperor had received some part of this loan, and it was not known how our proposals would be re-

ceived at Vienna. The fact now was, that he was to receive four millions six hundred thousand pounds, over and above the sums already advanced. For this, did the emperor undertake to furnish more troops? No such thing. It now appeared that the emperor had never agreed to what had been stated to the house by the minister. Perhaps it was not criminal on the part of our government to advance the money which the emperor had actually received; but he was sure that the house of commons ought to have more and better information than the ministers had been pleased to give them, before they agreed to a proposition which was both dangerous and alarming. There was a rumour that this faithful ally of ours had acted in a manner not very consistent with the character which had been given him; if this be true, we were about to proceed upon very important business indeed, without the least security that we should not be deceived. It had been said, that, when the British and allied armies were in a situation of the greatest peril, and when a delay of only twenty-four hours of the Austrians would have been essential, that delay had been refused by his imperial majesty; and the silence of the minister upon that subject made Mr. Fox think that this rumour was well founded. We had continued to pay the emperor one hundred thousand pounds a month after he had deserted us. When an inquiry was proposed to be made into this business, we were told there were some difficulties in the way of an explanation. Was this an answer to a house of commons called upon to vote away the public money by millions? The Prussian treaty, greatly objectionable as it was, contained an article
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by which we were entitled to call for an account: in this there was in fact no such power, though we had been careful to preserve the appearance. If in one month the emperor should fail in his engagement, we might have correct information, but had no power to prevent that failure. It had been stated we were not answerable for the whole amount of the loan if the emperor should fail; we were answerable only for the dividends from time to time as the failure should occur. He professed himself much too stupid to see the difference between being answerable for the whole sum, and paying for ever the dividends that shall become due upon it. He liked not our security with regard to this loan, resting upon the punctuality of the emperor. He doubted this punctuality, as well as the faith of the military engagements of his imperial majesty. His faith in keeping his engagements might be seen by his refusal to pay money which had been lent by certain religious houses, and which he stated to be the property of emigrants from France; now it turned out that the money was due to English convents of nuns long established, who were the subjects of the emperor. There was not the smallest pretext that the emperor withheld this money from his enemies, which greatly aggravated the conduct of the emperor. It was a perfidious breach of faith in that monarch in money engagements, and an additional proof of the solvency, as it was called, of the bank of Vienna. As to the good use we had made of our credit in the terms of the loan, there were two reasons against that assertion:—first, it was not honourable for the British house of commons to sell the interest of the public credit; and if it was to be sold, it

should be for what it was really worth. Admitting the willingness of the emperor to fulfil his engagements, his ability ought also to be inquired into. It was a very important point in this convention, that there was no stipulation against the emperor's making a separate peace; and this convention was signed at Vienna at the very time that the emperor published the rescript to the diet at Ratisbon. Mr. Fox argued with his usual acuteness on the importance of voting away millions of the public money to so doubtful an ally, and the necessity of certain information respecting the intention of the emperor. Should peace be soon concluded between that monarch and the French, we should have given this immense sum for nothing. The distinction between the emperor and the king of Bohemia was ridiculous. Whenever peace was agreed upon, one of the leading articles of the treaty must be, that he should not suffer troops destined against France to pass through any of his dominions; and therefore he would forbid such troops from going through Bohemia against the then friend of the emperor, viz. France. He feared that the hopes of those who supported this war were founded on the insincerity of the emperor in this rescript. Exclusive of the infamy of such a proceeding, what security could be had in the conduct of any man, which was not founded on the principles of fair dealing? With what face of sincerity could the emperor come to the diet with his rescript in favour of peace, and at the same time open a loan with this country for the prosecution of the war? The diet were unacquainted with his determination to accept our loan when he published his rescript; and this was

a duplicity of such a nature, that we ought to be ashamed of taking part in it. He wished to take the sense of the committee upon this subject.

A conversation ensued, in which Mr. Hussey and Mr. W. Smith censured the negotiation of the loan which ought to have been brought fairly to sale, and the emperor not have been put to the expence of 250,000*l.* commission, when we might have procured it for him at much less. Mr. W. Smith thought, if the emperor of Germany was convinced of the necessity of restoring peace to Europe, it was natural to suppose he might feel the same necessity as king of Hungary and Bohemia. He added, that if the house could persuade themselves that the emperor, who had made war unsuccessfully when supported as he had been, could hope for better success when reduced to the force of his hereditary states, they saw things in so different a point of view from himself, as to leave no common principle to argue upon. It was, however, very extraordinary, that if the French were really so nearly exhausted as was represented, the emperor should be so ignorant of this as to deliver his rescript to the diet. This rescript was, in the course of the debate, mentioned by Mr. Jodrell, as stating the readiness of his imperial majesty to enter into negotiations with the French, both as emperor and king; but it was asserted by Mr. Pitt, that this was only the emperor's usual stile, and did not bind him as king of Bohemia. On the resolution being put, the ayes were 77, noes 43.

On the question for the second reading of the bill, Mr. W. Smith again requested the house to take the matter into serious consideration. He thought it doubtful whe-

ther we were likely to obtain an equivalent for so large a sum, and apprehended the question depended upon two considerations,—the probability of any co-operation on the part of the emperor,—and the efficacy of that co-operation. The first, from the rescript which had appeared, and from various other causes, he thought at best but doubtful. There was no chance of his doing any thing on the northern or eastern frontier of France. The disadvantage of attacking by the south-east department was well known: and from a geographical description of the French frontiers, Mr. Smith learned the impossibility of the emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, doing any thing effectual after he had concluded peace as emperor. From the situation of the king of Sardinia, and the history of the southern states, Mr. Smith urged the uncertainty of aid from that quarter. If the emperor was disposed to make peace, what security, he asked, had we for any part of the loan? We were going to risk four millions six hundred thousand pounds, upon a chance for which no private gentleman would give 400*l.* of his own property. Mr. Fox ably supported the same side of the question.

The loan was again defended by Mr. Pitt, who thought there was no evidence on which the house could fairly come to an unfavourable conclusion against the emperor. He represented the credit of the house of Austria as being as high as that of any other European power, and produced several instances to corroborate his assertion. No declaration of the diet of the empire was, he said, binding on his imperial majesty in his other and much more efficient characters, or any of the independent states. The whole history

tory of Europe demonstrated this. Did his majesty, when he furnished his contingent as elector of Hanover to any war on the continent, engage Great Britain in the contest? Supposing even a negotiation for peace was opened, did it follow that the terms should be immediately agreed upon, and that without consulting the interests of the different sovereign states? and should we encourage the enemy to make larger demands, by endeavouring to lessen the power of the confederacy?

Mr. Fox offered to produce any evidence that might be required, respecting the interest having been refused to be paid upon the Vienna bonds. With respect to those princes who were desirous of making peace, he observed, that their object would be to prevent the passage of the French or Austrian troops through their territory. As to the distress of France, on which so much had been said, it arose from two causes,—a scarcity of provisions which was felt in many other parts of Europe, — and their internal divisions. The former was in a great degree imputable to the war; but the emperor had not peculiarly contributed to this distress. He might indeed contribute to the divisions of the French, but it was by receding, not advancing against them. Observation plainly shewed, that, exactly in proportion to the pressure upon them, their exertions had been increased. As to the improbability of an immediate peace between France and the states of the empire, the great bar was removed—the French republic was virtually acknowledged. Another fact he should state, that the chancellor of the exchequer had said four months ago, that the emperor had agreed to bring 200,000 men

into the field, on condition that we aided him with a loan of four millions, in which sum were to be included the advances already made. These four millions were now, however, to be made up, over and above those advances. If the transaction had been fairly stated in the first instance, the emperor had already broken his engagement by requiring a larger sum than was originally stipulated for. The resolutions were agreed to without a division: but the second reading of the bill was warmly opposed by general Tarleton, general Smith, Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Fox. It was defended by the chancellor of the exchequer, and again read. On the third reading, Mr. Fox adverted to the surrender of Luxemburgh, and asked, whether, after the emperor had lost one of the most important fortifications in Europe, it was reasonable to expect any advantage from him in the present contest? whether, after the taking of that fortress on the 7th of June, a season which once we had been used to call the middle, but now scarcely the beginning of a campaign, there were any rational hopes of any successful operations of the emperor against the French?

On the question being put, the bill was read a third time and passed: but it met with considerable opposition on the third reading in the house of lords. The dukes of Norfolk and Grafton thought the present motion had been introduced too abruptly, and strongly insisted upon the necessity ministers lay under to explain a measure the most dangerous and destructive that the worst of ministers, in the worst of times, could have proposed. The example of the conduct of Prussia under similar circumstances, ought to have operated as a warning against

the present measure, which was in general obnoxious to the nation.

Lord Grenville denied that the loan was a burden upon the people, or ever likely to become so. With respect to Prussia, it was, he said, the first time he had heard, that, because we were disappointed in one ally, we were to seek no further alliances. The majority of the people were, he contended, in favour of a continuance of the war, and sensible of the propriety and necessity of continental alliances! Much was to be hoped, and little to be dreaded, from the present measure. The inclination, the interest, and the situation of the emperor, all tended to give ample security for the treaty, and to render it as beneficial as possible to this country.

The earl of Lauderdale strongly expressed his surprise at the minister having declined any arguments concerning the measure, on the ground that he had already said enough upon the former discussion of the treaty. The house might recollect that his lordship had at that time declined going into the subject till the loan was discussed, when he would be prepared for whatever could be said on the subject. The provisions of the bill were, in his opinion, quite inadequate to any secure purpose, even if the bill had been in its principle proper, which it was not. From an accurate calculation, his lordship contended, that the terms of this loan were as disadvantageous, as the security was dubious on the part of the emperor. The creditors of the emperor, Messrs. Boyd, Bensfield, and Co. knew much better how to take care of their own interest, than ministers did that of the country. He remarked that the bill contained no provision for the re-payment of the money already advanced to the Au-

strian generals last year: by this bill, indeed, the emperor might take the whole of the loan without doing anything for it; and no security was given that he would repay what he had already got. Upon the most accurate calculation, his lordship contended that the actions of the bank of Vienna were only a security for a certain term of years, while there was to be opposed to it an annual expence in this country for a time that would make its amount greatly over-balance all that would be produced by these actions. It had been stated, that the sums advanced last year might probably be paid back in November or December 1795: he was at a loss to guess why those were to be reckoned the months of greatest plenty at the bank of Vienna. This money had been called for in December 1794; and it was in these choice months that the prince of Cobourg had described the emperor's coffers as entirely drained. It was the fashion now to compliment the emperor as an ally: last year the same courtesy had been paid to the king of Prussia; and the consequences of both might probably be similar. When the treaty had first been introduced to the house, the minister had laid much stress on the anxiety of the emperor to serve the common cause. What had he done this campaign? At this period of the last year, the fate of the campaign had been decided; since which, nothing had been done either to prosecute the war or to facilitate peace. His lordship noticed the capture of Luxemburgh, and the disasters and calamities which so constantly pressed upon each other during the present war, and which alienated the minds of the people. We had been told, that, while continental alliances were necessary, we were carrying

on a vigorous naval war. Perhaps he should again hear of our having sent four and twenty thousand men to the West Indies: but melancholy was the reflection, how few of these men had ever arrived. It was at the same time a curious and distressing circumstance, that, while ministers were boasting of their successes in the West Indies, they were at the same time obliged to issue a million and a half of exchequer bills for the relief of the inhabitants of those islands, on account of the calamities of this successful war. His lordship next adverted to the meditated descent upon France, and censured it as delusive, chimerical, and impracticable. He noticed the change which had taken place, by the death of the son of the late unfortunate king of France, in the situation of the emperor, who, whilst he lived, had a family interest in the contest, which did not now exist. Was it then to be supposed that he should enter with increased vigour into the war? In every view of the subject, there was less chance of success in his exertions; and from every consideration of duty, interest, and connection, there was ground to think he was sincere in his declaration to the diet, and insincere with us; he had no money to get there—here he expected a loan. His lordship concluded a speech of uncommon energy and ability, by reprobating the measure as unprecedented, absurd, and ruinous.

The measure was defended by the earl of Mansfield, as leading to a vigorous and necessary prosecution of the war. His lordship thought the arguments just adduced had a dangerous tendency—that of inducing the French, though they were so nearly exhausted, to suppose this country on the verge of ruin, and the rest of the confederates in the same state. They would therefore regard themselves as the arbiters of Europe, and pretend to dictate the terms of peace. His lordship stated the different duties and interests which flowed from the emperor, in the different situations in which he stood, and had no doubt of the fulfilment of his engagements. He strongly urged the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, of which the present measure was a principal means. It was a war for the preservation of order, government, civilized society, and the cause of humanity.

The earl of Guildford said, that if the present war was necessary for the preservation of the objects described, the probability was, we must soon bid adieu to order, liberty, and civilized society. Lord Hawkesbury, viscount Sydney, and lord Grenville, strongly justified the loan; and were further opposed by the earls of Derby and Lauderdale. On the question for the passing of the bill, the contents, including proxies, were 60, not-contents 12.

CHAP. IV.

Marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Message from his Majesty relative to an Establishment for the Heir Apparent. Debts of the Prince of Wales. Debates in the House of Commons on the Prince's Establishment. Mr. Pitt's Plan for the Liquidation of the Debts of his Royal Highness. Debates on that Subject in the House of Commons. Debate concerning the Arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall during the Minority of the Prince. Bill for preventing future Princes of Wales from incurring Debts. Proposal of Lord Lauderdale for consulting the Judges respecting the Arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall during the Prince's Minority. Debates in the House of Lords on the Prince's Debts and Establishment.

IN the course of the preceding year, a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between his royal highness the prince of Wales, and the princess Caroline of Brunswick, daughter to the celebrated duke who commanded the memorable Prussian expedition against the city of Paris in 1792. From the troubled state of affairs on the continent, the arrival of the princess in England was delayed till the 5th of April; and, on the 8th of the same month, the royal nuptials were celebrated with becoming solemnity.

On the 27th of April, a message from his majesty was delivered to both houses of parliament on account of the debts of the prince of Wales. It stated the reliance of his majesty upon their generosity for enabling him to settle an establishment upon the prince and his august bride, suited to their rank and dignity,—that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to the prince till he was relieved from his present incumbrances to a large amount,—but that his majesty did not propose to his parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which may be settled on the prince, and the ap-

propriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a regular arrangement in the prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

After the reading of his majesty's message, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to consider it that day fortnight, upon which colonel Stanley moved for reading the address to the house on the 24th of May 1787. Upon this being done, he observed that the house had already liberally paid the debts of the prince; and he wished for a call of the house, that the attendance, upon an affair of such importance, might be as full as possible. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who stated that it was not his majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the principal debts, but to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament, to their gradual discharge. An establishment for the prince had long been a matter of general expectation. In a provision to be made for supporting the dignity and splendor of the prince of Wales, it was certainly necessary to

to remove from his affairs all clogs and embarrassments. Comparing the grants made to the grandfather of his royal highness, at a time when the scale of expence was infinitely less, the sum to be now proposed was comparatively small. He enlarged upon the necessity of supporting the dignity and splendor of the royal family in every branch; and that, on a subject of such general obviousness, there was no necessity for a call of the house.

Whatever was the mode in which this business was to be performed, it was contended by Mr. Grey, that it was, in fact, a provision from parliament for paying the debts of the prince. This had been stated as only an additional income to his royal highness; which had a tendency to mislead the public; and as it could ultimately make no difference to them, he thought it best at once to pay the debts, and to create a tax avowedly and specifically for this purpose. From a review of the burdens laid, and to be laid, upon the people, he objected to the statement which had been made, that the sum proposed was not greater than the house would be disposed to grant to support his honour and dignity, even if he had no debt. That dignity and that honour would, he said, be best supported by the prince shewing a feeling heart for the distresses of the poor. A long conversation took place respecting this second application of the prince, which, with the single exception of general Smith, appeared to be universally disapproved. In the course of it, Mr. Sumner thought, that, before the house consented to discharge any fresh obligations incurred by his royal highness, it was incumbent upon them to know how their former grants had been applied.

Such a retrospect was not, however, thought quite prudent by Mr. Pitt. Mr. Curwen directed the attention of the house to the causes which had produced the convulsions in France, which, he asserted, arose from the culpable negligence of the finances, and the prodigality of the princes of the blood.

The extent of the debts was stated by Mr. Pitt at between six and seven hundred thousand pounds; no part of which could be defrayed out of the civil list, as so many charges had lately fallen upon that. He expatiated upon the interest which the house had in preserving the hereditary succession, and in supporting the character of the hereditary house of Brunswick. Before the house gave way to heat or resentment, they would do well to consider, that in the issue of the discussion were involved the credit of the hereditary monarchy, and consequently the safety of the country. To this it was shortly replied by Mr. Martin, that the way which appeared best calculated for the preservation of the hereditary monarchy, was to prevent it from being oppressive to the people.

The further consideration of the prince's debts was resumed on the 14th of May, when Mr. Hussey proposed that the reports of the commissioners on the state of the crown-lands should be referred to the present committee. He stated that, by the first of Anne, cap. 7, this subject, and that of provision for the royal family, were closely connected. These lands had never yet produced above 6,000*l.* per ann. though they might be improved to the annual value of 400,000*l.* The motion was, however, objected to, as not proper in the present stage of the proceeding, and irrelevant to

to the subject, and was accordingly negatived; and the house proceeded to take into consideration the message from his majesty relative to the establishment of the prince and princess of Wales, and the liquidation of the debts of the prince.

After an animated exordium, in which the immediate interest of the country, in supporting the dignity and splendor of the royal family, was strongly insisted upon by Mr. Pitt, he proceeded to state the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the prince, and a jointure for her royal highness. These were the only objects to which he wished to direct the present consideration of the committee. The present income of the prince was 60,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which was about 13,000*l.* per annum. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, then prince of Wales, possessed a net income of 100,000*l.* per annum, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great grandfather, then prince of Wales, had 100,000*l.* without that duchy. From a review of these establishments, the house would see that his present royal highness ought to have a considerable addition, even if he was not incumbered with debt. The difference of expence, between the former period and the present time, amounted, he thought, to at least one-fourth of the whole income. He therefore proposed that the income of his royal highness should be 125,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. This was no more, he thought, than the committee would be disposed to allow to the prince on the event of a marriage which they approved and rejoiced in. Here, he said, rested the present

question: with respect to regulations to be made hereafter, he should state the preparations for the marriage at 27,000*l.* or 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate, and 26,000*l.* for finishing Carlton house. The jointure of the princess to be 50,000*l.* a year. The debts of his royal highness, which were for future consideration, he stated at nearly 630,000*l.* up to the last April quarter; besides which, there were some debts in which he was security for his brother; but from their meritorious exertions, such debts were in such a train of liquidation, and a course of punctual discharge, that there was no fear of their becoming burdensome to the public. He wished to take the sense of the house on the best mode of freeing his royal highness from his incumbrances, and was convinced that, before the house should take any step for their liquidation, they ought to be clearly stated for accurate investigation; and for this purpose he wished to know whether the house would prefer a secret committee, which was the most expeditious mode, or whether they would leave the whole to be settled under a legislative provision. Whatever mode was adopted, it was necessary that regard should be had to a provision against contracting debts in future. It was, he thought, necessary that parliament should mark the sense they entertained of the manner in which his royal highness had incurred his present embarrassments; and in that view the liquidation of the debt might properly be a tax on the affluence of the prince. He should, therefore, in a future stage of this proceeding, propose certain provisions for liquidating the debts out of the duchy of Cornwall, and the other income of his royal highness, certain

tain parts of which should be vested in the hands of commissioners, to discharge the debt and interest at four per cent, except such as bore legal interest at five. For this purpose he proposed 25,000*l.* a year should be set apart, which would discharge the debt in about twenty-seven years. In case of the demise of the prince of Wales within that time, 25,000*l.* would be charged annually on that succession; but in the event of the demise of the crown and of his royal highness within that time, the burden must fall on the consolidated fund. There were, he said, two heads to be attended to in the business under consideration,—the punctual payment of the debt already contracted,—and that no further debts should be incurred. For this purpose, no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter,—that debts not then claimed should wholly lapse,—that debts thus claimed should be punctually paid, and no other. Mr. Pitt further proposed to invest Carlton house in the crown forever, that the furniture should be considered as an heirloom; and that all suits, for recovery of debts from his royal highness, should lie against his officers. He concluded by moving, that his majesty be enabled to appropriate 65,000*l.* annually as an establishment for the prince of Wales.

Mr. Grey professed himself equally a friend to the real dignity and splendor of the monarchy with Mr. Pitt, or “any slippery sycophant of a court.” That the prince of Wales ought to have an establishment on the present occasion, there could be no doubt; nor was there a doubt that it would be granted by the people; but the stability of the monarchy did not depend upon establishments; and there might be occasions in which to re-

linquish them would be attended with more real dignity than could be derived from the greatest splendor and expence. With respect to increasing the present income of his royal highness in proportion to the difference which had taken place between the incomes of former princes of Wales, on account of the general increase of expence, persons, in apportioning the rate of their expences, must consider the means whence it was to be drawn. If the estate, which was the source of the income, was burdened with debt, a consequent necessity must arise for a curtailment of expence. In a period of such public distress as the present, was it proper to exceed the profusion of former periods? and would the legislature sanction the general habit of expence, which threatened the subversion even of the constitution itself? It was this habit which annihilated the independence of the rich, and aggravated the miseries of the poor. The striking effects of this system in another country, ought to inculcate the necessity of moderation in the present moment. The establishment of the late prince of Wales, for several years after his marriage, amounted only to 50,000*l.* it was not increased till after his family were grown up; and no application was made to parliament for the payment of his debts. Mr. Grey remarked several inconsistencies in the conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the prince's affairs. The original income of his royal highness, including the duchy of Cornwall, was 63,000*l.* Afterwards, when his debts were discharged, and an addition of 10,000*l.* made to his income, that gentleman had stated it as so ample, as to put it beyond doubt that

that he was in a capacity of maintaining the establishment due to his rank; yet, though the accounts on the table, relative to the necessary increase of expence, did not exceed 12,000*l.* he proposed an addition to the establishment, to the amount of 65,000*l.* This sum he thought disproportionate, and more than the house ought to grant. He was willing, however, to go the length of the liberality of former times. As to the incumbrances of the prince, the part he had taken on a former occasion compelled him to resist the smallest claim that could be made in the present instance. If a sum had been accumulated out of the savings of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the prince,—if a resource could be presented by a reduction of these trappings of state which incumbered without adorning monarchy,—or if any aid could be derived from the great savings which were stated to have taken place during the indisposition of a great personage,—he was astonished that any application should now be made to parliament. From disapprobation of the mode in which the debts were contracted, and as the only way to prevent similar demands, he wished to make no provision for them. By the statement of so large a sum as necessary for the establishment of the prince, and nothing done to lessen the scale of expenditure, he thought an encouragement was held out, or an excuse provided, for the contraction of new debts. Great regard had been professed for the dignity of his royal highness; but what could be more degrading to him, than to tie him down in the mode proposed? The best dignity, and the truest greatness, was integrity of character, without which no respect for rank or greatness would

long avail. The best means for the house to pursue, was to grant the prince a suitable income, but refuse entering into any discussion of the debts. He was sensible of, and lamented, the inconvenience which this would produce to the prince of Wales: but unfortunately there was only a choice of evils; and this was the least. Let him retire to a situation where he might, by reflection, qualify himself for the duties of his future station, and endeavour to come to a composition with his creditors, who, in such a case, would be satisfied with easy terms; and would not there even then be a sufficient provision for the comfort of two persons who had other resources to look to? Mr. Grey concluded by moving, that, instead of 65,000*l.* an additional sum of 40,000*l.* should be granted to his royal highness.

The original motion was supported by Mr. Lambton, as including every advantage which could be obtained from the present discussion. The amendment must either put the prince in a situation to contract fresh debts, or exile him from the metropolis; and, in his situation, an intercourse with all ranks of people was necessary. He considered the income as not granted from personal considerations, but loyalty to his illustrious house. Part of the present evil, he said, resulted from an ill-judged parsimony in the first instance. When the income of the prince was only 50,000*l.* they paid his debts, from the estimate of which, it might have been perceived he was spending 100,000*l.* those who had once got into debt, and found it easy to supply from their credit, were more and more inclined to plunge into the vortex; for the truth of which, he appealed

to many who were then present. No comparison could, he thought, be instituted between any imprudence imputable to his royal highness, and the extravagance of the French princes.

The necessity of economy, moderation, and prudence, at the present crisis, was strongly recommended by Mr. Curwen; and the same arguments were enforced by Mr. Burdon. It was observed by Mr. W. Smith, that the sums given to former princes of Wales had been granted from the civil list. He thought that splendor and dignity had been often confounded in the course of the debate. Splendor, on some occasions, might add to dignity; but, in others, dignity might be most effectually consulted by an abatement of splendor.

Mr. Fox admitted the necessity of supporting the splendor of the crown as an essential part of the constitution, but did not understand calling it, as it had been called, the centre of the constitution. He did not regard the establishments of former princes of Wales as the most creditable part of the history of the house of Brunswick. The establishment of George II. when prince of Wales, had been a mere matter of party; still more so was that of his son. The establishment of the latter had been 60,000*l.* when he happened to differ in opinion from his majesty's ministers, and 100,000*l.* when he agreed with them. Mr. Fox delicately adverted to the suspicious circumstances in which such a transaction placed that prince, and wished the house to avoid such a conduct as might expose the prince of Wales to similar suspicions. He blamed the scantiness of the former income granted to his royal highness, and exculpated himself for having

concurred in it on the ground of its having been an experiment, and that great deference was due to his majesty, who gave 50,000*l.* a year out of the civil list. A few years afterwards, other ministers advised his majesty to apply to parliament to exonerate the civil list from this allowance. In 1787, provision was made by parliament for paying the debts of his royal highness; and 10,000*l.* a year was added to his income. This he thought insufficient, but could not oppose it, after both his majesty and the prince had declared that it was sufficient. The declaration of his royal highness, that he would not again apply to parliament, had greatly surprised him; it was, however, a promise which, in honour, he thought him obliged to keep. It was, however, the opinion of ministers, that 60,000*l.* a year, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall, was sufficient for reinstating the prince in all his splendor. Upon what principle, then, did they now say that 125,000*l.* a year was necessary? This, he thought, could not arise from his marriage,—a circumstance which, whatever change it made in the lower classes, very little altered the expences of those in superior life. How then could those who, in 1787, said 73,000*l.* a year was sufficient, say that 138,000*l.* must be necessary now? It seemed that, like his grandfather, ministers measured the extent of his allowance by the degree of approbation he bestowed upon their measures. He was not actuated by the same motives, and should therefore vote for the larger sum, providing that no similar application should be made to parliament in future. Was the prince of Wales the first example the house would select for reform, or, in some sort, for punishment?

ment? It would ill become him to be very pointed in his disapprobation of imprudent expences in others; but he would say to Westminster, to the public at large, "if you complain of increased habits of expence, begin the reformation by reforming yourselves." Considering the influence allowed to the crown, was it seemly to act harshly and austere towards a prince who had no such influence? Something on this occasion might, he thought, have been spared from the civil list. Queen Anne, from a civil list of 600,000*l.* gave 100,000*l.* towards the support of the war. George I. out of 700,000*l.* a year, gave 100,000*l.* for the establishment of his heirs: and George II. the same sum. In the American war, parliament paid a large debt for the civil list, and added to it 100,000*l.* a year. The sum for the privy purse had been gradually increased from 36,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* a year. Why should not the establishment of the prince be proportionably increased? After the promise given in 1787, and that no engagement appeared on the part of his royal highness against future calls of the same nature, he was averse to noticing the debts. On account merely of the princess of Wales, for whom the house, by its addresses, was pledged to make a suitable provision, would he assent to relieving the prince from his embarrassments, but not without a sinking fund for liquidating the debts within a reasonable time. The small sum proposed by the minister for liquidating his debts, the payment of which would take twenty-seven years, he thought only exposed the prince to injurious reflections on the part of the public: relinquishing part of his state for the present, would leave a sum for the payment of his debts in a short

time, at the end of which the public would gain a beloved and respected prince of Wales; and his future years must be prosperous indeed, if he counted the years of his probation as the least happy of his life. For this purpose he wished the prince to give up 65,000*l.* a year, with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, for the discharge of his debts. The sale of the duchy would effect this much sooner, and without expence to the public. He had been informed it would sell for 800,000*l.* he would state it at 600,000*l.* and the prince's life-interest in it at 300,000*l.* There would then only remain 320,000*l.* of debt, which the fund he had mentioned would pay off in three or four years. Mr. Fox strongly advised precautions for the prevention of future debts; provided they were applied to all future kings and princes; but thought there were inconveniencies in making the officers of the prince responsible for his debts, which could not be obviated. Again he urged the propriety of his majesty having come forward, and asked whether it was for the interest of regular governments that monarchs should never appear to feel any portion of the public adversity. He charged successive ministers with having appropriated the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall to the civil list during the minority of the prince. It was, he said, a miserable plea, that they had been expended on his education. Would any man of fortune, whose son had a distinct income, charge him with the expences of his education? Upon its being objected by Mr. Wilberforce, that the sale of the duchy of Cornwall would be as much an expence to the public, as taking money in any other way, Mr. Fox stated, that a life-interest, which might be valued,

valued, belonged to the prince, the reversion to the public, and would still be at their disposal. On a division for Mr. Grey's amendment, the noes were 260, ayes 99. On a division for repairing Carlton house, there were against it 99, and for it 248. For the expences of the marriage 241, against it 100.

On the 28th of May, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that he should, on the Monday following, move a proposition, by way of instruction to the committee, for setting apart a sum from the income voted, for the liquidation of the debts. To this Mr. Powys observed, that it was necessary to regulate the prevention of future debts, as well as the liquidation of those already contracted, and professed his disappointment that no communication had been made to the house from the person most immediately interested in the business. This produced, on the first of June, a message from the prince of Wales, which was brought down by Mr. Anstruther, and stated that his royal highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the house, both with respect to his future expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him, for the discharge of his debts: his wish was entirely to consult the wisdom of parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in any abatement of splendor they might judge necessary; and desired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially disposed to think he ought to have; in fine, that whatever measures were taken by parliament, would meet with his hearty concurrence.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the house upon

the loyalty always shewn by them, the vigilant care with which they guarded the money of their constituents! and the propriety of the communication from his royal highness, and concluded by moving that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill relative to a general regulation of the expenditure of his royal highness, and an appropriation of part of his income for the discharge of his debts. This was opposed by Mr. Duncombe, who disapproved of the interference of parliament in the payment of the prince's debts, and declared that he looked to other resources for this purpose,—the justice of his royal highness to provide for the payment of his just debts,—his future economy in the regulation of his household,—and the munificence of his majesty. The latter of these resources was still further adverted to by Mr. Curwen, who regretted that no communication had been made on this subject from the highest source. Mr. Bastard, Mr. Sturt, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Grey, still further opposed the payment of the debts. The latter gentleman, in strong terms, blamed ministers for not having taken care to enforce the assurance formerly given to the house, and charged them with an attempt to confound the present question, as the additional sum, beyond what had been granted to former princes, certainly was given with a view to the discharge of the debt. Many means were, he said, in the possession of an illustrious personage; and, from regard to his family, and to royalty, it might be hoped he would come forward with his assistance; the latter of which, he observed, "can only be best preserved by rendering it as little as possible oppressive to the people."

The

The conduct of Ministers on this occasion was vindicated by Mr. Dundas, who stated, that, as the house had already decided for an income of 125,000*l.* the motion merely was, whether the whole should be left to the disposal of the prince, or whether the expenditure should be put under regulations with a view to the gradual extinction of the debts. It was impossible the house should refuse to comply with the request of the prince of Wales, to apply his income in such a way by legislative regulations as would be most conducive to his dignity and personal comfort, and the security of his creditors. With respect to the assistance referred to, the house had frequently had occasion to see the situation of his majesty respecting the civil list, particularly on occasion of granting establishments to the duke of Clarence, and the duke of York on his marriage; part of the provision formally made for the payment of his royal highness's debts arose from the liberality of his majesty. The civil list was wholly appropriated to particular purposes, except the sum allotted for his majesty's privy purse. He knew not of the existence of any such sum as had been referred to, and stated the numerous family of his majesty: the prince of Wales, he said, was the last who might be supposed to have such a claim, as, from the situation in which he stood, he was the peculiar care of the public.

A strict scrutiny into the nature of the debts was strongly recommended by several of the members, particularly Mr. Powis, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Fox was surprized at the opposition made to the present question; it was not calling upon the people to pay the debt in any degree, though

it was clear that a request would come to call upon the public for security against the contingent demise of his royal highness. The motion merely enabled the prince to set aside part of his income for the payment of his debts; which he could not do effectually without the aid of parliament. Mr. Fox enlarged upon the glorious opportunity afforded in the present instance for the display of royal munificence, and lamented that his majesty had not been advised to lead the way upon this occasion. Again he urged the sale of the duchy of Cornwall on the triple motives of lessening the influence of the crown, of advantaging the people, and of relieving his royal highness from dependence on the crown. It was allowed by Mr. Anstruther, that parliament had certainly the power of selling the duchy of Cornwall: but as the absolute property did not rest in the prince of Wales, the house had an equal right to order the sale of any other estate. He denied that the duchy was worth nearly so much as had been represented.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. Sumner to leave out that part of the motion which appropriated any part of the income of the prince to the payment of his debts; which was seconded by Mr. Grey, who again complained that those who, like him, had been willing to grant the prince a suitable allowance, but thought the house had nothing to do with his debts, had not been fairly dealt with. Mr. Pitt vindicated himself from any intention of wishing to act unfairly; and in this he was supported by Mr. Fox, who urged that the house was not by this vote pledging itself to pay the debts. This opinion was dissented from by Mr. Sheridan, who censured

fured the mode that had been pursued. The public never could believe that the minister would propose an annual income of 125,000*l.* for the prince, without any reference to his debts. He wished no instructions to be given to the committee for the payment of the debts, yet thought they ought to be immediately paid, for the dignity of the country, and the situation of the prince. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 114, and the original motion carried by a majority of 196.

On the 5th of June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought up an account of the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of the prince of Wales, an abstract of the debts *, and an account of the application of 25,000*l.* for

finishing Carlton house. He then stated, that, previous to the question of what proportion of the prince's income should be set apart for the payment of his debts, it was necessary for the house to ascertain whether they would incur the contingent risque of defraying such portion of those debts as should be unpaid in the event of the demise of his royal highness. It was his intention to move in the committee, that 65,000*l.* with the income of the duchy of Cornwall, should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts, making an annual sum of 78,000*l.* The burden could not be thrown upon the civil list, which, in the event of the demise of the prince, would be charged with the jointure of the princess. He should therefore move, that the committee

* STATE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES'S DEBTS, AS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

	£.	s.	d.
Debts on various securities, and bearing interest	500,571	19	1
Amount of tradesmen's bills unpaid	86,745	0	0
Tradesmen's bills, and arrears of establishment from the 10th of October, 1794, to April 5, 1795,	52,573	5	3
	£.639,890	4	4

An Account of the several Sums paid from the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall during the Minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

21st July, 1763,	£.12,000	0	0
21st May, 1765,	20,000	0	0
21st July, 1766,	16,478	11	2
8th July, 1768,	12,500	0	0
17th April, 1769,	11,000	0	0
6th April, 1770,	17,000	0	0
3d April, 1771,	8,700	0	0
16th April, 1772,	13,000	0	0
23d May, 1773,	12,000	0	0
4th August, 1774,	8,000	0	0
24th April, 1775,	12,000	0	0
17th April, 1776,	12,950	0	0
29th May, 1777,	9,720	0	0
18th April, 1778,	15,964	0	0
16th April, 1779,	6,640	0	0
26th June, 1780,	8,603	0	0
21st May, 1781,	15,700	0	0
25th March, 1782,	8,658	0	0
7th May, 1783,	12,051	0	0
	£.233,764	11	2

have

have a discretionary power to provide, out of the hereditary revenue of the crown (in case of the demise of his present majesty) during the life of his royal highness, for the payment of his debts; and, in case of the demise of the prince, to provide out of the consolidated fund for the payment of such sums as shall then remain unpaid. He explained, that for several reigns it had been thought proper to commute the hereditary revenue for a civil list. The mode he proposed, was the only one calculated to give security to the creditors, or, in the event of an accession to the throne, to render his royal highness responsible for the payment of his remaining debts.

The question, respecting the remainder of the debts being charged upon the hereditary revenue of the crown in the event of the demise of his majesty, being carried, a spirited debate took place on moving the second instruction. Mr. Fox observed, that, before he consented to burden the people, he wished to know whether the grant would be effectual for the purpose for which it was demanded:—as far as he understood, there was no compulsion on the creditors to accept the terms now offered. He did not know how the duchy of Cornwall was to be got at as part of the sum appropriated for paying the debts, as he understood that the present income of his royal highness was conveyed in trust for the benefit of his creditors. He proposed to move, that, in case of the demise of the prince, the remaining debts should be charged on the civil list, which had been increased by the death of the princess Amelia. With respect to parliament being bound to the payment of the prince's debts because they had approved of his marriage,

how much more was his majesty an immediate party in the contract? Mr. Pitt, in reply, urged that though in case of the demise of the prince, the civil list would be relieved from 60,000*l.* it would be liable to 50,000*l.* for her royal highness; that, if the prince left issue, there must be a provision for the infant heir apparent, and that if there was no issue, the duke of York would succeed to the duchy of Cornwall, and an income of 40,000*l.*

In the course of the debate, the sale of the duchy of Cornwall was repeatedly insisted upon. General Smith inquired whether the accounts included the whole proceeds of the duchy during the minority of the prince, and was answered in the affirmative by Mr. Anstruther, except the expence of the establishment, and a sum of 2500*l.* for public purposes in the county of Devon. The general remarked, that the estate of the duchy, under the guardianship of the court of chancery, would, during the minority, have produced 350,000*l.* and under the care of a gentleman, by being employed at compound interest, 380,000*l.* and at present would amount altogether to 600,000*l.* This revenue, Mr. Sheridan thought the prince was entitled to from his birth, though he thought him right in not having made any claim upon his royal father: but the accumulated sum belonged neither to the king nor to the prince, but to the creditors of his royal highness. Mr. Jekyll contended that the legal opinion, that the duke of York, in case of the demise of the prince of Wales, would succeed of right to the duchy, was not a formal opinion, but one incidentally thrown out upon the interpretation of the word *primogenitus* in deciding on a different question.

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He conceived the commissioners to be appointed ought to inquire into the appropriation of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the prince. Sir John Scott on the other hand contended, that the prince had only a life-estate in the duchy, and he doubted whether the revenue during the minority was to be accounted for. From the first grant of the duchy, the king had maintained the prince of Wales till he thought proper to give him the livery of the duchy, which he might do at any age. This he contended for from the distinction between the tenure by knight's service and soccage. If the revenue, however, during the minority, was the property of the prince, it certainly belonged to his creditors: if it had been applied to the general purposes of the civil list, the public ought to refund, since it was for their service.

Mr. Sheridan, in a speech of much length and uncommon eloquence, opposed taking any sum from the consolidated fund till every other resource had been tried; though he neither approved selling the duchy of Cornwall, nor the crown lands, as the latter would bind the house to grant in future the civil list for life. He forcibly urged the propriety of ministers having suggested to his majesty the necessity of his setting an example on the present occasion. Were, he asked, the expences of the prince so very unpardonable? His majesty possessed many great and good qualities: but on the subject of expence and keeping his promise with the public, would the prince suffer by a comparison? In this he imputed all the blame to ministers. On his majesty's accession, the civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* a year, which was then thought so ample, that parlia-

ment was assured from the throne, that the civil list should not be suffered to run into arrears; since then, debts of the civil list had been paid to an amount, which, at compound interest, would exceed seven millions. The chancellor of the exchequer had, in the early part of his administration, assured the house that no more debt should accrue on the civil list, yet soon after called upon the house to pay a new debt. Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the embarrassments felt by the prince on account of the narrowness of the income which had been fixed for him, during which his royal highness had often consulted him, chiefly because he knew his fixed determination to accept no favours; and he took this opportunity to declare publicly that he had never received any from him. Their intercourse had of late been less frequent; but he felt no less desire to do him justice: 160,000*l.* was paid for the prince in 1787, 60,000*l.* for Carlton-house, and 80,000*l.* more was voted to complete the building, which, on the investigation of a committee, was found to have been faithfully applied. All the money, from the date of his first establishment to the present day, did not exceed 75,000*l.* a year, which was 25,000*l.* a year less than ministers had originally thought his establishment ought to be. He had, he said, advised the prince not to make the promise, from the improbability of its being kept. He had at that time drawn up a plan of retrenchment; which was approved by the prince and by his majesty; and the prince told him, the promise was not to be insisted upon, though, to his great surprise, he found it inserted in the king's message which had been sent by his royal highness. The prince

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wished him to retract it, but this he declined. Ministers had then a check upon the expenditure of the prince, which they never enforced: they had never interposed to stop a shameless profusion of money upon Carlton-house. Under these embarrassments, there was an attempt made to raise a loan for the prince in foreign countries, which, after a conversation with lord Loughborough, was put a stop to, and the bonds burned, though with considerable loss to the prince. Another plan of retrenchment followed, and the prince was advised by lord Thurlow and Mr. Sheridan, not again to apply to parliament; to take no party in politics; to retire from public life, and apply the greatest part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. He was then told by lord Loughborough, that the advice favoured too much of that given to M. Egalité, and he could guess from what quarter it came. This plan was therefore relinquished; and the prince, by the one now proposed, has neither the grace of suggesting the retrenchments, nor the checks upon his future conduct. He was set in a gilded pillory, and sent to do penance in an embroidered sheet. Something, he said, ought to be given by the king. There were debts due to honest tradesmen, to whom no exception could be taken, which ought not to be postponed. There were, on the establishment, gentlemen of honour, whose salaries were fourteen quarters in arrear. Carlton-house being made the property of the public, the public ought to pay the expence of rebuilding it. This would reduce the debts to 500,000*l.* The interest of this, at 5 per cent. would be 25,000*l.* In 1777, the privy purse was made 60,000*l.* a year, and the queen received 50,000*l.*

for her establishment. He should therefore expect 10,000*l.* a year from the privy purse, and 5,000*l.* from the queen's establishment: for the remaining 10,000*l.* a year, he would look to places and sinecures, taking them as they fell, which in time would form a fund for paying off even the principal. Mr. Sheridan then proposed an amendment, that nothing should be charged upon the sinking fund till it should be found that the resources he had indicated were insufficient.

Mr. Dundas greatly preferred the security being upon the consolidated fund rather than on the civil list. The expectations of the king contributing towards the payment of the debts, were, he thought, very foolish, and not to be gratified. He ridiculed the proposal which had been made, of making the allowance of the civil list annual. Mr. W. Smith desired a message in the reign of George I. might be read, where five millions were charged upon the civil list, and contended that what was then done would shew the propriety of doing the same now. The debate was concluded by Mr. Sturt, who thought the question was, whether the house, after the solemn pledge given by the prince in 1787, not to incur debts, would now agree to pay them?

The amendment of Mr. Sheridan being withdrawn, on a division of the house, there appeared in favour of Mr. Pitt's motion 148, against it 93.

On the motion of Mr. Pitt, the annual sum of 65,000*l.* was appropriated to the revenue of the prince out of the consolidated fund, by a majority of 93 against 68. A conversation then took place respecting the appropriation of an annual sum out of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, towards paying the

the debts of his royal highness, and whether the consent of the duke of York was not necessary, which occasioned instructions to the committee for this purpose, during the time that his majesty or his royal highness shall be interested in that revenue. The commitment of the bill was opposed by Mr. Whitbread, as containing provisions degrading and disgraceful to the prince, who was, however, stated by Mr. Lambton to be perfectly satisfied with its principles, and in general approving the restrictions. Mr. Powys and Mr. Fox thought many points still remained to be discussed before the subject was sufficiently matured for the decision of the house. What Mr. Fox particularly objected to was, that the income of the prince was, he feared, laid under the management and approbation of the minister. He further objected to considering the furniture of Carlton-house as an heirloom, as unfair to the prince and to his creditors. The sale of the duchy of Cornwall was again strongly recommended by several members, particularly Mr. Sheridan, who opposed the commitment. The house, however, went into a committee, when it was moved, to allow the prince 65,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, limiting the sum to 40,000*l.* which was negatived by a large majority. Another amendment was proposed by sir W. Young, that the annuity should be paid out of the civil list: but upon the question for taking it out of the conso-

lidated fund, the ayes were 149, noes 16. Twenty-seven thousand pounds were also granted on account of the marriage of his royal highness, and 27,000*l.* for finishing the repairs of Carlton-house. On the report of the prince of Wales's establishment bill being read, general Smith proposed to appropriate, out of the sum allowed to his royal highness, 1250*l.* per quarter, for the private use of the princess of Wales; which was negatived*.

The arrears of the duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the prince, which had been so frequently adverted to in the preceding debates, were again made the subject of discussion by general Smith, on reading the report. He moved a clause for inquiry into the amount of the revenue during that time, with a view to its being applicable to the liquidation of his royal highness's debts. The Attorney-general admitted that he had been inaccurate on a former night respecting the tenure of that duchy, which was of a nature so difficult and peculiar, that it was very difficult for him to describe. It was a fund set apart by the legislature for the support of the prince of Wales, who had very properly been represented as *major a die natiuitatis*. The right of the prince was extremely difficult to ascertain; if it was a fund for his support from his birth, the king, as his guardian, had the disposal of the fund during his minority; and the long period which had since occurred, would render any claim on the part of the prince extremely doubtful. To this

* The commissioners appointed for discharging the debts of the prince were,

The speaker of the house of commons.

The chancellor of the exchequer.

The master of the rolls.

The master of his majesty's household.

The surveyor of the crown lands.

it was added by Mr. Pitt, that if any claim existed, it was on the part of the public. The revenue had been applied in aid of the civil list, and as such had been recognized by parliament. If this was a fund for the support of the state and dignity of the prince, it was certainly intended that the appropriation of this fund should prevent any expence from falling on the civil list, or the public. Who would then have a right to set off against the income any expence incurred on account of the prince? The expence of his education had been 80,000*l.* with an extraordinary expence of 3,000*l.* this included the duke of York: but as the same preceptors would have been necessary for the prince, this made a trifling addition. In 1783, 60,000*l.* was granted to defray the expences of his outset: in 1787, his debts were paid to the amount of 219,000*l.* These united made 300,000*l.* and would be deducted from the proceeds, if they were to be adjudged to him during his minority. Mr. W. Grant contended that the prince had no legal claim to the revenues of the duchy during his minority.

With respect to the duchy being a fund for the support of the prince of Wales, Mr. Fox contended that this was not the only fund conceived necessary, since the principality of Wales, and the earldom of Chester, had been granted for the same purpose. Natural feeling, he said, required that the king, like other fathers, should be charged with the education of his son: and because parliament had payed a debt of 600,000*l.* it was not to be inferred that they would with the same facility pay 800,000*l.* He thought it of the utmost importance to ascertain what was due to the

prince. The expence of his education, and that of the duke of York, as appeared by a paper on the table, for a term of years, had been 40,000*l.* of which 25,000*l.* at most could be charged to the account of the prince, though at the same time the revenue of the duchy was 75,000*l.* The 60,000 voted in 1783 was not for the prince, but in aid of the civil list; and of this the prince did not receive more than 20,000*l.* On a fair calculation, it would be found that he had not received more than 100,000*l.* above his regular income; and the revenue of the duchy during his minority, with interest, amounted to 500,000*l.* On a division, there appeared for the motion 40, against it 97.

A bill for preventing future princes of Wales from incurring debt, was presented by sir W. Pulteney, and passed the house; and the jointure of the princess was settled at 50,000*l.* a year.

Previous to the second reading of the bill for settling an establishment on the prince of Wales, in the house of lords, the earl of Lauderdale, on the 22d of June, proposed calling in the opinion of the law lords, respecting some points involved in the bill, particularly the right of the king, or prince, to the proceeds of the duchy of Cornwall. The right of the prince he apprehended to be acknowledged by the act of Edward III. by subsequent legal determinations, and by the 33d of Henry VI. and at that time the duchy was understood to be the property of the prince; for parliament passed that very act to allow the king to receive the proceeds, on condition of his allowing alimant, &c. to the prince, till he arrived at the age of 14. The questions his lordship wished to ask, were,

were, 1st, What estate the prince has in the duchy of Cornwall? 2d, When did that estate vest in him? 3d, When did he become entitled to receive the property? 4th, Was the king entitled to receive the proceeds to his own use, without account or consideration of maintaining his royal highness during his minority?

The bill was read a second time on the 24th of June, and lord Cholmondeley brought down a message from his royal highness similar to that sent to the commons. The principle of the bill was strongly objected to by the duke of Clarence, who pointedly censured ministers for depriving his royal brother of the least popularity in the measure, in order to obtain it for themselves. The bill to prevent future princes of Wales from contracting debts, was attended with a marked personality to his royal highness. When the marriage of the prince of Wales was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should be exonerated from his debts. From such a stipulation, was it to be expected that the debts were to be left hanging over him for the space of nine years or longer? Was this a method to support his dignity and independence? The prince had certainly acquiesced in whatever measures were taken by the wisdom of parliament. How could he do otherwise? Advantage had been taken of the difficulties in which he was involved, to procure this from him. He was forced to express his acquiescence, that something might be done. His royal highness pointedly censured the pamphlets that had been written, and the expressions made use of in the other house, to the prejudice of the prince. Persons who had great powers of eloquence, and abundant

choice of animated expressions, had exerted their powers in obtaining a subsidy for the king of Sardinia of 200,000*l.* a year, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* to the king of Prussia, and the loan of 4,600,000 to the emperor; but when the business of his brother was to be brought forward, it was prefaced by "an unpleasant task," — "an arduous undertaking," — "the regret of laying additional burdens on the people." Had they, however, spared this, they would not have had one vote the less. His royal highness remarked on the unpleasant situation of the princess of Wales, and added, that, in the event of her having children, the movers of the bill must be obliged to come forward with amendments.

The commitment of the bill was moved by lord Grenville. The duke of Bedford thought the reflections cast upon his royal highness had too much of asperity, and remarked upon the inconsistency of voting away millions in the prosecution of a war said to be in support of the throne, and refusing to grant a few hundred thousands for supporting the dignity of the heir apparent. There were many circumstances, his grace remarked, in extenuation of the errors of the prince. It was observed, in a speech of considerable length, by the earl of Lauderdale, that five hundred thousand pounds had been paid for queen Anne, — George I. had one million three hundred thousand pounds extraordinary allowed him, — George II. about one million five hundred thousand pounds, — and this at a time when the public revenue was less by millions than at present.

Lord Grenville warmly defended the conduct of ministers, though the blame, if any, upon a former

occasion, could not attach to him, as he then held, he said, no official situation. The duke of Clarence, in reply, stated that his lordship was minister in 1792, when there was a statement of facts on the incumbrances of the prince presented to a certain quarter. His lordship, however, declined replying, and observed there could be no debate where there was no equality.

The principle of the bill was opposed by the marquis of Buckingham, as burdening the consolidated fund, without eventually relieving the prince. The creditors of his royal highness, also, were not bound to come in and state their claims, and would be mad if they did so, as they must stand a chance of losing their debts, if they lost the vouchers and documents for them. At least they must be subject to have them re-examined, and, if allowed, only receive a debenture, on which there would be a discount of five per cent. The bill was strongly defended by the earl of Caernarvon, and the commitment agreed to by the earls of Guildford and Moira, to avoid the inconveniencies which the prince must otherwise suffer, and in consequence of the message received from the prince. The promise, formerly given by his royal highness, was stated by lord Moira

to have been slightly read to him, and made by him under the expectation of having 100,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. His lordship reprobated the calumnies circulated against the prince, and in refutation of them stated the willingness of his royal highness to have every part of his debts publicly known. He censured the mode of appointing the commissioners, in the choice of whom the prince had no part, but professed his intention of not opposing the present bill, as he trusted, such was its absurdity, that parliament and the public would soon set it aside.

A further conversation upon the bill took place in the committee, in which the different arguments for and against the measure were enforced. In the course of it lord Thurlow complained of the grossly libellous pamphlets which had appeared against the prince, and hoped the authors, whether pensioners or not, would be brought to condign punishment. On the whole, he thought the bill so defective, that it must be hereafter amended. On the 26th of June, the bills for preventing future princes of Wales from contracting debts,—for granting an establishment to his royal highness,—and for granting a jointure to the princess of Wales, were read and passed.

CHAP. V.

Motion in the House of Commons for an Allowance in Time of Peace to Militia Officers. Bill for new-modelling the Militia of the City of London. Militia Artillery Bill. Motion for a Committee to consider the Duke of York's circular Orders respecting an Allowance to the Army, without the Consent of Parliament. Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—negatived. Motion relative to the Conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in the West Indies. Petition from West India Merchants. Relief granted by Means of Exchequer Bills to West India Merchants. India Budget. Conclusion of Mr. Hastings' Trial.

THERE is, perhaps, not any subject in the whole range of British politics which ought more to interest every Englishman who has the remotest regard for the constitution of his country or the liberties of mankind, than the extraordinary measures which have been latterly pursued with respect to the military establishments in this kingdom. It may be laid down as a maxim, that the liberties of a nation can never be annihilated but by a military force; and it may be concluded, with equal certainty, that when an immense military power is once established, no country, nor any description of men in that country, can be free. The executive government itself, in the Roman empire, was controuled and enslaved by the Prætorian bands. It is of the utmost importance to observe carefully the conduct of ministers in this instance, since (as they have not proved themselves endued with the most perfect powers of penetration and foresight) their measures may possibly lead to consequences which even themselves may not apprehend.

On the 6th of March, Mr. Windham moved for a committee to prepare an estimate of the charges of certain additional allowances to be made to certain subaltern militia

officers in time of peace. This measure was opposed by general Tarleton and Mr. Curwen, as a step towards assimilating them to a standing army, establishing a military government, and increasing ministerial patronage. The motion was, however, vindicated by Mr. Windham, as coming from that respectable body—the field-officers. The first observation that struck him as a proper question upon this case, was,—are the militia destitute of a sufficient number of officers to serve in subaltern situations? If they were, he would ask, was it fit they should remain in that situation? And if it was not fit, was there a prospect that the deficiency would be supplied without some step taken for that purpose by parliament? This measure was the reverse of an encouragement to officers by way of half-pay: it confined the allowance to subaltern officers, so as to connect it with the performance of the service; and the principle of it was, that none should have this addition in times of peace, who had not served in times of war. The bill was approved by the colonels Stanley, Sloane, and Upton, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Yorke: it was opposed by Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan. What was the dif-

ference, Mr. Fox asked, in point of substance, between half-pay, and a provision in time of peace for services in time of war? He doubted not, there was a considerable difficulty in raising militia officers; the same difficulty occurred in every branch of the service, and arose from the adoption of a bad and narrow system. If any thing was wanting in the army, a remedy was immediately provided for that particular thing, without considering the consequences, or taking precautions that in providing for one branch another should not be injured. A similar difficulty might arise in the army; and perhaps this very measure might tend to create it. The militia stood upon a principle totally distinct from what governed the army; they did not enter with the hope or prospect of making a fortune, and could only be employed when the country was in danger. The pay given to militia officers was further stated, by Mr. Sheridan, as not a remuneration for their services, but a compensation for the expence of their attendance. The proposed provision would prevent spirited young men of property from taking, in the first instance, the rank of lieutenant. All the captains would be selected from the gentlemen of the county of a certain description of property; and those who were placed in that rank, would thus be precluded from any previous knowledge or experience of the service. He thought it an unfortunate symptom of the national disposition, that, in a war which was represented as calling for the exertions, &c. of the people, in a greater degree than in any former contest, it was necessary to hold out additional inducements to engage men to enter into the

service merely for the defence of the country.

Mr. Pitt urged the propriety of providing in time against the inconvenience of a deficiency of substitutes. If it was unconstitutional, he said, to apply to the militia the same inducements which were held out to the army, they ought not to receive pay at all during even the period of actual service. The provision was, he contended, materially different from that granted to officers in the army; the proportion was by no means the same; and another difference was, that this provision was only to be granted to officers who continued to serve in the militia in time of peace. As it was necessary the militia should be ready whenever called upon, it was of consequence to the country that they should be provided with experienced officers. Mr. Cox, Mr. Wilberforce, and general Smith, approved of the measure; and a bill was ordered to be brought in on the first resolution.

On the third reading of a bill for new-modelling the London militia, on the 30th of March, Mr. Sheridan strongly objected to it as an infringement on the chartered rights and military privileges of the citizens. He contrasted the precipitancy with which the bill was passed in the last session, with the tardiness of the proceedings since that time. From the statement he produced, he contended that, contrary to the boast that had been made that the bill would not affect the poor, the ward-rate extended to women, to the blind, and the lame. From an able review of the different charters granted to the city, he contended that it had, from time immemorial, possessed the right of commanding and keeping at home

home its own militia; and that no man could produce an instance wherein the king had commanded their services by proclamation, as he usually commanded the other militia. Some, however, he observed, had an idea that the 13th and 14th of Charles II. destroyed this privilege; but these, he argued, only gave the king supreme authority over the London militia, when it was to move out of the city, or to go into actual service. Had the 13th of Charles II. however, had any force, it would have been annulled by the confirmation and renewal of the city charters, which took place two years after the passing of that act. He had, he said, no objection to raising the two regiments, but begged they might not be considered as abolishing the ancient militia, and ended by moving as an amendment,—“provided always, that his majesty’s lieutenants, who are or shall be commissioned, shall continue to levy the men according to their numbers and qualities; and that the train-bands and auxiliaries shall enjoy the rights and privileges usually granted.”

Mr. Lushington and Mr. alderman Newnham, thought there could be no loss in parting with the trained-bands, which the former ridiculed as a Gothic establishment, and thought *the defence of the city would be better intrusted in the hands of military men, than placed in the hands of the magistrates!* He mentioned the perfect readiness with which the citizens would march to any part of the country that was threatened by the enemy, praised their military associations, and thought it strange that it should be desired that the population of the city of London should not contri-

bute in proportion to the general defence.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, congratulated the citizens of London on their new representative having begun his parliamentary career by an attack on their chartered rights. He could not but allow that our ancestors had many Gothic prejudices against standing armies, the erection of barracks, the governing the city by a military instead of a civil power; and, in less Gothic times, a Beckford had proved the fact. The whole of the present measure, he said, he considered as a juggle between the craft of despotism, and the laziness of commercial luxury, assisted by the vanity and corruption of individuals. The result was the surrender of a great and proud distinction preserved with jealousy for ages, and accompanied with the mean acknowledgment that the city of London was no longer capable, without military aid, of preserving its own internal peace, much less of disputing the encroachments of power, should such a crisis arrive. Believing that his opposition would be ineffectual, he ceased, however, to press the matter, and withdrew the amendment.

Late in the session a bill was introduced under the plea of training a part of the militia to the artillery service, which, however, appeared to contain some arrangements which were thought unconstitutional. No notice, however, seems to have been taken of the bill till the 22d of May, when the second reading was opposed in the house of lords by the earl of Radnor. His lordship acknowledged that, in a war like the present, it was certainly necessary to assist and reinforce the artillery corps, and stated that the militia had

had been looked to for this purpose; and a meeting of militia officers had been held to take the subject into consideration, in which certain resolutions had been agreed upon, to the effect of tendering to government their assistance in training men to the artillery service. Undue advantages had, his lordship thought, been taken of this, as the bill authorized the taking away all men who had, by the zeal of their commanders for the military service, been fully trained for artillery duty. The bill was further injurious to the militia service, by allowing all privates, who were on any account dissatisfied, to secede from it on the plea of having been bred to the sea, or wishing to be enrolled in the royal artillery corps. This must, he observed, injure the discipline of the militia. The effect of allowing one in ten of the privates to be discharged into the corps of artillery, might amount to so large a number, as very seriously to thin the ranks, and lessen the strength of the constitutional force. The clause, impowering commanding officers, by beat of drum, to raise volunteers in the room of those so discharged, was strongly opposed by his lordship. Where were men, he asked, to be got at the time of year when the militia were encamped, and in actual service? What authority had any colonel of militia to compel his officers to go upon the recruiting service? The bounty-money was also distributed equally; whereas, in some counties, men were to be procured much more readily for two or three guineas, than in others for ten; a discretionary power, therefore, ought to have been vested in the officers.

Lord Grenville enforced the pro-

priety and necessity, at the present time, of seafaring men serving in the navy rather than in the militia. The number of men who would require a discharge, he did not think likely to be near the number which had been stated; but if the principle of strengthening the artillery was right, it could not be improper to carry that principle into effect by the most certain means. The bill was further supported by the marquis Townshend, and the earls Spencer and Hardwicke, and lord Mulgrave. The marquis of Buckingham pointedly enforced the objections of the earl of Radnor. He analysed the preamble of the bill, and declared that the objects it avowed were mischievous and impolitic. After considering and disapproving nearly the whole of the bill, the remainder, he said, wholly consisted of clauses irrelevant to the statement in the preamble, and were clearly thrown in as ingredients of the mass of a militia bill, which, in the other house, was generally considered as that kind of mass, in the cooking of which many gentlemen thought themselves entitled to have a hand. On the question for the second reading, the contents were 23, not contents 6. Some further opposition was made to the bill in its subsequent progress; but it passed, notwithstanding, like all other measures of the minister, by a great majority.

During the time in which the prince's establishment was in agitation, a question also relative to the army occurred. On the 18th of May, general Macleod moved for a committee to consider certain circular orders issued the 18th of April by his royal highness the duke of York to the general officers commanding districts,—also circular orders

ders of the same date from the war-office, and others from the war-office dated April 20th,—all respecting allowances lately granted by his majesty to the army, without the advice or consent of parliament. This motion was introduced by a speech from the general, in which he stated that, in 1792, an extra allowance for bread had been allowed to the army serving in Great Britain; first of three halfpence, and soon after of an additional penny. For meat an extra allowance had been made of whatever exceeded four-pence halfpenny per pound. In order to calculate the amount of these extras, it would be necessary to ascertain the number of men in arms in the pay of government in this island. These the general estimated at 100,000 men, to whom the allowance for 1792 would amount to 379,600*l*. A new allowance for 1795, without the consent of parliament, was granted,—for bread 151,840*l*. and for meat, of which it is impossible to make a precise estimate, 227,760*l*. Half of this had, indeed, been ratified by the subsequent approbation of parliament. The general condemned the measure as highly unconstitutional. An order from the war-office, counter-signed, indeed, afterwards by the secretary at war, had laid a burden upon the people of England, of near a million sterling. This burden was laid even during the sitting of parliament, as if a studied insult was intended, or a precedent sought, by which ministers might take the money of the people without the consent of their representatives. The mode in which these allowances were made, had a tendency to impress the soldiers with a conviction, and the corresponding sentiments, that they depended, for every comfort and

douceur, not on the virtue and patriotism of their fellow-subjects, but on the royal bounty. The general strongly approved of enlarging the pay of the soldiery, but he wished it done in a constitutional mode. The present mode induced three great grievances,—the people pay an additional tax,—the price of provisions is enhanced by the certainty the butchers have that the soldiers have no other interest than to pay the price demanded,—and it was by such strides of the executive power over the popular and aristocratical barriers of the constitution, that the people fell helpless, though often voluntary slaves, into the hands of courts. After strongly arguing against the danger of the present measure, the general moved two resolutions,—the first, “that it was the opinion of the house that it was unconstitutional, &c. to augment the pay of the forces without previously consulting, or afterwards submitting such a measure to, parliament; and, andly, praying his majesty to order to be laid before the house the causes of the late grants, assuring him of the readiness of parliament to concur in making every necessary provision in a constitutional manner.”

The measure was justified by the Secretary at war on the ground of necessity. The objections urged might, he said, be divided into two parts,—first, to the general principle, and, secondly, to the particular measure. The first, if carried to its utmost extent, would equally apply to every allowance in kind. It had always been usual to give bread to the soldiers in camp, on the consideration that government might, by contract, furnish it the most advantageously. So, in the present case, government might be able to find meat at four-pence

pence halfpenny a pound, when the soldier could not. In a great part of the country there was no rise; which would not render it necessary for government to pay more than that price; in the other places where there was, relief was justified. Sufficient precautions were taken against soldiers purchasing at what price they please.

Mr. Fox said, the question simply was, whether it was fitting, during the sitting of parliament, to grant any augmentation of pay to the army. He did not object to the augmentation, "considering the price of provisions, but to the mode in which it was made. The augmentation which had taken place in 1792, he had then lamented, and should still more if it was to be made a precedent. The present too, at a subsequent period, might be used as a pretence for a more alarming advancement. If parliament had not been sitting, the pretence of necessity might have been urged, but could not at present.

It was stated by Mr. Pitt, that the reason no message was sent to the house was, that no estimate could be made out, of the relief which it was necessary to grant. It was entirely a contingent relief, varying according to place and time; and nothing was more common than for parliament subsequently to sanction a measure so adopted. An augmentation of pay, which had been recommended as a preferable mode, could not be taken away; which might be the case with a temporary relief adapted to the extent of the occasion, and ceasing with the exigency that gave it birth.

The motion was further opposed by Mr. Steel, and approved by general Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. M. Robinson, and general Tarleton,

who observed that royal donations had never been in use, except when they preceded, at a small distance, the downfall of an empire. Next year we should have to vote nearly a million of money to pay the expence of this measure. In one word, it was part of the system adopted by ministers, and manifested by the building of barracks all over the kingdom. By landing the Hessian troops, and the arguments used in support of such measures, ministers proved their intention of introducing an entire military government. The amount of the sum to be called for, was thought by Mr. Grey of much less importance than the principle of this measure. He urged the necessity of the house of commons holding the public purse, which was exemplified by the uniform practice of parliament. It might have been impossible to estimate the expence; but a message might certainly have been communicated to parliament. There appeared to be too much management in this affair on the part of ministers, to attribute the whole of it to accident. Mr. Francis strongly opposed the measure, and said, that if any principle in the constitution of this government, or in the institution of the house of commons, was clear and indisputable, it was, that they alone had the command and disposal of the public purse, and that the crown had not the command or disposal of it for any purpose, least of all for augmenting the pay of the army by bounties or allowances of any kind. That for the crown to dispose of the public money in favour of the military, was not only invading the privileges of the house, but invading them for the most dangerous purposes, that is, to secure the attachment of the army to the

the crown in contradistinction to the house of commons, by making them consider the crown as the source of every advantage they enjoyed or expected to enjoy. It was said, that enough was done by resorting to the subsequent sanction of the house. Suppose that sanction should be refused, what would then be the situation? On one side the crown would entitle itself to the gratitude and affection of the army, while, on the other, the house of commons would necessarily become the objects of their hatred, and possibly of their revenge. The chancellor of the exchequer had, he said, observed that there was a precedent for this proceeding; that the house on a similar occasion had paid the charge, and, by so doing, had approved of the measure. This, Mr. Francis contended, was fallacious reasoning, that paying a charge incurred, did not necessarily include approbation. It might be an act of necessity, and no choice be left. It was, however, the duty of the house to take care that the ministry should not have it in their power to appeal to such precedents again. After some further debate (in which the motion was opposed by the Solicitor general, Mr. East, sir Horace Mann) sir W. Pulteney moved the previous question; and, on a division of the house, there appeared in favour of it 67, against it 23. The original motion was consequently lost.

On the 26th of February, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his annual exertions in favour of the oppressed African slaves. He reminded the house that the subject on which he then addressed them, had been decided upon by them in the resolution passed in 1792, when it determined "that from and after the 20th of January, 1796, it shall not be lawful to import any African

negroes into any British colonies or plantations." He entered into a recapitulation of the dreadful enormities of the slave trade, the consideration of which had produced the resolution, — the cruelties to the unhappy Africans, the injury to civilization, and the prodigious loss of British seamen in the trade. He referred to the able arguments adduced and enforced in the house, to prove not only the inhumanity and injustice, but even the impolicy of this traffic. This subject had, he observed, ever since the year 1788, been under consideration, had been completely investigated, and maturely weighed. Every means had been afforded for developing the truth of his statements against the slave trade, or detecting them if groundless or exaggerated. Almost the whole house had acknowledged the charges were made out and substantiated. Had any fresh information, he asked, been obtained, which proved them mistaken? The contrary was the fact: and in confirmation of this, he appealed to the testimony of the governor and council of the settlement of Sierra Leone, whose accounts entirely agreed with those he had formerly given, particularly of its tendency to bar the admission of knowledge and civilization into Africa. Some gentlemen had, he said, travelled three hundred miles from the sea, and, instead of the miserable villages they had left on the coasts, found a city containing seven thousand inhabitants, the capital of a powerful kingdom. Reading and writing were common: they employed horses both for use and pleasure, and were civilized in a much higher degree than the inhabitants of the coast, though they had never seen an European. This was in direct contradiction to the established

established maxim, that civilization commenced the earliest, and advanced the most rapidly, on the sea-coasts of every country: but the slave trade reversed all the natural principles of reason. With respect to injuring the West Indies, his conviction against that was stronger now than ever. By the great numbers brought into the islands, the disproportion in the number of females to males was completely done away. There was another topic on which he must press for particular attention; this was the system pursued by the French in the West-Indies, the fatal consequences of which must be obvious. They had emancipated, disciplined, and successfully armed a number of negroes against us. He reminded the house of the amazing disproportion between the blacks and whites, the ability of the former to bear fatigues in a climate which would be almost immediately fatal to an European, and the peculiar disposition to revolt, which was manifest in the newly-imported Africans. He left the house to draw the proper inference from these premises, but thought it was little less than insanity to continue importing new slaves into the islands under such circumstances. Had the abolition been at first agreed to, 150,000 fewer negroes, from whom the worst consequences were to be apprehended, would now be in the islands. In proportion too to the growing discontents in the islands, it would become necessary to send over increasing numbers of European troops; and their demands would reach to such a magnitude that this country could no longer answer them. He further enforced the advantages which the enemy might derive from the capture of our African vessels, and forcibly ex-
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plained upon every argument which could be advanced against a traffic so iniquitous and detestable. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, and was seconded by Mr. W. Smith.

The abolition was opposed by Mr. Barham, Mr. East, and Mr. Dent. They considered the publications of the Sierra Leone company as suspicious and unauthenticated. From the circumstances and prejudices of the West India planters who were to execute the proposed abolition, it was very improbable the mode would be effective. The discussion of the question they thought extremely dangerous at the present moment, when it was so liable to be misrepresented by the French for their own interested purposes. They had supplied the negroes with arms, and had given them qualified freedom; they had also sent emissaries into our islands in order to excite discontents amongst the negroes. The tenure of our West India possessions was so extremely fragile, that it was of the utmost consequence to avoid whatever might still further endanger their being lost. The discussion must create uneasiness to the planters; and the slaves, hoping for immediate emancipation, would be irritated by disappointment. The proceedings on this subject in the house of lords, made it extremely improbable that the abolition bill could pass for a length of time. The chancellor of the exchequer had deprecated all reform at the present crisis; and this ought to extend to our West India possessions. What recompense, it was asked by Mr. Dent, could we have for the prodigality of so much blood and riches, if this motion passed? or of what advantage would be the possession of St. Domingo,

Domingo, if the plantations might be immediately deserted? If the bill passed, he thought there was no security for any kind of property.

Mr. Whitbread and Mr. W. Smith forcibly argued in favour of the bill, and observed, that the discussion of the question, which had been so much deprecated, was the cause of that amelioration in the situation of the slaves, which gentlemen who opposed the bill had stated as a reason against any further agitation of the question. The former gentleman pointedly censured the tardy proceedings in the house of lords, and was joined in opinion by Mr. Fox, who stated that the resolution of the house of commons had been sent up to the peers in April 1792; that, during the remainder of that session, they had allotted six days to the subject, and examined seven witnesses; in the next year, they had allotted five days and examined seven witnesses, but in the year following, had appropriated only three days, and examined two witnesses. One good, he stated, had arisen from the discussion of the business,—that even those who opposed the abolition, did not defend the trade. No argument even had been brought to prove that the calculation of Mr. Wilberforce, respecting keeping up the supply of slaves without any additional importation, was fallacious. The slaves in our colonies from whom the most danger was to be dreaded, were, he contended, those newly imported. The abolition would improve the condition of the existing slaves, and remove the ground of their discontent. In proportion as their numbers were few, their treatment was likely to be better. If the French succeeded in their plan of training, disciplining, and arming the negroes, might

it not be necessary to oppose them by the same means? and we should surely have much more to hope from having treated them with confidence and kindness, than from the contrary system. If, as was allowed, newly-imported slaves were the most dangerous,—in proportion as we increased the importation, we increased the danger. Much had been lately urged on the danger of importing principles; he thought the danger of such importations as these was infinitely greater. It was urged, that the means now proposed were not the most proper to effect an abolition. He thought them, however, the most plain and obvious; and should they even not succeed, it was material to do away the evil of a British parliament countenancing the existence of so atrocious a crime.

The reason why the abolition of the slave trade had, in the year 1792, been deferred to 1796, was, Mr. Dundas said, in order to give the planters time to make suitable arrangements, and to procure a sufficient stock of negroes to answer future exigencies. These ends had, however, he contended, not been answered; the planters had been unable to import a sufficient number of slaves, owing to the war. He deprecated the discussion as affording the French a pretext for exciting the slaves in the West Indies to discontent, by urging to them, that the legislature of Great Britain had been very willing to commiserate the Africans, but had been totally negligent about ameliorating their situation. He wished, for the sake of this country, however, that the importation of slaves into the West Indies could be prevented during the war: indeed he still retained the opinion, that policy as well as justice required, at a pro-

per time, the abolition of this trade. It was said that the merchants and planters were combining to prevent the abolition; this, he thought, would be eventually injurious to the colonies, and to the planters themselves. He thought, however, that this ought to be effected gradually, and therefore moved to adjourn the question for six months.

The motion for an immediate abolition was supported by Mr. Pitt, who asserted, that, from the number of slaves imported into the West-Indies since 1792, there were more than the house could possibly have calculated for, even under the idea of stocking the islands. In the two first years the imports had been very great; and though checked since from recent events on the coast of Africa, the trade had certainly not declined since the commencement of the war. He would allow that the colonies were at present a tender point for consideration; but the danger arose from the existence of the trade in question. Had the slave trade in 1792 been abolished, the danger might have been prevented: by abolishing it now, the danger might be done away. Mr. Pitt compared the opposite evils which were to be dreaded in the present instance, and inferred, that it was preferable to furnish the enemy with arguments in a bad cause, rather than with thousands of barbarians to fight in their cause. This bill could not indeed produce discontent amongst the negroes in the islands, since, however ignorant they were, they must know that the importation of fresh negroes neither alleviated their suffering, nor reduced their labour. The arguments in favour of the abolition were forcibly combated by sir W. Young; and on a division of the house for postponing

the motion for six months, it was carried by a majority of 17.

The conduct of sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis in the West Indies had, in the preceding session, been honoured by the thanks of both houses of parliament. On the 2d of June, Mr. Thelussion moved in the house of commons for copies of the affidavit, &c. of Mr. Mallepine relative to the proclamations issued by these commanders, and the subsequent transactions at St. Pierre, to be laid upon the table. The production of these papers was strenuously opposed by Mr. Grey, on the ground, that, should the house enter into an inquiry respecting the conduct of sir C. Grey and sir J. Jervis, the affidavit might be made evidence. It had, he said, been circulated pretty industriously among the members of the house, and in the city, and conveyed a direct attack on officers who were not here to defend themselves. He reprobated the affidavit as a gross and scandalous perjury, and hoped it was not so loosely worded, but that the author might be brought to condign punishment in a court at law. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox wished much for the production of the affidavit, which certainly ought to be commented upon in order to obviate the calumnies which had been circulated against two distinguished officers. The production was, however, opposed, as not evidence of any thing positive, even in the court where it was taken. Mr. Thelussion and Mr. Lushington vindicated the conduct of Mr. Thelussion with respect to the memorial presented by him on this subject to the duke of Portland. The motion was, however, negatived.

Immediately after this discussion, Mr. Barham brought forward a motion

motion respecting the conduct of these commanders in the West Indies. The transactions, he said, of which he complained, were such as demanded the interposition of the house, whether they considered the commercial interest of the country, or the recovery of the national honour. The delay which had taken place in this investigation, Mr. Barham stated to have arisen from the tardiness of ministers in answering his inquiries, and producing proper documents. The complaints made against these commanders had not, he thought, been without foundation, though he was willing to confess their characters were high in every respect, except as to their conduct in the West Indies. He thought the declaration of sir C. Grey, that he kept no copies of papers, particularly none of a proclamation in the island of Martinico, was of itself an evidence of some blame. When he found that this proclamation was complained of there, and disapproved at home, why did he not think fit to order and preserve a copy of it? Did not ministers ask for copies? If there ever was a copy, when did it disappear? Was it when they suspected an inquiry would be made into these proceedings? Those were questions which ought to be answered plainly and unequivocally. The letter of sir C. Grey stated also, that the accounts sent home were not correct. He knew, he said, of no inaccuracy; but they were certainly not complete. There were papers of great importance which had not been laid before the house: he had, however, the good fortune to be supplied with one, which was a petition of some of the inhabitants of St. Lucia. The motion he intended to propose, was not for a committee of inquiry, as

he could not tell whether that motion would be proper, till he saw the papers which he had moved for; and he did not believe he should obtain an inquiry, if he did move for it. It had been urged that he had been four months in possession of the papers belonging to these commanders. This he denied, but added that some of these proceedings required no evidence; and to them he should confine his motion. If he was told of the service of plate and the testimonials given to these commanders, he should remark that the first was the act of a few; and with respect to the latter, the inhabitants of the islands were at that time complaining in courts of justice, of their conduct. There were several points to be considered in this business,—the original promise of protection to the inhabitants of the islands,—how far the conditions demanded had been complied with, how far forfeited by them,—the degree of resistance made to his majesty's troops,—and whether it justified the severity of military law which had been adopted. These were points which could not be entered into without an inquiry; he therefore laid them aside at present. Supposing, however, the resistance to have been made, he would consider how far the proclamation could be justified according to the practice of war, and the laws of nations,—how far it suited the particular situation of the West-Indies at the time,—and how far it was compatible with the general interest of the state. The degree of resistance made to the troops, he said, was much exaggerated. What he complained of did not apply particularly to the acts of severity of the commanders, but to the principle of the proclamation on which those acts proceeded. Mr.

Barham observed on the printed papers, that in the first place the inhabitants were told, that all who availed themselves of the invitation, in a quiet and peaceable manner to submit to the authority of his majesty, and put themselves under his protection, should enjoy personal safety, and the full enjoyment of all their property,—those excepted, whose removal should be necessary for the safety of the island: but even those, whatever their conduct, were promised a safe conveyance to France. Nothing was here said of confiscation. He then proceeded to consider the proclamation of the 10th of May, signed by the governor of Martinico, general Prescott, under the order of the commanders. In this the inhabitants were required to choose representatives who were afterwards to meet, and fix in an equitable manner a general contribution (the amount of which shall be made known to them) to be paid by all who possess property in the colony; the commander in chief having decided that such an arrangement would be more convenient than a general confiscation. Another proclamation took place on the 20th of May, in which it was said, that, no attention having been paid to that of the 10th, requiring representatives to raise a sum of money *adequate to the value of the conquest*, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigue, and its consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expence incurred by the British officers, &c. who, with matchless perseverance, &c. had achieved the conquest of the island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest number of its inhabitants, &c. and the procrastina-

tion of this arrangement having prevented several of the inhabitants from carrying their commodities to market; the commanders, in order to remove an evil of such importance, do enact and ordain—First, the civil commissaries in their respective parishes to deliver exact lists of the inhabitants, with the number of slaves, cattle, acres of land, &c. and a specification of all productions made and gathered on each estate, wherein ought to be distinguished, those made and collected before the 23d of March.—Secondly, the civil commissaries in towns and boroughs to deliver a list of the houses, slaves, &c. enumerating all sorts of property.—Thirdly, the civil commissaries were required to demand all account books, &c. belonging to French captains or agents, and an exact account of all property falling under the description of vacant succession in the colony, with a correct inventory of all the goods, &c. belonging to such as had been captured in arms, killed during the siege, or banished the island, and a specification of the property of all persons resident in France.—Fourth, the commissaries were to name all persons who appeared not disposed to fulfil the purpose of the proclamation.—Fifth, the reports were to be made with the utmost expedition, as it was the firm resolution of the commanders to have the present measure fully executed, or, on failure of it, to enforce a general confiscation.

Nothing could be more clear, Mr. Barham said, than that a general contribution and confiscation were intended by these proclamations: and how it could be proved that they were not intended to be carried into effect, he could not conceive. From a careful perusal of the

the dispatches, he contended there was not the shadow of a proof of any opposition to his majesty's troops, that made this measure necessary. The inhabitants, in consequence of the first proclamation, had joined us, and, from the manner in which they were afterwards treated, saw they had better have opposed us. This was, he observed, in the highest degree injurious to our character. As to the island's being taken by storm, the thing to him appeared impracticable. If there was an insurrection here, would any one talk of taking Hampshire by storm? At Martinique, the contest lasted 23 days, and only 34 men were said to be lost. Guadeloupe held out eight days, and St. Lucia three, and was said to be taken without loss. If these places were taken by storm, the French must in this war have totally lost their character for fighting. He thought, however, that these circumstances proved the inhabitants did not oppose us. Had they, however, resisted, how far were these proclamations just or politic? Upon this he thought the house ought to come to a decision, that the law of nations might not appear a chimera. Conquered enemies, he thought, became subjects entitled to protection: but in this point of view the inhabitants of these islands had not been treated; and therefore the house ought to annul the proceedings of those commanders. This mode of levying contributions was, he contended, unpractised in former wars, — contrary to the act of parliament which regulated that point on our part, and contrary to the instructions given to the commanders. These proclamations had, he contended, been acted upon; and he read a petition to the commanders, complaining of this grievance. Had they, however, not been acted upon,

they ought to be disavowed. Mr. Barham concluded by moving an address to his majesty, praying him to recall the proclamations, as dangerous to the interest of this country, and injurious to the credit of its arms.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Manning, who referred to the declaration of 1793, as explanatory of the principles on which the war was to have been conducted, and from which the proclamations alluded to were a wide deviation. The instructions also to the commanders, in speaking of booty, expressly excepted the property of the settled inhabitants, against which the proclamations were more especially directed. The affidavit of general Myers stated, that in Martinique a general resistance had been made to the British arms. Let it be recollected that this island was thirty leagues in length, and seven in breadth, and how far it was probable that a general resistance could have been made. Many former instances there were, where a considerable degree of resistance had occurred, yet no such principles as those in the proclamation had been enforced. The loyal disposition of the inhabitants of Martinique might be inferred from a fact stated by general Bruce, that 800 French planters had taken up arms in the British cause. All of these must have been either removed or massacred; yet it did not appear in the late expedition, that any steps had been taken to secure their property for their heirs. At the time also for taking the oath of allegiance, the concurrence was so great, that many were obliged to be sent away. He referred to the distinction between the law of war and the rights of conquest. When the conquest took place in the islands, no reservation had been
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made of the rights of war; the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, and were recognized as British subjects; yet soon after an assembly was convened for the purpose of levying a contribution, who, by declining to meet, gave evident proofs of their dissatisfaction. The first contribution had been in St. Lucia, where 300,000*l.* was imposed, which was afterwards reduced to 150,000*l.* Of this the largest sum said to have been raised amounted to 35,000*l.* a plain symptom that the original imposition was exorbitant and oppressive. As to no complaints having been transmitted home during the command of sir C. Grey and sir J. Jervis, no notary could be found to draw up a remonstrance without the certainty of incurring the displeasure of the superior council, and the consequent risk of being expelled. Mr. Manning noticed some particular cases of oppression which had taken place, and contrasted the conduct of the marquis de Bouillé at St. Kitt's, with that of the present commanders. He had, he said, received hundreds of letters from respectable planters, not personally interested in the French West-India islands, strongly reprobating the conduct which had been pursued, exhibiting the rapacity and oppression to have been such as was calculated, on a reverse of fortune, to produce a dangerous retaliation from the French. To vindicate this proclamation, great stress might be laid upon the transactions in St. Eustatius: but it was a precedent which he believed would not be very popular in this country; and there was, between this and that, one material difference, as the commanders on that occasion had received instructions to take possession of it as an hostile arsenal.

Mr. Grey, in a long and very

animated speech, entered into a vindication of the two gallant commanders. He ridiculed the contradiction between the usual statement, in which the West India merchants joined, that the present war on the part of the French was a war of rapine, cruelty, and devastation; on the present occasion they were represented as a moderate, humane people, from whom no apprehensions were to be entertained, except so far as they might be led to retaliation by the cruelty of Great Britain. It was absurd to suppose that the devastations in Guadaloupe and Granada, were owing to the misconduct of the British commanders. Was it probable that proclamations which had been annulled and not acted upon, should produce such effects? By the expression, *value of the conquest*, on which so much stress had been laid, nothing more was meant than the value of the property liable to be confiscated, not the value of the fee simple of the island. On the subject of the rights of conquest, in which it was stated that, the moment resistance ceases, the people subjugated come under the protection of the conquerors, he had always understood that when terms had been refused, and the utmost resistance made, the persons and property of the vanquished were subject to the sovereign whose troops occupied the territory. Booty, which had been so much objected to, was also the reward of conquest in every instance where resistance had been pushed to its utmost limits. Under this description of booty, the proclamation included nothing but the stores and produce of the planters, which had been manufactured and packed up for exportation, before March 23; and this booty had been assigned to the soldiers only under grant to his majesty,

jeſty, and ſubject to his future diſpoſal. This Mr. Grey thought a politic meaſure, ſince, if the ſoldiers were not allowed what they felt to be their due reward, they would conceive they had a right to take it. The inſtructions given to the commanders contained, Mr. Grey thought, a complete vindication, not only of what they had done, but what they intended to do. So far from there being no right to booty except on the capture of a fortified place,—in one copy of inſtructions relative to booty, mention was made of what might be taken in a ſettlement; in another, the caſe was put of a conquered country. He quoted, from hiſtory, many inſtances of the practice to which he alluded. As to the proclamation, however worded, being acted upon, no ſooner were the commanders informed that it occaſioned diſcontent, than it was immediately annulled. It was impoſſible to judge whether the proclamation was right or wrong, except ſome method could be deviſed for taking into conſideration all circumſtances connected with it. It was ſaid that its contents were contrary to the declaration of the 1ſt of January: but had that declaration been accepted? The terms held out in that were not merely protection, or removal: it was added, that whoever ſhould oppoſe it, would be treated as enemies, and remain expoſed to all the evils of war. Did not this plainly point out conſiſcation, and whatever was authorized by the rights of conqueſt? The inhabitants of Martinico had, he ſaid, in general reſiſted. The ſtatement of the honourable gentleman who had gone ſo far back as the expedition of general Bruce, proved that the great majority there were decidedly at-

tached to the convention; and thoſe who had taken part with the Britiſh, had ſince been expelled or maſſacred. The memorial of Mr. Theluffon, which had not been ſuffered to lie on the table, was, Mr. Grey aſſerted, a ſeries of falſehood from beginning to end; and the affidavit on which it was grounded, was an inſtance of the groſſeſt perjury. Mr. Grey then proceeded to the conſideration of the affidavit of Mr. Malleſpine to confirm this aſſertion. Several reſpectable officers were ready to give evidence that the conqueſt of Martinico, inſtead of being eſſected in 23 days, had taken up from the 6th of February to the 25th of March; and inſtead of 34 men only having perished, it would be found from the returns of the killed and wounded, that they amounted to between two and three hundred. He read a letter to ſir Charles Grey, preſented by colonel Chalmers, major O'Callaghan, major Burnet, and captains Smart and Douglas, to prove that all the people of the iſland defended themſelves to the laſt, and that, conſequently, ſo far from being entitled to the indulgent terms of the proclamation, they were liable to its threatened ſeverity of conſiſcation, &c. In ſupport of this, they detailed at length the tranſactions of the attack, and preſaced the report by declaring they had peruſed the memorial and the affidavit. Reſpecting the courts of law being filled with complaints againſt the conduct of the commanders, he had communicated with the ſolicitor, and had found that hitherto no claim had been exhibited but by Mr. Malleſpine. As to no notary-public having dared to draw up a remonſtrance while the commanders remained in the Weſt Indies, he deſied gentlemen to produce any

instance in which any complaint presented to those commanders had been rejected. The disavowal of the proclamations could not be contended to be useful, since they had already been virtually reversed: and when, by the motion claiming that disavowal, it was intended to wound the feelings and the fame of those commanders who had rendered to their country the most eminent services, and had received the thanks of the house, he must give it his decided negative.

The motion was further opposed by Mr. Dundas, who defended his own conduct in resisting the applications of the West India merchants in his official capacity. The accusers in this business had not, he observed, attempted to prove that any thing arising from the proclamations gave just foundation for the fears and alarms they had so industriously circulated. In St. Vincent's and Granada, was it not, he asked, owing to the insurrections of the Caribs, aided by the Jacobins and their principles, that devastation immediately followed? The proclamations had indeed been so immediately annulled and abandoned, that it was impossible any actual grievance could have taken place in consequence. What was it wished that ministers should do? Were they to disavow proclamations which had been more than twelve months abandoned, and never acted upon? His majesty's ministers and the commanders had, he contended, acted conformably to the law of nations, and from the soundest legal advice. With respect to the prize-money, the king had not yet decided respecting the disposal: of course, nobody concerned in the expedition could be said to have received it. He denied the easiness of the con-

quest, and thought that the resistance met with by the British forces, fully warranted every proceeding that had taken place. After fully replying to what had been urged, and complimenting in the highest terms the commanders in this expedition, Mr. Dundas declared his intention to move two resolutions, the substance of which was, "That the inhabitants of Martinico had not availed themselves of the terms held out by the proclamation of the 1st of January, 1794; and there was no general rule founded on the law of nations respecting private property, which entitled them to the advantages offered, after they had resisted his majesty's forces." The second, "That the two proclamations having never been acted upon, could not come before the house for their decision, and that the house agreed on again expressing their thanks to sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis, in the same terms with their vote of thanks the preceding year." In order, however, to get rid of the motion then before the house, Mr. Dundas moved for the previous question, and was seconded by sir W. Scott, who contended for the impropriety of the house expressing any opinion upon things depending in the competent courts, where no strong public interest called for their decision. He entered with great ability into the law of nations as applicable to a state of war, and thought that to punish error or inadvertency in the application of those principles, would be to subject commanders to a responsibility too rigorous to be incurred. Some expressions might occur in a proclamation, which it might be desirable to correct: but the house would judge by the intention, and the manner in which

which it had been acted upon. The affidavits, he said, would not be held sufficient evidence in the courts of admiralty for a decision in any single case.

The previous question was supported by colonel Wood and by Mr. C. Dundas, who read several extracts of letters from sir Charles Grey to general Dundas, very honourable to the character of the commander. It was opposed by sir W. Young and Mr. East; and further supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, who observed, that the whole of the confiscations which were to be divided between the army and navy, amounted only to 83,000*l.*—a captain's share to 200*l.* and not more than a third or fourth of them were now alive to receive this pittance. Mr. alderman Lushington contended against this, that the contributions at Martinico went to raise a sum of 700,000*l.* and founded his calculations upon 300,000*l.* having, as he stated, been levied upon St. Lucia. This assertion was contradicted by Mr. Grey. That sum, he said, had been proposed in lieu of prize-money, and reduced to 150,000*l.* of which about 12,000*l.* had been raised, and afterwards remitted. The contribution, if carried into effect, could not, however, he added, have been in the same proportion at Martinico, where prize of another description was brought to account for the capture.

On the motion for the previous question, the ayes were 67, noes 14; and on the first of Mr. Dundas's resolutions, the ayes were 64, noes 13. The second resolution was, at the desire of several members who thought the proclamations had been acted upon, divided into two parts; when the ayes were 57, noes 14. The motion of thanks was carried,

with the single exception of Mr. Rose, jun. On the motion of Mr. secretary Dundas, the house addressed his majesty to order a monument in the cathedral of St. Paul, to the memory of general Dundas, who had eminently distinguished himself in the West India expedition.

On the 11th of June lord Sheffield presented a petition on behalf of the merchants trading to the islands of Granada and St. Vincent's, stating, that, in consequence of insurrections and other calamities, they were much injured in their property, and reduced to great inconveniencies in their commerce, and praying relief from the wisdom of the house. His lordship adverted to the relief which had, two years since, been given to the commercial credit of this country at a time of great mercantile embarrassment, and moved that the petition should be referred to a committee.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Pitt, who expatiated upon the beneficial effects of the bill for the relief of commercial credit, and maintained that no blame was imputable either to government or to the merchants who had made this application, as the calamity was unforeseen and unavoidable. The general course of West India property was such as to require considerable time in its arrangement; and as this was a business of great importance, he was of opinion that some legislative aid should be granted. The ground of the petition was considered by Mr. Fox as one of the various calamities entailed upon us by the present war, which, if continued, would render aids of this nature repeatedly necessary. He strongly objected to granting such relief, as it certainly tended to increase the influence of the minister with all

commercial people. He had, he said, often been told in private by persons of considerable importance in public affairs, "We have West India property, and therefore we must support administration." Here was at once an explanation of the cause of the support of commercial men with regard to the measures of ministers: they apprehended their own credit might be in danger; and in order to have parliamentary aid in their embarrassments, they sanctioned with their voices what they disapproved in their hearts. Every war naturally tended to increase the influence of the minister; but this daily introduced innovations which were the more dangerous as they were gradual and silent in their effects. There was, he believed, no blame in the petitioners, except in not having opposed what produced the evil of which they complained: but he could not consider ministers as blameless; nor was this the opinion in the West Indies, or probably of those who signed the petition. He hoped the house would not adopt any measure which gave aid to the purchase of slaves, and saw a train of evils from the adoption of the measure proposed, which he lamented the lateness of the session would not allow of discussing in a house properly attended.

The relief prayed for was strongly recommended by Mr. Dundas, who complimented this country on its peculiar energy in being capable of affording such aid, and saw no evil consequences that could possibly arise from the measure. It was not, he urged, a new measure, but had been adopted at St. Kitt's, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, and in a more exceptionable way.

On the report of the committee being brought up, the Chancellor

of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to direct the issuing of exchequer bills to the amount of a million and a half, to be issued to commissioners, to be advanced by them, under certain restrictions, for the accommodation of certain merchants, &c. connected with the islands of Granada and St. Vincent's, for a limited time. The sum was objected to by general Smith and sir W. Pulteney, as one million had been stated to be sufficient.

In the course of the preceding debate, Mr. Fox had warmly attacked ministers on the inadequate force he said they had sent to the West Indies. This was denied by Mr. Dundas, who thought much of our misfortunes in that quarter was imputable to the death of general Dundas, and asserted that the whole of the troops sent thither amounted to 20,206 men. It was, however, contended by Mr. Fox, that, whatever the number, the force was inadequate to the object desired. He noticed also the delay which had arisen in dispatching the troops. On the bill being read a second time, this subject was resumed by Mr. Fox, who observed, that when it had been asserted 20,000 men had been sent to the West Indies, the order must have been looked at for issuing troops, but not the number actually sent. He should not, at this advanced period of the session, move for an inquiry, as he could not hope the house would agree to a step which would command their attendance, though he was ready to pursue it, whatever were the inconveniencies to himself. He would, he said, pledge himself, that the force employed was not deemed sufficient for the purposes of the expedition, either by the commanders or by ministers.

ministers. The loss of Guadaloupe he ascribed either to this, or to the failure of necessary reinforcements; there was also neglect in supplying the articles necessary for the troops. Till such time as the house agreed to an inquiry, he had a right to suppose that the blame rested with ministers. These opinions were supported by Mr. Sheridan, who asked, whether sir C. Grey, instead of receiving a reinforcement of twenty, ten, or five thousand men, had received one man to enable him to retain possession of the conquered islands? He adverted to what he had formerly stated, of the sickly condition of the troops on board the transports, which had been controverted by ministers, though they afterwards recurred to the measure he advised, and relanded several of the regiments as unfit for the destined service. It was observed by Mr. M. Robinson, that ministers having resolved to throw away six millions of the public money, the million and half which had been refused by the emperor, was now applied to the relief of the Granada merchants. Had the islands been properly defended, the planters and merchants would not, he

said, have been under the necessity of craving the assistance of parliament. After some further discussion in both houses, the bill passed.

It was late in the session before Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual statement of the finances of India. On the 16th of June, however, this gentleman proceeded to a review of that subject, and stated the revenues of the different settlements for the year 1793-4, as follows:

Bengal, - -	£.5,871,946
Madras, - -	2,110,089
Bombay, - -	312,364

Total 8,294,399

Actual charges.

Bengal, - -	£.3,331,979
Madras, - -	1,999,376
Bombay, - -	783,791
Bencoolen - -	66,358

Total 6,181,504

He observed, that the charges had exceeded the estimate; the reason of which he could not explain. He then proceeded to present to the house, the following

GENERAL STATE OF REVENUES AND CHARGES IN INDIA.

Total of the revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, 1793-4, as above stated, - - -	£.8,294,399
Charges of ditto, (including 66,358l. supplies to Bencoolen, &c.) - - -	6,181,504
Revenues more than charges - - -	2,112,895
Interest on debts paid from this sum - - -	458,043
Surplus revenues - - -	1,654,852
Add—import, sales, and certificates - - -	475,994
Sums applicable to investments, payment of commercial charges, &c. (exclusive of 20,000l. gained by issuing notes) - - -	2,130,846
	Applied

Applied at Bengal, in the year,	£.1,402,038
Madras,	404,648
Bombay,	328,348
Shipped from Bencoolen in the year,	12,618
	<hr/> 2,147,652
Amount applicable to investment, &c. as above stated	2,130,846
In the estimate made in February, 1793, the sum stated was	1,513,577
	<hr/>
More in 1793-4 than in that estimate	617,269

The Estimate for the Year 1794-5, was as follows:

Total revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, estimated 1794-5	£.7,790,807
Total charges, ditto, (including 104,632l. supplies to Bencoolen, &c.)	5,923,063
	<hr/> 1,867,744
Deduct interest on debts,	437,047
	<hr/>
Estimated surplus revenue	1,430,697
Add—estimated sales of imports, and amount of certificates,	380,669
	<hr/>
Amount estimated to be applicable to investments, payment of commercial charges, &c. &c.	1,811,366

In stating the account of debts in India, it appeared that there had been a decrease of 551,943l. that the total amount of debts bearing interest was 5,597,299l. and the amount of interest 437,047l. and that there had been a decrease in the interest paid from last year, of 80,778l.

The following is the STATE of the HOME ACCOUNTS.

Sales of Goods, 1794.

The estimate for last year was	£.5,364,358
Actual amount (greater than in any former year)	* 5,521,858
	<hr/>
Actual amount exceeding the estimate	157,500
	<hr/>
* Goods sold in private trade this year amounted to	1,053,462
So that, total India goods sold in the year was	6,575,320
Amount of goods sold,	5,392,966
	<hr/>
Being less than estimated	55,894
	<hr/>
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated	70,000
Actual amount	62,459
	<hr/>
Less than estimate	7,541

In the estimate of February, 1793, the amount of sales, profit on private trade, and interest on annuities, after paying annuitants, was

Actual amount last year

More than in that estimate

Charges in that estimate—Dividends at 8 per cent.
Paid last year—Dividends at $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Charges more than in that estimate

The difference therefore is only

But 416,996*l.* being paid for tea, and 933,095*l.* of India transferred debt discharged, and 149,650*l.* of bonds paid off, absorbed the surplus.

The amount estimated to be received in the present year for goods sold is

And profit on private trade,

The charges are estimated nearly equal to the receipts and cash in hand, and no surplus expected adequate to the payment of India debt.

India debt paid off in the last two years, viz.

In 1793 ———— £.1,008,637

1794 — 933,095

1,941,732

More by 941,732*l.* than directed by the act of 1793.

DEBTS AT HOME.

The debts, including the debt transferred from India, amounted

In March, 1794, to £.7,006,500

In March, 1795, to 6,946,323

Less in March last 60,177

ASSETS.

Assets at home and afloat 1st of March last, stated at 10,413,354
Similar articles valued last year, at 9,888,836

More in March last 524,518

Adding decrease of debts to increase of assets, the company's affairs appear better at home by

584,695

CHINA and ST. HELENA.

The balance at China and St. Helena was, in last year's accounts, in favour of the company

1,080,881

By the last accounts

979,158

Balance less at present 101,723

GENERAL

GENERAL RESULT OF THE COMPARISON OF THE LAST AND PRESENT
YEAR'S ACCOUNTS.

Debts less, and assets more, in India	-	-	-	£.625,747
Do. do. at home	-	-	-	584,695
				<hr/>
Balance less in China and St. Helena	-	-	-	1,210,442
				101,723
				<hr/>
				1,108,719
Added for cargoes shipped from India, &c. &c.	-	-	-	303,530
				<hr/>
The company's affairs better with respect to debts and assets	-	-	-	1,412,249
This sum, taken from comparing the stock per computation, with the account laid before the house last year—				
The balance in favour is	-	-	-	5,493,774
In last year's account the amount was	-	-	-	4,081,525
				<hr/>
The company's affairs better in March 1795	-	-	-	1,412,249
				<hr/>

From a series of facts and arguments, Mr. Dundas said, that the estimate of 1793, which formed the basis for a new arrangement, had in no material instance failed. The regulations which had taken place in Bengal, gave every reason to believe that the population and prosperity of the country would keep progressively advancing. The same hopes might be entertained of Madras, by the introduction of the same system which had taken place in Bengal; and, indeed, might be said of Bombay, where a large estate on the Malabar coast had been ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan. While such was the state of their affairs abroad, there was nothing discouraging in those at home. In a time of war, and when the markets of Europe were shut against them, their sales were greater than they had ever been before. He thought it consistent with policy, as sovereigns of India, to open its trade to the whole world. But for the war, every hope respecting the affairs of the company would have

been realized, and their cash account have been now 900,000l.

With respect to the army in India, in the course of the last year, the company had paid 60,000l. as bounties to seamen. This, however laudable, as they had no right to do, he should, in the next session, move for an act of indemnity. He wished the committee to understand that the surplus revenue would not be so large in future, on account of an appropriation of a part to the just claims of the army. There was now a great and necessary military establishment; but the company had no higher rank in their service than colonel; this deprived great military characters of that rank which they often looked upon as the best part of their reward: there was also, at present, but a slow progression of inferior rank. He should propose, therefore, a certain proportion of general and field officers at the different settlements; the consequence would be, that a considerable promotion would take place, which must be attended

attended with a considerable expence, to be defrayed out of the revenues in India. Some provision ought, he thought, to be made for the return of such officers to this country, as, according to the present regulations, might serve very long in the army without any acknowledgment of merit from their rank, or addition to their fortune. He thought full pay, with the rank obtained in India, would not be too much for them. If sickness required the return of an officer, he thought he ought to be allowed to return upon the opinion of a medical man, without loss of rank or pay. Officers ought also, without such a reason, to be allowed to return in rotation to visit their friends. Mr. Dundas concluded by moving, "that it was the opinion of the committee, that the affairs of the company were in a better situation by the sum of 1,412,249*l.* than at the last statement.

This very favourable statement of the affairs of the India company was opposed by Mr. Hufley, but vindicated by Mr. Pitt. The resolutions were successively put and carried.

The long-depending cause of Mr. Hastings, which began February 12, 1788, terminated during this session. The whole of the charges against him, which were comprised under four heads, were negatived by the committee appointed to examine the articles of impeachment. These consisted of twenty-four charges, the first seven of which related to Cheyt Sing, against whom Mr. Hastings was accused of having wantonly levied war, repeatedly extorted money to the amount of fifteen lacks of rupees (159,000*l.*) though he had privately received from his buxey

(treasurer) a present of two lacks. He was further charged with having entered into a clandestine negotiation with the vizier Asoph-ul-Dowla; and that, with a view to ruin the rajah Cheyt Sing, he falsely accused him of acts of misgovernment, arrested him in his own palace, and, by an unjust war, expelled him from his dominions,—that he attacked the palace of the rajah's mother, which was plundered by the troops under major Popham,—and that he appointed W. Markham, esquire, to be resident at Benares, and illegally imposed a fine upon the successor of Cheyt Sing.

The second head of charges contained three articles, and respected the conduct of Mr. Hastings towards the begums, whom he was accused, by a corrupt resumption of the jaghires, of reducing to great distress and want. It was further alleged that, at the same time, he accepted as a present, or bribe, the sum of 100,000*l.*—and that he had ordered Mr. Middleton to storm the town of Fyzabad, the residence of the begums, and cruelly extorted from them their treasure and effects.

There were six articles under the third head of charges, which related to the presents made to Mr. Hastings in India. These were stated to amount to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand pounds, and to have been extorted upon different pretences, or as bribes for obtaining particular services.

The last head of charges which was investigated, respected the contracts granted by Mr. Hastings in prejudice to the affairs of the East India company. The two last articles merely stated, "that the commons had made good the remaining articles

articles of impeachment," which proposition was negatived, with only one dissentient voice.

The report of the committee was received on the second of April; on the twenty-third the whole of the charges were singly submitted to the decision of their lordships, who, beginning with the junior baron, were required simply to express their assent to, or rejection of, the crimes imputed, by laying their hands on their breasts, and repeating the words—"not guilty upon my honour," or, "guilty upon my honour." The substance of the charges was compressed into sixteen questions, the two first of which were, Whether W. Hastings, esquire, had, with a view to ruin Cheyt Sing, &c. extorted sundry sums of money charged by the commons in the two first articles of charge? 3d. Whether he had, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, corruptly taken different sums of money, as alleged in the sixth article of charge? And, 4th. Whether he had corruptly received and taken the sum of two lacks of rupees from the buxey of Cheyt Sing, as alleged in the same article? 5th. Whether W. Hastings, esquire, had, in October 1780, taken and received from Kellerman, on behalf of himself and of Cullian Sing, four lacks of rupees, on consideration of letting to them certain lands in the province of Bahar, in perpetuity, to the injury of the East India company? 6th. Whether he had, in the year 1781, received, as a present from Nundoolol, the sum of 58,000 rupees? 7th. Whether he had, in September 1781, at Chunar, in the province of Oude, contrary to his duty, received, as a present from the vizier, the sum of ten lacks of rupees? 8th. Whether W. Hastings, esquire,

had not fraudulently solicited as a loan, and afterwards corruptly retained as a present from rajah Nobkissen, a sum of money amounting to 34,000l. sterling, and applied the same to his own use, under the pretence of discharging several expences said to have been incurred by him in his public capacity? 9th. Whether W. Hastings, esquire, had granted a contract for opium to Stephen Sullivan, esquire, for the purpose of creating an instant fortune to the said Stephen Sullivan, to the great prejudice of the company? 10th. Whether he had borrowed money at high interest to advance the same to the contractor for opium, and to engage the company in a smuggling adventure to China? 11th. Whether he had been guilty respecting the bullock contract to C. Crostes, esquire? 12th. Whether he had been guilty in granting the provision of bullocks to sir C. Blunt by the mode of agency? 13th. Whether he was guilty as far as related to the allowances charged to have been made to sir Eyre Coote, and directed by the vizier to be paid for his use? 14th. Whether he was guilty in appointing J. P. Auriol, esquire, agent for the purchase of supplies for the relief of the several presidencies of India, with a commission of 15 per cent? 15th. Whether W. Hastings, esquire, was guilty, in appointing J. Balli, esquire, to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions to the garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of 30 per cent? And, 16th. Whether he was guilty of the residue of high crimes and misdemeanors charged upon him by the impeachment of the commons?

After the articles had been severally put to those peers who chose

to vote *, the lord chancellor observed, that there was a very great majority for the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, and therefore declared

* The peers who declined voting retired behind the throne.—The names of those who voted, and their decisions upon the different questions, will be seen in the annexed table. N. G. stands for Not Guilty. G. for Guilty.

Earl of Morton	Lord Mife	Lord Somers	Earl of Moira	Lord Walsingham	Lord Thurlow	Lord Hawke	Lord Bolton	Lord Sandys	Lord Middleton	Bishop of Rochester	Bishop of Bangor	Lord Viscount Sidney	Lord Viscount Falkland	Earl of Carnarvon	Earl of Dorchester	Earl of Beverley	Earl of Radnor	Earl Fitzwilliam	Earl of Warwick	Earl of Coventry	Earl of Suffolk	Marquis Townshend	Duke of Bridgewater	Duke of Leeds	Duke of Norfolk	Earl of Mansfield	Lord Archbishop of York	Lord Loughborough	Total N. G.	Guilty
N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	23	6
N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	23	6
N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	N. G.	28	—
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him acquitted of all the charges alleged against him by the commons, and all the matters contained therein. Thus, after a protracted trial of more than seven years, was terminated this celebrated cause, so highly expensive to the nation at large, and ruinous to the fortune of the accused individual.

The session terminated on the 27th of June with the usual formalities. His majesty, in his speech, noticed the liberal and spirited support which he had received from parliament in the prosecution of the war; and thanked the house of commons for the ample supplies

which had been granted both on this account, and in settling the establishment of the prince and princess of Wales, and in extricating the former from his embarrassments. He expressed his hope to both houses of such a change in the government of France, as might enable her to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity, and professed his intention in the mean time to make the most effectual use of the force with which he was intrusted. The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the 19th day of August.

CHAP. VI.

Affairs of Ireland. Natural Consequences of the Coalition of the Portland Party with Mr. Pitt. Claims of the Irish Catholics. Arrangements stipulated with respect to Ireland, in forming the Coalition. Singular Conduct of Mr. Pitt. Lord Fitzwilliam assumes the Government of Ireland. Great Popularity of his Administration. Meeting of the Irish Parliament. Proceedings of the Irish Parliament. Mr. Grattan moves for a Bill in favour of the Catholics. Lord Fitzwilliam dismisses certain Members of the former Administration. His Correspondence with the British Ministers. Lord Fitzwilliam recalled. Succeeded by Lord Camden. Discontents in Ireland. Disturbances there. Inquiry moved by Mr. Grattan into the State of the Nation. Catholic Bill rejected. Reflections on the Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. Debates on the Subject in the British Parliament—In the Lords—In the Commons. Prorogation of Parliament. Regulations respecting Dutch Property. Letters of Marque issued against the Dutch. Riots at Crimping Houses. Petitions for Peace. Changes in Administration. Ratification of the Treaty with America. Revival of the Pop-Gun Plot. Crossfield committed to the Tower. Meetings of the Corresponding Society. Short Account of that Institution.

THE affairs of Ireland, which have been slightly noticed in the preceding narrative of parliamentary transactions, occupied, for some time in the course of the summer, much of the public attention in both kingdoms. The unnatural coalition between a certain portion of the party who called themselves Whigs, and an administration whom they had so frequently and so pointedly reviled, and whose appointment to office they had represented as an insult on the people, on their representatives, and on the constitution, was not likely to be productive of the happiest effects. They had lost their dignity with the public; and we know that the minister held them in contempt: but it is somewhat singular, that the man who was the principal agent, the most forward and the most active in negotiating this coalition, should be the first victim of ministerial petulance and intrigue. In our

preceding volume we noticed the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam to the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and, in our volume for 1793, we gave a brief detail of the proceedings in that kingdom for the relief of the Roman Catholics. Though this body of men had been restored, in some measure, to their civil rights by the concession of the elective franchise, it does not appear that either their own leaders, or their parliamentary adherents, were satisfied with what had been granted, or were likely to be satisfied with less than a total repeal of all remaining disqualifications. That temporising and capricious spirit, so peculiarly characteristic of Mr. Pitt's administration, had made them receive, with some degree of surprise, the former concessions: but, as soon as the Portland faction had acceded to office, the hopes of the Catholics revived; and in that party they expected confidently to find firmer

friends, and more strenuous supporters. That party they knew to be intimately connected with those leading characters in Ireland, on whom they had the strongest reliance; and even before the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam to the station of viceroy, they had taken most effectual means for pressing their claims on the first favourable opportunity.

In two letters to the earl of Carlisle, published by lord Fitzwilliam, the latter nobleman has exposed, in very manly terms, the manner in which the Portland party were "duped," as he expresses it, in the famous coalition, and in the subsequent transactions of ministry. He states, that "when the duke of Portland and his friends were to be enticed into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's administration, it was necessary to hold out such *bait** as would make the coalition palatable." "If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition could never have taken place;"—"accordingly it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation; as was also the home department of secretary of state." "Ask the duke of Portland," his lordship continues, "when he engaged to accept, if he doubted that the office offered to him was to be entire, and such as his predecessors held it? Ask him if he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt that it was to be divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character? Ask him if he was apprised that another secretary of state was to be made out of the department, and that he was to be left

but a joint possessor with an inmate?"

Lord Fitzwilliam proceeds to state, that, the instant they had proclaimed their acceptance, "the scene began to open: then it was first discovered that the object of all this mighty work was, not to strengthen administration by an accession of character, but to debase, degrade, and disgrace that character. When the junction was irrevocably avowed and declared, then the pretensions of Mr. Dundas to the continued management of the war were immediately brought forward; and a new office was to be cabbaged out of the duke of Portland's, and an obvious diminution of his credit and authority was proclaimed." What follows is still more extraordinary—for his lordship affirms, that, even in August, Mr. Pitt assured lord Westmoreland that he should not be removed. After this the reader will not be surprized when he learns from the same authority, that not only earl Fitzwilliam had, previously to his acceptance of his office, satisfied himself, "that the catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining disqualification," but that "the duke of Portland uniformly concurred with him in this opinion;" and "when the question came under discussion, previous to his departure for Ireland, he found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction;" and his lordship adds, "had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government."

Lord Fitzwilliam, however, appears to have proceeded with a

* The public will give us some credit for the authenticity of our information, when they recollect, that, on the first mention of this coalition, we asserted that it was not made upon principle (as it was pretended) but upon *compass*.

proper caution in the business. It was his intention, when he assumed the government, by no means to press the question forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavour to protract it to a period of more general tranquillity; but as the principle was agreed upon by all parties, he resolved (with the concurrence of the English cabinet) "if the catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and to bring it before parliament, to give it a handsome support on the part of government."

He was no sooner landed, than he found that the question would force itself upon his immediate consideration. Faithful, therefore, to the system that had been agreed upon, he lost no time in gaining the necessary information, and in transmitting the result to the British cabinet. He was, however, compelled, by another circumstance, to put in effect the resolution which had been formed by him in concert with the British ministers, viz.—whenever the question should be pressed upon the government, to give it a handsome support. The circumstance to which we allude, was, that the business had been put by the catholics into the hands of Mr. Grattan, a gentleman in whom his lordship could place entire confidence; and after the delivery of their petitions, there appeared a rising impatience among the catholics; and had any delay interposed, there was reason to apprehend that the measure might be transferred from the hands of Mr. Grattan to those of another, with whom he might have no connection, and consequently over whom he could have no hopes of controul. There was no want of candidates, as there were numbers ready to seize upon

it. Many other circumstances concurred to favour this plan of proceeding; particularly, his lordship observes, the Irish, with their usual good sense and love of liberty, were remarkably *averse to the war*; and therefore some considerable concessions were necessary to conciliate them.

Perhaps no administration was ever more popular in Ireland than that of earl Fitzwilliam, not excepting even that of the celebrated lord Chesterfield. It seemed to unite all parties, and to reconcile all differences of sentiment. The Irish parliament assembled on the 22d of January,—the address in the lords was voted unanimously,—that in the commons with only three dissentient voices. On the 9th of February the Irish house of commons agreed to the most liberal supplies that ever had been voted, without a division, and almost without a debate. On the 12th, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion; and, after a feeble opposition, leave was given to bring in the bill; and Mr. Grattan, Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Knox, were appointed to prepare it. From this period to the twenty-sixth, but little of importance was agitated in the Irish parliament, except two resolutions, which were carried on the fourteenth, relative to the necessity of a reform and retrenchment in the national expenditure.

On the appointment of a new viceroy, it is natural to suppose that some removals and changes in the administration of the country would be absolutely necessary. These had been fully canvassed in the British cabinet previous to the departure of the noble earl: and

if we may credit his testimony, corroborated by the solemn assertion of the two Messrs. Ponsonbys, and that of Mr. Grattan, in the Irish house of commons,—these measures had been as fully and decidedly agreed to by the British ministers, as the necessity of giving way to the catholic claims, should they be pressed upon them. Among these removals, the most remarkable was that of Mr. Beresford, a gentleman who had united in his own person, or in that of his son, the important and discordant offices of minister,—commissioner of the treasury,—of revenue,—counsel to the commissioners,—store-keeper and banker; a gentleman, with whom if the lord-lieutenant had connected himself, “it would,” according to his lordship’s own expressions, “have been connecting himself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting his government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant on his maladministration.” It was at the instance of the duke of Portland himself that Mr. Beresford was to be dismissed; and he retired on a pension of 3,000*l.* per ann. leaving his family in the possession of an enormous mass of offices and emoluments, which had been heaped upon them by the bounty of preceding viceroys. Mr. Beresford, immediately upon his dismissal, repaired to England, and, it is believed, found little difficulty in persuading ministry to undo all that they had positively agreed to, if not actually projected; and to disregard, in the most unaccountable manner, the most solemn engagements. On the 7th of January, lord Fitzwilliam wrote to the British ministers, proposing the removal of Messrs. Wolfe and Toler, the attorney and solicitor-general, both of whom were to be

liberally provided for, in order to make room for Messrs. Ponsonby and Curran, as his lordship judged it necessary to have, in those situations, men in whom he could place the most perfect confidence.

The catholic question, we have seen, was moved by Mr. Grattan on the 12th of February. It is a most remarkable circumstance, that, so early as the 8th of January, lord Fitzwilliam wrote to the secretary of state, informing him that “he trembled about the catholic question,—that he had great fears about keeping the catholics quiet for the session,—that he found the question was already in agitation,—that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining disqualifications,” &c. and, in conclusion, stating his own opinion of the absolute necessity of concession, as a matter not only wise, but essential to the public tranquillity. This letter went by the same mail as his lordship’s letter of the seventh, relative to Messrs. Wolfe and Toler; but the secretary of state, in an answer, dated the 13th, takes not the smallest notice of this so much more important business,—speaks about the other arrangements,—informs the lord-lieutenant that his majesty had consented to Mr. Wolfe’s peerage,—“but not a word on the catholic question,”—not a single observation on what lord Fitzwilliam had stated so strongly respecting his fears of not being able to keep it quiet for the session.

After some conferences with the principal nobility and gentry of the Roman catholic persuasion, lord Fitzwilliam proceeded, on the 15th of January, to acquaint the secretary of state with the result of those conferences, and the progress of the business subsequent to his former letter.

letter. The lord-lieutenant, in this letter, urged the matter still more forcibly, stated, that, from the circumstances of the case, *no time was to be lost*,—that the business would be *immediately* at hand,—and that, if he received no *peremptory* instructions to the contrary, “he should acquiesce.” In the same letter his lordship mentioned the dismissal of Mr. Beresford.

In the interval between this and the 2d of February; his lordship received two letters from the secretary of state; but, strange to relate! still not one word was mentioned concerning the catholic question, though the ministry were in possession of all the information concerning it that his lordship was able to collect. On the 2d of February he received another letter from the noble secretary, entirely upon the subject of Mr. Wolfe; and neither the catholic business, nor Mr. Beresford, was noticed in the slightest degree. In a letter of the same date, however, from Mr. Windham to lord Minton, who acted as secretary to the lord-lieutenant, some notice is taken of Mr. Pitt’s reluctance to the removal of Mr. Beresford; and, on the ninth, lord Fitzwilliam received a letter from Mr. Pitt himself, expostulating with him on the dismissal of Mr. Beresford, and the negotiation with Messrs. Wolfe and Toler; but not a word of exception to the catholic business; on the contrary, the letter concludes with some expressions indicating approbation, and an apology “for interrupting his lordship’s attention from the many important considerations, of a different nature, to which all their minds ought to be directed.”

Why the minister, instead of dealing with openness and candour with the lord-lieutenant, and frankly stating his objections him-

self, chose to make the duke of Portland the instrument for conveying his disapprobation, we do not pretend to explain. But the very mail which conveyed Mr. Pitt’s letter, brought one, dated the preceding day (8th of February), from the secretary of state, in which he brought the catholic business, “for the *first* time, into play, as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the british cabinet.” “Then, for the first time,” adds Lord Fitzwilliam, “it appears to have been discovered, that the deferring it would be not merely an expediency, or a thing to be desired for the present, but ‘the means of doing a greater service to the British empire than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least since the union.’ All former opinions, all former discussions, all former agreements, the leading principle of our being all convinced of the necessity, as well as fitness of the measure taking place at no distant period, of which I reminded the ministers in my letter of the 15th of January—all were forgotten; and he feels it his duty, for the first time, in consequence of the discussion of this question in the cabinet the day before, to exhort me to use those efforts which I had expressed an intention of trying; efforts, of the efficacy of which I had expressed the strongest doubts, on the 8th of January, when I first mentioned my intention of trying them; efforts, every hope from which I had relinquished on the 15th, when I warned them of the necessity of immediately giving way, when I earnestly called upon them for peremptory instructions, which, if I should not receive, I should acquiesce; efforts, which they knew, from the whole series of my correspondence, it was impossible ever

to attempt, without evident and certain danger."

The matter had, indeed, either from indolence or design in the British ministers, been suffered to proceed too far to retract; for the reader will remember, that the catholic question was opened in the house of commons on the 12th of February, and it was the 14th before these letters came to the hands of the lord-lieutenant. Lord Fitzwilliam answered them both that same night. He stated at large to Mr. Pitt his reasons for the dismissals; and, his lordship adds, with becoming dignity,—“I left him to make his choice between Mr. Beresford and me.”

In the answer to the duke of Portland, his lordship set forth the imminent danger of now retracting on the catholic business; and refused “to be the person to raise a flame, which nothing but the force of arms could keep down.” In the subsequent correspondence, the lord-lieutenant furnished his grace with the most ample details on the subject; but before sufficient time could be given for a full investigation, a cabinet council was held on the 21st of February, at which the duke of Portland assisted. His grace concurred in the vote for disgracing and recalling his friend, and submitted to be the official instrument for transmitting to him the letters of recall. Lord Camden was at the same time appointed to succeed earl Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland.

The rumour of this recall was a volcanic convulsion, which shook the whole island from the centre to its remotest shores. In the house of commons, sir Laurence Parsons proposed an address to the lord-lieutenant, stating that he possessed the confidence of the people, and that house; and expressing the

strongest apprehensions, if his excellency should be prematurely removed. The address was seconded by Mr. Duquerry, who, in addition, proposed the immediate IMPEACHMENT of Mr. PITT. “If it be asked,” said he with a noble indignation, “who speaks thus of impeachment, I answer, *An honest representative of the people.*” The address was, however, on the persuasion of Mr. Ponsonby, withdrawn. On the 2d of March, sir Laurence Parsons moved for the limitation of the money-bill to the 25th of May, 1795, which was negatived; but a resolution, highly approving the conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam, was passed, on the motion of Mr. Connolly, with the single dissentient vote of Mr. Beresford. The kingdom continued for some time in a state of ferment, not without serious conflicts between the military and the people. Addresses crowded in from all parts to the disgraced viceroy; and we fear that the discontent occasioned by this unadvised measure, has scarcely subsided at the moment in which we write.

After a short visit to his estates in the county of Wicklow, earl Fitzwilliam returned to Dublin about the middle of March, and, on the 25th, took his departure for England. The day was observed as a day of general mourning: the shops were shut: no business was transacted; and the citizens appeared in deep mourning. In College-green, a number of respectable gentlemen, dressed in black, took the horses from his excellency's carriage, and drew it to the water-side. His lordship wished, as usual on such occasions, to distribute money to the populace; but, with the noblest enthusiasm, the offer was rejected even by a mob. The military had been ordered out, in expectation of some disturbance;

disturbance; but nothing appeared among the populace but the serious emotions of sorrow, and the utmost order and decorum.

- Earl Camden arrived in Dublin on the 31st of March, to assume the government. Some disturbances took place on the evening of his arrival; but they were soon quelled by the interposition of the military. On the 13th of April the parliament met pursuant to adjournment; and on the 21st a motion was made by Mr. Grattan, for an inquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of earl Fitzwilliam; which was negatived by a large majority of that very parliament, who almost unanimously, and with an enthusiasm almost unprecedented, had supported all the measures of the preceding administration.

Mr. Grattan presented the bill for the emancipation of the catholics, on the 24th; but it was rejected on the second reading, the 4th of May, by a majority of 71. In the course of the debate, a young member, Mr. O'Connor, distinguished himself by one of the most able and eloquent speeches ever pronounced in that house.

We have stated the facts relative to this extraordinary transaction, briefly, but as clearly and as accurately as we could; and we have spared no pains to gain right information, and to ascertain the truth on both sides. - Lord Fitzwilliam has uniformly denied that the catholic business was the real motive for his recall: and indeed, if it was the motive, we must confess that the conduct of the ministry was the most extraordinary that stands upon record in the annals of this country. To have perfectly agreed with the noble earl in the necessity of conceding to the catholics in this

instance, and to have commissioned him to use his discretion with respect to the time and circumstances, — to have been regularly informed in every stage of the proceedings, and to have remained silent till the business was too far advanced to retract, — is a conduct so unprecedented, so unaccountable, in every respect, that we cannot, without almost charging the ministers with something equivalent to insanity, suppose that this was the real motive of the removal.

That Mr. Pitt, after having consented to the dismissal of Mr. Bessford, might have repented when the crisis arrived for the infliction of that sentence, is in some degree consistent with his character and conduct in other instances; for perhaps no minister, not even lord North himself, was ever more changeable or uncertain in his measures and determinations: but still that circumstance is scarcely of sufficient importance to warrant a measure which was apparently replete with so much danger, and the bad effects of which have not yet, in our opinion, completely subsided.

It has been asserted by earl Fitzwilliam and others, that the object of Mr. Pitt, in this transaction, was to disgrace the men with whom he had so lately coalesced, and to make them feel their dependence. This too is extremely consistent with a degree of puerile arrogance, which all who have transacted business with that minister must have observed. It is well known also, that the minister is not equally well-affected to all his new converts. Some of them, who are enthusiastic, industrious and enterprising, at the same time that they are sufficiently servile, are excellent and convenient instruments; they relieve him from the

more laborious duties of executive government, while he and others of his colleagues indulge in those indolent gratifications, which form the chief pleasure, if not the business of their lives: but it is otherwise with those men of rank and influence, who have sacrificed themselves to his intrigues; though in some measure degraded, they are still in some measure objects of envy and distrust; and to mortify and depreciate such persons, will commonly be productive of pleasure to a vulgar mind. Whoever has carefully inspected those channels through which the ministers are accustomed to convey their sentiments to the public, and has observed the malevolent insinuations against the noble person who now fills the highest station in the naval department, will easily discover some ground for these reflections.

There is, however, another cause to which, upon the best authority, we are led to impute the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam; and that is a well-grounded dread in the minister, of the rising influence of Mr. Grattan, the Ponsonby family, and others of the Irish patriots. These men, though they have not, we confess, acted in all respects consistently with the character, have always been attached to Whig principles: and principles cannot in all instances undergo an immediate change, and be made in every respect subservient to the dictates of self-interest. They are men too of rank, of considerable local influence, and of transcendent talents. If therefore the influence which is now vested in a family of *new men*, who are necessarily more dependent on the British cabinet, could have been transferred at once to the Whig party of Ireland, while the Portland party here remained connected with

them, the whole power and influence of that kingdom must have vested in the duke of Portland and his friends; and it must in some measure have counteracted that immense influence which Mr. Pitt has acquired with the monied interest of England. This is therefore the only clue which will lead to the development of the conduct of the British cabinet. We state it not as a matter of censure (for jealousies and intrigues will take place in all cabinets), but as a matter of historical remark. The narrative which gives only a dull record of events to be found in every newspaper, is not a history but a chronicle.

We shall not enter into any discussion concerning the probable consequences of the catholic bill, as it is a measure which does not appear likely to be soon carried into effect; and the merits and demerits of lord Fitzwilliam's administration are amply canvassed in the succeeding debates. We confess ourselves not among the unqualified admirers of that administration; yet, whatever may be the feelings of those who reprobate the present war,—those, assuredly, who are disposed to approve it, ought not to withhold commendation from earl Fitzwilliam. The union of parties which he effected, the cheerfulness with which an impoverished nation submitted to immense burdens, were certainly favourable to the present objects of ministry. In the words of a writer who is supposed to occupy a high station in the church, and to be intimately connected with earl Fitzwilliam, “he made a war in which Ireland had no concern, save as she was implicated with Great Britain—a war, *doubtful in its cause*, disgraceful in its consequence, and indefensible in

in its management—palatable, or at least not unpopular to the people of Ireland. His arrangements in correcting the lavish expenditure of the public money were certainly for the benefit of the nation, and his attention to the distressed peasantry highly commendable.

After his return from Ireland, lord Fitzwilliam was detained for some time in the country; but on the 24th of April he appeared in his place in the British house of peers, and in a very manly and spirited manner called upon the ministers to come forward to a full investigation of the business. They had, he said, insinuated blame to him; they had thrown down the gauntlet; he accepted the challenge, and wished to try the issue. The duke of Norfolk then came forward with a motion for an address to his majesty, praying that there be laid before the house such parts of the correspondence between ministers and earl Fitzwilliam while in Ireland, as related to the motives of his recall, at a time when parliament had voted their confidence in him, and granted supplies with unexampled munificence. This motion, from the indisposition of the duke of Portland, was deferred to the 8th of May. His grace prefaced it by stating the importance of the subject, which involved not only the fame and reputation of the earl, but the probable tranquillity of both kingdoms. The question lay, he conceived, between the noble lord who had been recalled, and the cabinet ministers,—whether he had so far violated his duty as to make it prudent or just to recall him for the safety of the state,—or whether they, from wantonness or caprice, or sinister party views, had improperly advised his majesty upon this subject. His grace proceeded to take

a view of the situation of this country, and the state of party for a time long anterior to the present,—from the time of the American war to that of settling the arrangements of the present ministry. It was then, he said, clearly understood that every unnecessary restraint laid on the catholics should be done away; those restraints which for the last forty years had been as severe, cruel, and oppressive, as the darkest prejudices could assent to. This being the situation of Ireland, he could not suppose the noble lord to be sent to that country without full documents for so important a mission. The removal of particular persons, he considered as of course under the discretion of superior personages, and certainly could be no ground of recall. Under those impressions his lordship had gone to Ireland. When he arrived there, Mr. Grattan had, from well-understood instructions, no doubt, stated, that the catholics were to be restored, Parliament heard the tidings with joy. The people voted thanks to the lord-lieutenant, and consented to the most lavish taxation without a murmur. On a sudden the catholics found the lord-lieutenant recalled, and all their hopes vanished. He thought, from a full consideration of this affair, the time was arrived, when the inquisitorial power of parliament over the conduct of ministers ought to be exerted. His grace was warmly thanked by earl Fitzwilliam, who earnestly urged a full inquiry into the cause of his removal.

The motion was opposed by the earls of Coventry, Mansfield, Caernarvon, and lord Sydney. They did not consider the character of lord Fitzwilliam at all implicated in any such charge as to call for an inquiry. Their lordships asserted

ed the prerogative of the crown to dismiss ministers at pleasure: and an inquiry in every instance into the ground of such removals, would be an interference on the part of the house, unauthorized by the principles of the constitution. The earl of Mansfield, in particular, thought the inquiry improper, from the secrecy necessary to be observed in cases of this nature, and stated some instances to prove the danger and impropriety of a parliamentary discussion in similar cases. The removal of earl Fitzwilliam did not, he contended, imply any charge against his character: it only proved such a difference between him and his majesty's ministers here, respecting Ireland, as rendered it impossible for them to act together. He thought no facts had been produced to prove that Ireland was in such a state of discontent and inquietude, as called for an inquiry; but were this the case, the discussion of the business in that house could only tend to increase the evil. Lord Sydney stated numerous instances, in which ministers had been dismissed, without any such a measure as the present ever being thought necessary.

The inquiry was strenuously urged by the Earl of Guildford, who thought no possible harm could result from inquiry; nor could the people of Ireland be informed by it of any thing with which they were not acquainted, and which they did not pointedly feel. With respect to interfering with the prerogative, it was the prerogative of the crown to declare war and to conclude treaties: but was that a reason the house should not discuss the justice of the one, and the policy of the other? His lordship strongly urged the necessity of proving to the Irish, that

only a few individuals, not the whole nation, were their enemies. As to danger from the inquiry, — all inquiries were attended with danger; but this danger only affected those who had endangered the safety of the public. His lordship concluded, by severely censuring the minister for endeavouring to subvert the Whig interest of this country. This side of the question was further supported by the duke of Leeds, and very spiritedly by the earl of Moira, who deprecated the idea, which had been so often thrown out, that any investigation, of the nature proposed, was an interference with the legislature of Ireland. This was, he thought, so far from true, that, on the contrary, it was what that country looked for, and had a right to expect. It was a question in which the interests of both kingdoms were involved, and which it was the duty of both to see fully investigated. This was no common dismissal of a secretary of state; nor were its consequences so trivial and unimportant. His lordship animadverted upon the critical situation of Ireland, and the delicacy affected by ministers, about entering into a discussion of the affair. What delicacy, he asked, could they pretend, after the treatment they had given to the noble earl? The circumstance of recalling him in the way they did, carried with it a degree of disgrace and supposed criminality, which no delicacy now, nor any thing but a free inquiry, could do away. Lord Fitzwilliam had, he observed, been accused of rashly bringing forward a measure, improperly called the emancipation of the catholics; but whatever impropriety there was in that measure (and its wisdom and policy were generally admitted), he had asserted, and was ready to prove, that it was
not

not the cause of his dismissal. He was ready to answer for every measure he had pursued. On the catholic question, full three-fourths of the people solicited the measure; and by the remainder it was not opposed. Considering the stake the noble lord had in Ireland, could it be supposed his conduct was merely actuated by vanity or ambition? One leading feature in his administration was a desire to correct the abuses which had prevailed, and which had disgraced former administrations. In this country corruption might be suspected;—there it was notorious, and not even attempted to be concealed. He did not, in saying this, merely give his own opinion: it had, his lordship said, long since roused the general and glaring indignation of the country, and was as notorious as it was uncontradicted. It was not, he contended, to be supposed, that, because the people did not break out into riotous insurrection, they were satisfied with the late transactions:—their silent disgust tended more to interrupt the union and harmony necessary to the true interests of the two countries. Every description of men in Ireland shewed their dissatisfaction and fears at the recall which had taken place. They came forward from all places with addresses to the throne: and was it prudent, when in return for a promised boon, they had given us great additional and effectual support, to shew them how little they were to depend upon our justice,—how much they had to dread from our indiscretion?

The Earl of Westmoreland opposed the motion, and grounded his opposition principally on different passages from the letters published by earl Fitzwilliam. That nobleman had, he said, stated, that

he had provided for those he dismissed by a pecuniary remuneration. With respect to Mr. Beresford, he had himself obtained him the pension which had been represented as a full reward for his services. The other gentlemen dismissed had, he contended, by their exertions, brought Ireland to a degree of prosperity she had never before enjoyed. He reprobated the agitation of the catholic question, which had, he said, been introduced without any instructions from this country, but rather the contrary. His lordship entered into a justification of his own administration, and wished, he said, for a comparison between his government and any other,—asserting that as little corruption prevailed in his time, as there did in the government at home at present! He charged earl Fitzwilliam with having bound himself to conditions, respecting some of those he had dismissed, which he had not fulfilled, and vindicated Mr. Pitt from the charges made against him in the letters of that nobleman. The emancipation of the catholics was, not, he thought, practicable without a breach of the oaths taken by his majesty, and the laws of this country; and still less was it, he said, a measure that any wise minister would propose.

The embarrassments which had taken place in the affairs of Ireland, were conceived by earl Fitzwilliam to have arisen, in a great measure, from the arrangements made for this purpose by the late lord lieutenant. In confirmation of this opinion, his lordship declared that a very perfect system had been formed with ministers at home for accomplishing this end. His lordship spoke in the most flattering terms of the gentlemen with whom

he

he acted in Ireland, particularly Mr. Grattan. For his connection with this gentleman, lord Fitzwilliam declared, he had been dismissed, and had incurred the hostility of the English minister. It had, he said, been stated that he was bound to carry on the system which had been acted upon with the assistance of the old friends of the administration; and they were not to be dismissed. The reverse of this was, he averred, the fact: that he went out expressly authorized to complete the measure of 1793; that measure originated in England; and when the coalition took place in the July preceding, every catholic body in Ireland naturally looked to the completion of a system by the men who had begun it, which would accomplish what they called their emancipation. With respect to the question, whether the king has a power to grant emancipation to the catholics,--did he not give the royal assent to the act of 1793, which restored them to their rights? And could any of the rites of that church endanger the safety of the state? No! no! said his lordship, these alarms are gone by; and it is now felt that there can be no danger to the state but from political doctrines. His lordship took a view of the state of affairs at the time he entered upon the office of viceroy. The French were proceeding in conquest with the utmost rapidity; they had taken Holland; and the western coast of Ireland was threatened by thirty-six line of battle ships of the enemy. The whole kingdom lay at their mercy if they chose to make a descent. In this state his lordship said he had, by applying to the first men of the kingdom, united the nation in one uniform resolution of defending their country. In such a moment, had his hands been tied, what must

have been the consequence? In order that the whole truth in this business might come before the public, his lordship earnestly supported the motion, and added, that he asked for no more than the impartial decision of the house.

Lord Grenville declined entering into a discussion of the different topics which had arisen in debate, from reasons of state, which he could not with propriety explain! He strongly insisted upon it, that no blame was imputable to any of his majesty's ministers on the present occasion. In what respect, he asked, did the situation of a lord-lieutenant of Ireland differ from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure? His lordship complained of having been removed, but had himself removed several persons from office. His lordship said he had seen the removal of eight lord-lieutenants without a single complaint to parliament upon the subject. To adopt a new course, would be to change the constitution. If either house of parliament was to inquire into the causes of dismissing ministers, the next step must be inquiring whether or not their successors were well chosen, and advising their appointment. This would be to establish a committee of public safety, or something worse. Ministers were indeed responsible for the advice they gave to the crown; but before they were called to the account, substantial ground must be laid for it. He enlarged upon the danger of discussing the catholic question in that house, upon which the independent legislature of Ireland might have already come to a decision. The production of the papers was further opposed by lord Carlisle, the marquis Townshend and Buckingham, lords Auckland and

and Spencer, and the duke of Portland. The motion was supported by the earl of Lauderdale and the duke of Bedford, who conceived that disgrace would necessarily attach to lord Fitzwilliam, if he sat down under the present incertitude of the public opinion; and, much as he approved the reverence due to high authority, he thought the house would not *deserve* it if they denied the inquiry. On the question being put, the contents were 25, not contents 100.

The recall of earl Fitzwilliam underwent a very spirited discussion in the house of commons. The debate was introduced by Mr. Jekyll, who in a forcible speech insisted upon the right of the house to examine the exertions of the prerogative, and, if necessary, to confine it within its fair and natural limits. He called upon the minister to perform the promise he had made to the house on a former night, "that, whenever the period came for investigation, he would undertake to prove that no blame attached to the ministers of this country." This, he argued, was blaming his lordship by implication; and in this view it was considered by him, and directly and plainly negatived. Mr. Jekyll proceeded to state, from the letters of lord Fitzwilliam, that the cabinet had agreed with him in the emancipation of the catholics, otherwise he should not have undertaken the government,—that, on his arrival in Ireland, he found the immediate discussion of the question unavoidable,—that he wrote two letters to the secretary of state here, describing the situation of the country, and the measures he proposed to adopt,—that, in consequence of not receiving answers to them, he thought himself at liberty, after what had

passed, to proceed. Four weeks afterwards, a letter from the duke of Portland put a negative on the business; but at last comes the *font malorum*: his lordship had thought proper to dismiss from office a family who, whatever might be their claims in other respects, were no favourites with the public. At last the Chancellor of the exchequer comes forward, and, in a letter to earl Fitzwilliam, holds out the interest of the Beresford family, and of the former supporters of government, as the only ground of disension. The question of catholic emancipation appears a mere stalking-horse assumed by ministers for the occasion, while every hireling print is employed to represent the conduct of the viceroy on that occasion, as pregnant with the most fatal consequences to Ireland,—consequences which could only be obviated by the immediate removal of that noble person from office. That noble person, he added, farther charges the minister with having made use of him as his vile tool and instrument. The statement contained in the letters was confirmed by lord Milton, who had been secretary to earl Fitzwilliam. Mr. Jekyll observed, that the former lord-lieutenant had asserted that earl Fitzwilliam had no authority from ministers here to take the steps he had done in the catholic question, while Mr. Ponsonby, in the Irish house of commons, had broadly staked his reputation, that those measures were taken with the previous concurrence of the cabinet in England. Here then was the charge, the defence, and the recrimination; and under these circumstances, the honour of an injured nobleman, and the prosperity and safety of Ireland, called for an inquiry. Mr. Jekyll forcibly urged

turged the justice and policy of complying with the desires of the catholics. To speak of these concessions to the catholics as a violation of the coronation oath, Mr. Jekyll stated to be absurd. Was it, he asked, violated by the constitution granted to Quebec, or by the establishment of that religion in Corsica, and the consequent communication with the pope, whose nuncio was avowedly entertained in the country? After commenting with great ability upon the impolicy of offending the Irish,—the right of public men, when dismissed, to call for an inquiry into their conduct,—and the disgrace which ought to attach to the minister if the noble lord had been vilely calumniated, and was refused the inquiry necessary for his exculpation,—Mr. Jekyll concluded by a motion similar to that made in the house of lords by the duke of Norfolk.

The order of the day was moved by Mr. Powis; and the necessity of an inquiry supported by Mr. Fox in a speech of uncommon eloquence. The Chancellor of the exchequer stated, that as a member of the British parliament, and still more as a member of the executive government, he was convinced he should betray that government by giving a verbal explanation upon the subject, which from its nature could only be effectually known from a thorough investigation of the whole of the correspondence during lord Fitzwilliam's residence in Ireland. The proposal could not, he averred, come from substantial purposes of policy, or from a well-grounded sense of public expediency or private justice. Were an inquiry to take place, which, however, he could not under such circumstances suppose, it could only properly be done by applica-

tion to the throne, as the confidential servants of his majesty were withheld by the essence and nature of their office from promulgating cabinet secrets. He had been determined not to enter into any verbal explanation, and would neither admit nor deny the facts or inferences so loosely charged. He contended for the prerogative in his majesty to nominate or dismiss his ministers without assigning a cause, except in particular cases,—and urged the necessity of a full agreement in the members of the executive government, in order to conduct with advantage the public concerns. But if inquiries of this nature were to be set on foot, this salutary provision of the constitution was ended at once. With respect to the two facts on which the present inquiry was founded,—the justification of earl Fitzwilliam, and the public interest of both kingdoms,—he thought the first a mere groundless assumption, that the recall of his lordship implied a charge against him. There was nothing, he conceived, in the dismissal of a lord-lieutenant, more than of any other servant of the crown. Might there not be a cause for a removal without a crime? Might there not exist a difference of opinion in some case of transcendent importance, though the parties still retained the best opinion of each other? His lordship's case was not, he contended, out of the ordinary course: but, to prove that it was, it was stated that he had been encouraged by ministers here to hold out to the catholics of Ireland the expectation of emancipation, which was afterwards opposed by them. Taking this, for argument's sake, to be true, it might arise from a difference of opinion, which did not necessarily imply a crime on either side: and

and if that difference existed between them, how could they act in concert for the service of the British empire? Mr. Pitt contended that his words on a former night had been misrepresented, and that he had merely stated, that, whatever mischief arose in Ireland, no part of it could be attributed to his majesty's ministers here. He argued against the extreme impolicy of sacrificing public duty to the delicacy of private reputation. On the grounds of public policy, he deprecated the introduction in that house of the points on which the motion was grounded (they were points on which there was a vast difference of opinion in the country to which they belonged, and where they arose), and the impropriety of discussing the delicate political points of the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of Ireland, when the same question was pending in their parliament. If the question was the same, it was a wound to their independence; and if the inquiry only led to the same result, there was nothing gained to the public. Were the decisions to be different, it would impeach the independence of the Irish parliament, and encourage discontent in that country. Such measures could not cement the connection between the two countries. The Irish were themselves the most proper judges of the arrangements of office in their own country.

Mr. Orde Paulet and Mr. Douglas vindicated the conduct of several of the Irish gentlemen who had been displaced by lord Fitzwilliam; and the latter gentleman warmly panegyrised the administration of lord Westmoreland. Mr. Grey observed, that the people of Ireland had made a very ungrateful return for the blessings they had

enjoyed from his lordship, since the adoption of other measures, and the employment of other men, had rendered the administration of his successor popular beyond all precedent. He warmly blamed the conduct of ministers who, pre-determined to refuse inquiry, had wisely declined attempting an answer. When, he said, the minister wished to avoid facts (which he had frequent occasion to do), he entered into a magnificent declamation on general principles,—sometimes on the prerogative of the crown, sometimes on the privileges of parliament, as best suited. The question now, however, was not on general principles, but simply whether sufficient ground was laid for inquiry into circumstances which no man could deny to be within the scope of parliamentary inquiry. Concurrence of opinion was indeed necessary among those who were jointly to conduct the affairs of government; but was the want of this all that marked the present case? What the house had to consider, was, whether the measures brought forward in Ireland did, or did not, excite the most sanguine hopes, and the dereliction of them the greatest discontent and agitation, which it was feared might end in disaffection to the British government? If that question was answered in the affirmative, it was the duty of the house to inquire by whose fault those measures had been introduced, and by whose fault they were retracted.

After a short speech from Mr. sergeant Adair, who thought the inquiry would answer no good end, and a short reply from Mr. Jekyll, urging the necessity of bringing to public odium those who had occasioned so much mischief,—the house divided on the order for the day,

day, which had been moved by Mr. Pitt; when the ayes were 188, noes 49.

In the succeeding chapters, the events of the campaign will be detailed; and but few circumstances of importance remain to be noticed relative to our domestic history. In consequence of the rapid advances of the French army in Holland, in the month of October 1794, a pressing application was made by the Dutch merchants to the British minister, for leave to deposit their treasure and stores in England, without paying the duty, *ad valorem*, at the custom-house. If this proposal had been timely complied with, it is said that this country would have been made the store-house of Holland, and at least 20 millions of money would have been deposited, which has either been dispersed over other countries, or has fallen under the power of France. The reply of Mr. Pitt on this occasion was singular, if it has been correctly stated to us. It was in substance, "that he would not consent to relax the revenue laws in this instance, since it would only serve to propagate in this country the *groundless* and *chimerical* apprehensions of the Dutch." A reply to the same effect was directed by lord Grenville to be made through lord St. Helens, in answer to a similar application from the English consul at Amsterdam. With that unprecedented versatility, however, which has marked all the measures of this administration, on the 16th of January following a royal proclamation was issued, ordering that all goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, should be permitted to be landed in any of the ports of Great Britain, and be secured in

warehouses under the joint lock of his majesty and the proprietors, there to remain in safe custody until due provision should be made by law to enable the proprietors to re-export and dispose of the same. The emigrations were expected, when this proclamation was issued, to be very numerous from the United Provinces; but the system of moderation established by the French, and the difficulty of transporting, at this period, the whole of their property, appears, in most cases, to have frustrated this expectation. The emigrations, we have understood, were few; and but little advantage was taken of this proclamation, except by the stadholder himself and his family, who took refuge in England about the 19th of January, and, according to the general opinion, brought with them a considerable portion of their effects.

The final expulsion of the stadholder, however, seems to have put a very sudden and abrupt termination to all friendly dispositions on the part of the British ministry towards the Dutch of every description. On the 18th or 19th of January, a new change of opinion was manifested, which the minister will probably justify by that favourite phrase which appears to have been the only maxim to which he has adhered, and the pole-star of his conduct,—“existing circumstances:” for peremptory orders were then dispatched to seize, without inquiry or delay, whatever Dutch vessels might be found in the different ports of Great Britain. In Plymouth Sound, two Dutch sixty-fours, a frigate, and two sloops of war, were secured in virtue of this authority. Six homeward and three outward-bound Dutch India ships, and about sixty sail of other vessels,

vessels, were captured in the same port at the same time. A further proclamation was also issued on the 9th of February, authorizing all ships of war, privateers, or letters of marque, to seize and bring into port all Dutch vessels bound either to or from any of the ports of Holland; and also all neutral vessels laden with military stores, bound to any part of the United Provinces.

When the passions of the moment, and the ebullitions of party-violence shall have subsided, posterity will regard the fate of this unfortunate nation as peculiarly severe. If, as is generally believed, they were forced by other powers to take a part in a contest in which they had much to lose and nothing to gain, surely their case is to be lamented, when they became the actual prey of those very powers who had drawn them into the war, but were unable to defend them from the common enemy. To be alternately plundered by both parties, is a situation peculiarly distressing; and the circumstance is the more to be deplored, when we recollect that their only crime was their weakness; and that, throughout the whole of the contest, they have been involuntary sufferers. Letters of marque and reprisal (which appears to be the modern mode of declaring war) were, however, not formally issued against the Dutch till the 15th of September.

In the month of July, some serious riots happened in the metropolis in consequence of the infamous practice of *crimping*, or inveigling men into the service of his majesty. On the afternoon of the 12th, two men incautiously entered one of the public houses at Charing-cross, which have been appropriated for those purposes,

and called for some porter. Soon after they had sat down, one of them went out to purchase some provisions, and on his return missed his companion. Repeated inquiries were made after him in vain; and, impelled by the feelings of Englishmen, and the just indignation excited by so disgraceful and criminal a transaction, a considerable concourse of people presently assembled. The mob forcibly entered the house, liberated the sufferers, and proceeded to destroy the furniture, &c. but the military being called out, they were soon compelled to disperse. On the following evening, however, the populace again assembled to complete their operation; but, after demolishing the sign,—upon some ill-founded suspicion that these practices were countenanced by the ministry, they repaired to Mr. Pitt's house in Downing-street. The terror and trepidation of the minister, we have understood, was great; but his vicinity to the Horse-guards (whither he is said to have escaped by a *back way*) afforded him a secure retreat. After demolishing the windows, the populace were proceeding to further violence, but were prevented by the arrival of the horse and foot guards.

From Downing-street the mob proceeded to St. George's-fields, where they destroyed two crimping-houses, and burned the furniture in the streets. It was with considerable difficulty that they were at length dispersed by the military; and such was their disposition to insurrection, that on the succeeding morning they again assembled, and rescued some of their companions who had been taken in the riot of the preceding evening, and were then confined in St. George's watch-house. In the evening of the

the 15th, the populace again assembled and attacked another house in St. George's-fields, but they were at length finally overpowered by military force. Several persons were committed by the magistrates; and some unhappy individuals suffered capital punishment for being concerned in these riots. The spirit of humanity will be disposed to wish, that, in such a case as this, when the generous feelings of the populace are naturally stimulated by the sight of the most detestable villainy and oppression, the rigour of justice might be tempered as much as possible with the exercise of mercy; and we cannot but think that a conscientious jury, before they condemn a fellow-creature to an ignominious death, will be disposed to consider whether that allowance which the humane spirit of our ancient laws makes in other cases for the casual effects of passion, might not be properly extended to this offence; and they will consider further, whether the practice of crimping is lawful in itself, before they exercise the rigour of law towards those who have been betrayed into irregularity, by the indignant sentiment of outraged humanity.

The vague and undefined objects of the war,—its very dubious origin,—the varying tales and uncertain reasons alleged by ministers from time to time in its support,—and the manifest ill success in the conduct of it in every quarter, appear, in the course of the year, to have excited a very general spirit of discontent among the people: and the necessity of peace for the renovation of our manufactures, the restoration of our commerce, and the recruiting of our finances, produced, as was intimated in a preceding chapter, numerous petitions for that purpose. On the 23d of

January a common-hall was held in the city of London, and a motion for a petition to the house of commons in favour of peace, was carried by a majority of *four thousand* liverymen against about *one hundred*. The petition was drawn up in very strong terms, and contained the following remarkable expressions:

"That your petitioners deplore the evil consequences of war in general, but more particularly the disastrous effects of the present war, on the trade, manufactures, and commerce of the British empire.

"Your petitioners conceive that none of the ends proposed by the present war, either have been or appear likely to be obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and has already produced an alarming increase of the national debt, augmented by subsidies paid to allies, who have notoriously violated their solemn engagements, and rendered no adequate service for large sums actually received by them, and wrung from the credulity of the generous and industrious inhabitants of this island.

"Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly, but firmly, to express to this honourable house their decided conviction, that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire."

The example of the city of London was followed by several of the principal places in the kingdom, particularly the borough of Southwark, the cities of York, Norwich, Carlisle, and Salisbury, and the towns of Manchester and Hull. The friends of ministry assiduously exerted

exerted themselves to obtain counter-petitions; but even in these the abettors of the war did not dare to attempt its vindication, but contented themselves with employing a subterfuge, in praying for peace in general terms, but relying on the *wisdom* of administration respecting the proper period for negotiation.

The most material changes in administration, which we have to notice in the course of the year, are the appointment of his royal highness the duke of York to the office of commander in chief in the room of lord Amherst, and the dismissal of the duke of Richmond from the office of master-general of the ordnance. His grace was succeeded by the marquis Cornwallis; and sir William Howe was appointed lord-lieutenant of the tower in the room of the latter nobleman.

The treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, which we mentioned in our last volume as negotiated by Mr. Jay, was this year ratified by the senate and president of the United States. The treaty, however, has proved but little satisfactory to the people of America. Their principal objections are, that the chief points in dispute are still left as undecided as they were before the treaty; and that their commerce with the English colonies is placed under such restrictions, that it can be of no ultimate advantage to their commerce.

It is neither consistent with our limits, nor agreeable to the nature of our undertaking, to enter deeply into political speculations. It may not be improper, however, to observe, that the first of these objections is but too well founded. It is certainly an objection to a politi-

cal compact, that any material object should be left undefined, or any opening for future contention remain, as far as regards the purpose of the treaty; but this is an objection which might as well be urged by the people of England, as by the people of America; and we must confess that it is too much the character of our present statesmen to leave matters of importance in an undefined and ambiguous state. With respect to the second objection, we cannot avoid stating our opinion, that though the article restricting the commerce of America with the British West India colonies to vessels of a small burden, may possibly diminish the profits of the merchant, it is calculated to be ultimately of the most serious advantage to the United States. If, indeed, the British ministry had intended to pass an act for creating a nursery for American seamen, that object could not by any means have been so effectually provided for, as by the very clause to which the Americans have the folly (we must call it) to object.

In our preceding volume we gave a short account (for it deserved no more) of that imaginary conspiracy, which had contemptuously received the appellation of the *pop-gun* plot. Upon the liberation of the supposed conspirators, we had hoped, for the honour of the nation, that this absurd business had been consigned to oblivion; and we had confidence enough in the common sense of ministers, to induce us to believe that they would never again commit themselves by its revival: but the history of the present times serves every day to impress more forcibly upon us the lesson of the Roman poet,—To wonder at nothing.

The circumstances which favour-

ed the reproduction of this extravagant story, were briefly these. With Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre; a man of the name of Crossfield, a surgeon, had been implicated on the evidence of the infamous informer Upton. Upon the arrest of the other parties, it appears that this person had fled to Bristol, and some little time after had proceeded to Portsmouth, where he engaged himself as surgeon on board the Pomona, bound to the southern whale-fishery. In the course of her voyage, the Pomona was taken and carried into Brest, where (probably to ingratiate himself with the French, in the hope of obtaining favourable treatment) he openly professed himself to be one of those who had been accused of a conspiracy to assassinate the king of Great Britain; and made use of expressions which served to excite a suspicion in some of his fellow-prisoners that he had been really guilty; though this fact, we must add, was denied by other credible witnesses. In one of the carrels he was exchanged among other prisoners; and on his return to England, conscious, probably, of the imprudence of his language while in France, he assumed the name of Wilson. An information, however, being lodged against him by some of the sailors with whom he had been confined in France, he was apprehended in the month of September, and with much solemnity committed by the privy-council to the tower. Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, were also, in rather an unprecedented manner, recommitted to prison some time after; and that we may not have occasion hereafter to trouble our readers with this frivolous and almost ridiculous affair, we shall so far venture to anticipate, as to add

that Crossfield and the rest were, after a trial, only remarkable for the absurdity and inconsistency of the evidence for the crown, acquitted.

The apprehensions of the timid and the credulous part of society were greatly excited, in the course of this year, by some numerous assemblages of the populace convened by the London Corresponding Society. The most remarkable of these was on the 26th of October, in a field near Copenhagen-house, at a small distance from Pancras-church. The meeting consisted of not less, it is computed, than 40,000 persons; but their conduct, as we have been well informed, was perfectly decent, and uniformly peaceable. Some of the orators of the society harangued the multitude; and an address and remonstrance to his majesty, on the subject of peace and parliamentary reform, was unanimously voted.

As the Corresponding Society has latterly become an object interesting to the curiosity of the public, it becomes us to lay before our readers all the information which we have been able to collect concerning this institution. If we are rightly informed, the plan originated entirely with an obscure tradesman of London, whose imagination being forcibly impressed by the perusal of a pamphlet of the late Mr. Day, conceived, some years ago, the project of instituting a club of *unrepresented* citizens, who should occasionally meet and converse on the subject of parliamentary reform, and consider of the legal means of reclaiming what they considered as their birth-right,—the right of suffrage. He communicated his plan to a near relation, and some other acquaintances; and, the first night of the institution, they assembled, to the

the number of eight, at an obscure alehouse in the vicinity of Temple-bar. A rude code of laws was drawn up for the regulation of the society; and they agreed to assemble weekly at the same place, and to subscribe at the rate of two-pence each, weekly, for the support of the society. The projector was unanimously elected to the office of treasurer; and their treasury, at its first institution, contained the sum of sixteen pence. The following meeting their numbers were augmented by the admission of sixteen new members, and they agreed no longer to confine the society to the unrepresented, but to extend it to the admission of all who were friends to parliamentary reform. In process of time the original society became so numerous, that it became necessary to separate into divisions or districts; and, to maintain the correspondence between the different branches, they formed what they called a central committee. The numbers, as well as the influence of this society, have, however, been grossly misrepresented and mis-stated by vanity on their own parts, and by artifice on the part of those whose object it was to excite unnecessary and senseless alarms. On the most diligent inquiry, we have never been able to discover that the actual members were more than a few hundreds; and, notwithstanding their name, we never could find that they maintained any correspondence with similar societies in other parts of the kingdom.

That their public meetings should be numerously attended, cannot be a matter of surprise, when we consider the extensive influence of curiosity over the human mind. To collect a mob in the metropolis on any

occasion, is an undertaking of no great difficulty. Besides this, the people of England, and of London in particular, have an extravagant appetite for what they term oratory; and the intimation that a fine speaker was to deliver a gratis harangue, could never fail of producing a numerous assembly. Hence the multitudes which attended the meetings of which we speak; and as they assembled merely to gratify an innocent, though, perhaps, an idle curiosity, so they dispersed without tumult or violence. It is extremely unfortunate for the country, however, that such meetings were ever held; it is doubly unfortunate that there should exist men base enough to abuse the credulity of a loyal and well-intentioned people, by converting what was in itself a subject of ridicule, into a cause of disquietude and alarm. Whatever consequence the Corresponding Society may possess, we have said, and we still affirm, has been given to it solely by the ministers themselves. To be satisfied of the truth of this assertion, it is only necessary to inspect the authentic reports of the State Trials in 1794. Whether ministers have acted wisely or honestly in this or not, we apprehend it can be no difficult matter to determine. If they were dupes themselves, they were unfit for their stations; if they meant to dupe others, they were truly culpable. For our own parts, we never have been among the deceivers or the deceived. We have uniformly asserted that these societies were contemptible both as to their numbers and their power; and never could afford a ground of apprehension to any well-informed person. They could only be dangerous in times when every thing

is danger,—times of public calamity; but neither these, nor any efforts of faction, can be formidable to a nation which enjoys the blessings of peace, of plenty, and prosperity.

CHAP. VII.

Continental affairs. Winter Campaign. State of the United Provinces. Aversion to the Stadtholder's Government and the English Alliance. Violent Proceedings of the Magistrates at Amsterdam. Ill Policy of forcibly repressing the Public Opinion. Miserable State of the allied Army. French attempt to pass the Waal—repulsed. A Party of French cross the River near Nimeguen. Frost sets in. French cross the Maes, and successfully attack the allied Army for an extent of twelve Leagues. Bommel taken. French establish themselves between the Waal and the Leck. Duke of York resigns the Command. Deplorable State of the allied Forces. Neglect of the Sick, &c. Surrender of Grave. French again cross the Waal. Allied Army abandons its Positions on the Waal. Defeat of the Allies by General Pichegru. Stadtholder in vain urges the People to rise in a mass for the Defence of his Government. Gross Abuses in the allied Armies. Surrender of Heusden. Sufferings of the British Soldiers in their Retreat. Surrender of Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort. Precipitate Flight of the Stadtholder. French enter Amsterdam. Leyden, Haerlem, &c. open their Gates to the French. Surrender of Breda, Williamstadt, and Bergen-op-Zoom. Capitulation of Zeeland. Revolution in Holland. Misfortunes and Sufferings of the retreating Armies. British Forces reach Bremen and embark for England. Campaign on the Rhine. Surrender of Mannheim. Preparations for the Siege of Mentz. Bentham and Licnen taken by the French. Victories of the Republicans in Spain. Rosas taken. Summary Recapitulation of the Conquests and Victories of the French. Peace with the Royalists and Chouans in La Vendée. Naval War. Several Frigates captured from the French. Action in the Mediterranean. Admiral Cornwallis's masterly Retreat. Lord Bridport's Victory. Destruction of the British Settlements on the Coast of Africa.

THE pages of history may be not improperly compared to those assemblages of pictures which are collected by the curious, and in which, chance or convenience forming the arrangement, the eye of the spectator is often diverted by a single glance from a subject representing the amenity and quietness of rural life, to one only productive of sensations of horror and disgust. The transition is, perhaps, not quite so violent from the blood-

less battles of the senate to those scenes of carnage and of cruelty, of injustice and of suffering, with which the actual prospect of war presents us: yet, in abruptly passing from the one to the other, it is impossible not to feel the contrast; and the reflecting mind can scarcely avoid indulging the silent wish, that those, in whose disposal is vested the fate of millions, would at least consider, with a becoming spirit of humanity, the solemn and import-

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ant object of their counsels, and reflect that the vote, which they give with the frigid indifference of a retail trader, may involve, in its consequence, a sum of misery beyond their powers of calculation.

To the term *civilized war*, the enlightened spirit of philosophy and the mild benevolence of christianity may with propriety object: but, without cavilling at a phrase, it may be remarked, that it has long been a subject of literary dispute, whether the contests of modern, and what are termed civilized nations, have been attended with a less considerable portion of ferocity and carnage, than those of ages, which, in some instances, are properly denominated barbarous or uncultivated. The historian who arranges his materials on an extensive scale, may relieve the languor of his readers by occasionally expatiating into these disquisitions: it is the humble province of the annalist to record the facts. In one observation upon the subject, however, we may be indulged,—and that is, that the protracted campaigns of the moderns, which are commonly carried on through the inclemencies of the winter season, is certainly not an improvement in the art of war, as far as humanity is concerned. The wars of savage nations are an image of those passions by which the individual is actuated; they are a sudden ebullition of rage and fury,—a momentary effort of ferocity; and they as suddenly subside. The returning period of sunshine and of warmth at once stimulates the passions of the barbarian, and invites him from his retreat; the change of the season restores him to his more innocent avocations; and for at least the greater portion of the year he is in safety and at ease. The cold-

blooded malevolence of modern statesmen condemns the victims of their ambition, not only to encounter the rage of the enemy, but of nature and of providence; and, while in the security of the cabinet, in the effeminacy and dissipation of a court, they plan arrangements fatal to the happiness of mankind,—unfortunate but nameless multitudes are exposed to every inclemency of the elements; and the ravages of the sword are almost forgotten, when we contemplate the millions who perish in a state of still severer misery, by famine and disease.

The unfinished story which the commencement of the year 1795 presents to our view, involuntarily suggested these reflections. We have not to depict the preparations for approaching hostilities, but we have to conclude a recital abruptly broken off, and to continue the history of a campaign, the commencement of which only was narrated in our preceding volume. That volume, our readers will recollect, concluded with the reduction of Maestricht, and the evacuation of Nimeguen. At this period a short pause in the military operations seems to have succeeded the busy scenes which had gone before. In this interval the inhabitants of the United Provinces appeared to awake from their torpor; and to open their eyes to the gulph which yawned before them, but which their infatuated rulers had assiduously endeavoured hitherto to conceal from their view. They lamented too late their folly and their want of spirit. That negotiation which might have prevented the calamities they had already suffered, and those greater evils which now seemed to impend over this devoted country, was eagerly caught at as a last resource.

Miserable is that nation, where the individuals, and those of property and of rank in particular, are averse to thought and reflection,—where a blind confidence is reposed in the ministers of the executive government,—where the measures of statesmen are not watched with a jealous eye,—where office and rank are supposed to confer talents,—where specious pretences are held out to an indolent public, who suffer themselves tamely to be deluded and cajoled by the meanest sophistry, and who only awake from their lethargy when they find themselves involved in an abyss of ruin! Such was the present state of this infatuated people. The states of Friesland were the first to feel their danger, and to see what they ought to have seen long before,—the necessity of peace. In the month of October the states of Friesland determined to acknowledge the French republic, to break their alliance with England, and to enter into a treaty of peace and alliance with France. In some other provinces the popular party were equally active, and several resolutions, hostile to the stadtholder and his government, were passed. Such, indeed, appeared to be the temper of the people, even at Amsterdam, that, on the 17th of October, the government of Holland published a proclamation prohibiting the presenting of any petition or memorial upon public or political subjects, and all popular meetings or assemblages of the people upon any occasion*. In the latter end of the same month the stadtholder repaired to Amsterdam *incog.* in order, it was supposed, to influence the deliberations of the states, which,

it was suspected, inclined to peace. These arbitrary and absurd efforts to support a tottering fabric, were, however, in vain: the people had begun to reflect, and investigation is ever fatal to the proceedings of a weak and corrupt administration. In the beginning of November, a bold and energetic petition was presented to the magistrates by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Amsterdam. It stated that the sudden and unexpected appearance of the hereditary prince of Orange and the duke of York in that city could have no other object than to influence the deliberations of their high mightinesses, and to induce them to consent to the admission of English troops, and to perform the grand inundation by opening the surrounding sluices, &c. It concluded by deprecating these pernicious measures, and by demanding a categorical answer respecting the object of the visit of the above illustrious personages; and respecting their intention of admitting foreign troops.

With that infatuation which appeared at this period to pervade the Dutch administration, the gentlemen who presented the petition, were ordered under arrest. As an excuse for their misconduct, the magistrates pretended that the arrest was made at the request of the British minister. The petition, however, was not without its effect; it excited the attention of the people; the magistrates did not dare to undertake the adventurous measure of the grand inundation; and the suffering patriots were shortly after released from prison in triumph and with honour.

During the month of November,

* Perhaps there is not a worse omen for the administration of any country, than when such a measure is adopted. It is then always evident that their own conduct will not bear a scrutiny, and that it is generally unpopular.

the business of the campaign proceeded with languor. From some unknown causes the French were unable to advance; and the allies were scarcely able to stand on the defensive, much less to undertake any offensive operations. A dreadful sickness and mortality prevailed at this time in the allied army. To the unhealthiness of the climate was added the want of every comfort and almost of every necessary of life. Either from the neglect of their commissaries, or from a deficiency in their supplies, even the hospitals were unprovided with wine, medicines, and attendance. The soldiers had neither cloathing to shield them from the inclemencies of the season, nor even shoes to enable them to perform the rapid marches which the service required. These circumstances, added to the sudden changes of the weather at this disastrous period, produced a fatal putrid fever: in the British corps only, it was not uncommon, while they were stationed at Arnhem, to bury from twenty to thirty in a day; and few of those who entered the hospital were ever returned to their regiments.

On the 7th of December, a feeble attempt was made by the French, to cross the Waal in four rafts from Nimeguen; two of the rafts were sunk by the English forces, who were stationed on the opposite side near the village of Lant; one floated to the side occupied by the Dutch; and only one of the four regained that which was in the possession of the republicans. On the 11th the attempt was renewed, and with rather better success. They crossed the river above Nimeguen, and near the canal, in boats and on rafts, to the number, it is computed, of about 5000 men.

A detachment of about 200 at day-break, favoured by a thick fog, succeeded in surprizing an Hanoverian piquet at Panneren. They possessed themselves of a battery, spiked three guns, and threw a fourth into the river, and retired without the loss of a man. A detachment which attempted to cross nearer Emerick, opposite to an Austrian post, was less fortunate. The Austrians permitted them to reach the middle of the river, and then opening their batteries suddenly upon them, sunk the greater part of the boats; and the remainder, which regained the shore, experienced considerable loss. The republicans were also repulsed at Fort St. André by the emigrants.

It is evident, from the numbers engaged, that the French generals had no serious hopes from these enterprizes; and that they were rather experiments for the annoyance of the enemy, and to exercise the men upon the river. On the 15th of December, however, the frost set in with unusual rigour, and opened a new field to the adventurous spirit of the French generals. In the course of a week, the Maes and the Waal were both frozen over; and on the 27th a strong column of French crossed the Maes, near the village of Driel. They, indeed, attacked the allied army for an extent of above twelve leagues, from Nimeguen to beyond the river Neeker; and, according to the report of general Pichegru, "were, as usual, victorious in every quarter." The right wing, extending from Nimeguen to Fort St. André, was employed in watching the movements of the allies, while the centre made themselves masters of the Bommel Waert and of Langstraal; and the left forced the lines of Breda. In this one day they gained

gained 120 pieces of artillery, 1,600 prisoners, two pair of colours, and 300 horses.

The Bommel Waert is a kind of island of about five leagues in length and two in breadth, which is formed by the waters of the Maes and the Waal. Conceiving it impossible to defend Bommel, the Dutch garrison attempted to cross the Waal, but were overtaken by the victorious enemy before they could entirely effect their purpose; and part of the régiments of Orange, Friesland, Hohenlohe, and a Swiss corps, were forced to surrender, with six gun-boats, which were frozen up, and a quantity of baggage. The Waal was at this time so firmly frozen, that heavy artillery could be transported over it; the French, therefore, proceeded without loss of time to establish themselves between the Waal and the Leck, in the Tielier Waert, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Gorcum and Culenberg; a serious attack was therefore determined upon, to force them to recross the Waal. For that purpose, ten battalions of British infantry were divided into brigades, under major-general lord Cathcart, major-general Gordon, and colonel McKensie, with six squadrons of light cavalry, and one hundred and fifty hussars of Rohan; the whole commanded by major-general David Dundas, co-operating with four squadrons, and as many battalions of Hessians. This force, amounting to about 6,500 infantry, and 1,000 horse, advanced in three columns. The right was ordered to keep its left wing to the river Vlet, to turn Thuyt, and attacking the rear of that village, cut off the enemy's retreat, while the centre and left were to attack by the Dyke, keeping the church

of Wardenberg on the left wing. Accordingly, at Geldermalsen, lord Cathcart's column (the right) struck off from the remainder of the British troops, and general Dundas fell in, at day-break on the 30th, with the Hessians, near Wardenberg, and finding the French had precipitately abandoned that village during the night, immediately pushed on to Thuyt, attacking that post with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding its natural strength, the abbatis by which it was protected, the batteries of the town of Bommel, which flanked the approach, and the considerable number of men defending it, it was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the republicans were driven across the river, with the loss of a considerable number of their men, and four pieces of artillery.

At this period the allied army received a seasonable reinforcement of Austrians; and it was believed by many that they meant to make a serious stand: but the French general, Pichegru, had taken his measures too effectually; and the allied army was in too deplorable a state to be able to make an effectual resistance.

The duke of York quitted the command on the 6th of December, and returned to England. Such a circumstance afforded a sufficient indication, that even the sanguine enthusiasm of the British ministry had given up the cause of Holland as desperate, though their obstinacy and weakness was such as to induce them to reject the solicitations of the Dutch to co-operate with them in an endeavour to negotiate a general peace. The state of the army was extremely bad, even while the duke of York, by his presence, controuled, in some degree, the rapacity of the

the inferior agents, and prevented, as far as the exertions of one man in the midst of a corrupt system could, the unpardonable neglect which universally prevailed in every department. But he was no sooner departed, and the army placed under the command of a foreigner dependant upon Great Britain, general Walmoden, than the grossest abuses were committed. Perhaps there never was a period when the supplies for the troops cost such enormous sums to the nation; and there certainly never was a war in which the army was so destitute of every thing. From the flannel waistcoats, &c. supplied by the patriotic contributions of the English nation, by some mismanagement, or by some corrupt practices, many of the wretched suffering victims never received any advantage. The condition of the sick was deplorable beyond all precedent; and when a man was ordered for the hospital, the common expression throughout the army was,—“that he was sent to the shambles.” An eye-witness, a British officer, whose account, has never been contradicted, and whose attachment to government, and even to the war, cannot be suspected, has described the affecting scene in the following terms:—“the sickness of the army increased daily with the extreme severity of the weather; and the total inattention to the comforts and convenience of our suffering fellow-creatures, rendered their situation pitiable in the extreme. Invalids were constantly sent to the general hospital at Rhenen, without any previous orders having been issued to prepare for their reception, so that no proper accommodations could possibly be provided for them. They were

usually conveyed in bilanders * along the Rhine, from Arnheim, without even a sufficient supply of provisions; and it is a notorious fact, that, at one time, above 500 miserable objects were embarked with only a single hospital mate to attend them, with scarcely any covering, and with a very scanty allowance of straw. They had not one of them been at that time expected, and there was consequently no room for them in the hospital. A gentleman, who was daily an eye-witness of those heart-rending scenes exhibited at Rhenen, previous to the removal of the suffering invalids, declared that he himself one morning counted two and forty dead bodies on the banks of the river, of men who had perished on board the bilanders, where they had been left because, as he was told repeatedly, there were then no quarters to be met with for them in the town. Abuses unheard of in any former war existed in almost every department: and our helpless countrymen were given up to the mercy of surgeons' mates, furnished by a cheap contract, and deputy commissaries, whose interest it appeared to deprive them of every shadow of enjoyment. The enormous sum of forty thousand pounds sterling had been drawn for, to supply the sick with wine; and such was the infamous behaviour of the medical staff, that the surgeons and mates are very much belied indeed, if they were not, many of them, in the constant habits of robbing the sick, and of applying that necessary article to their own use, preferring the pleasure of carousing over flagons of heady port, to the drudgery of alleviating the pangs of the miserable and afflicted patients, whose

* Small vessels with two masts, usually employed upon the Rhine, to convey forage, baggage, &c.

hard fate placed them under the hands of such ignorant and inhuman butchers. When we consider how many brave men were thus sacrificed, and that from fifteen to twenty guineas bounty-money was at that time publicly offered for recruits, would it not have been more economical in government, to have employed Rush, Lind, and other respectable men, who offered their services at the commencement of the war, but whose demands were deemed exorbitant, than to have imported, at so much per head, such numbers of inexperienced pretenders to a science above their comprehension, who scarcely knew in which hand to hold a lancet, or in what manner to fix a tourniquet?"

The fortress of Grave, which had employed the most strenuous efforts of the republicans for more than a month, surrendered on the 30th of December. General Bons defended it, according to his promise, till his last shot was expended. It has been computed that 3,070 shells were thrown in during the siege; and the whole town was reduced to a heap of ashes. The garrison were made prisoners of war; but the terms granted were very honourable to the humanity of the conquering general, particularly with respect to the stipulation in favour of the sick and wounded; and in answer to a demand of the citizens, that their property should be unmolested without regard to political opinions, it was pointedly replied,—“The French make a duty of respecting both property and opinions.”

Such were the melancholy auspices for the British and their allies, under which the year 1795 commenced. On the 4th of January, a small division of the French

army again crossed the Waal; but this force, inconsiderable as it was, the allies found themselves incompetent to dislodge. A council of war was therefore summoned, and it was determined entirely to abandon their positions on the Waal. The heavy cannon were spiked up without loss of time; and large quantities of ammunition destroyed, lest they should fall into the hands of the French. On the 6th the allied army fell back upon the Leck; but a partial thaw taking place, orders were issued on the succeeding day, for such troops as had not removed, to remain in their cantonments; and these were supported by other detachments. A partial action, in which the British, under the command of general Dundas, were chiefly engaged, took place on the 8th. A party of French, to the amount of 800, were dislodged from Geldermalsen; but the British found it necessary, after this *success*, to make as expeditious a retreat as possible, with the loss of about 150 men. In this skirmish the ground was contested with such obstinacy on both sides, that the British and French repulsed each other four times in the course of the day.

On the 10th of January, general Pichegru having formed his arrangements in the most perfect order, made his grand movement. The French crossed the Waal at different points in immense force, to the amount, indeed, according to some reports, of 70,000 men. A general attack was made upon Walmoden's position, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. The allies were defeated in every quarter; and, equally unprepared for resistance and for flight, the wretched fugitives, unprovided with tents, and unable to procure cantonments,

tonments, were obliged to pass the night, in this severe season, in the open tobacco sheds, or under the canopy of an inclement sky.

It was in vain that the stadtholder issued manifestoes, proclamations, and exhortations, to the Dutch peasantry, conjuring them to rise in a mass for the defence of his country; this wretched victim of the puerile ambition of the British minister had rendered his government too unpopular to expect assistance from a suffering people.—How deplorable is the state of that government, where the approach of a hostile army is regarded more as an object of satisfaction than of abhorrence! In the mean time the activity of the French general left his antagonists not a moment to rally; every success was pursued with an alacrity which, in other circumstances, would have been rashness; and every miscarriage was instantly repaired. On the 14th, the French made a general attack upon the posts which were still retained between the Waal and the Rhine. It is a very extraordinary circumstance that our gazettes should have represented the French as repulsed in this instance, since the only proof they afford of it, is, that the allies made use of the darkness and stillness of midnight to commence a precipitate retreat from the heights of Rhenen.

The unprepared and unprovided state of the British army was apparent in every stage of this disastrous business. That uninterrupted series of dissipation, luxury, and intemperance, of which the ministers set the example at home, was indeed strictly copied by their agents and commissaries abroad. Their attention had been directed to the fur-

nishing of banquets and entertainments, instead of providing for the necessities of the miserable people committed to their care. “The general orders issued at this time, (says the intelligent writer already quoted) for the removal of the sick, proved a death warrant to numberless helpless and miserable objects. A description circumstantially detailed of their poignant sufferings, during their retreat to Deventer, would form a tale, ‘whose lightest word would harrow up the soul,’ and make the blood run cold with horror. Constantly removed in open waggons, exposed to the intense severity of the weather, to drifting snow, and heavy falls of sleet and rain; frequently without any victuals, till the *army halted*, and then but scantily provided; littered down in cold churches, upon a short allowance of *dirty straw*, and few of them enjoying the comforts of even a single blanket, to repel the rigorous attacks of the night air; it is no wonder they expired, by hundreds, *marvrs* to the most infamous and unpardonable neglect. Doubtless there were, even at this period, worthy and respectable men in the medical department, whose conduct formed a striking contrast to that of those greedy wretches, infesting, in such swarms, the general hospitals of the British army. Some, and but that it is positively forbidden, (for *merit* is as easily discerned by the modesty that accompanies it, as ignorance is known by its constant attendants, vanity, and impudence,) several could be named, whose daily employment consisted, as far as they were able, in instilling oil and wine into the wounds of those afflicted invalids, fortunate enough to fall under their immediate care.

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The feeble voice from feverish lungs, has in its latest moments been employed to call down blessings on their heads: and what reward could have been half so grateful? It appears scarcely necessary to remark, that those men were never known to join the noisy throng assembled in the inner room, where Bacchus, jolly god! flushed every cheek, and Laughter holding both his sides, stood centry at the door."

Heusden surrendered by capitulation immediately after this last action, which our ministers were desirous of representing as a defeat of the French; and a negotiation was also commenced for the surrender of the whole country. The sufferings of the flying army, in their nightly marches after this extraordinary *victory*, this "negative success," are beyond every power of description. The multitudes who sunk into the arms of death, oppressed with cold and with fatigue, are beyond calculation. Some of the sufferers were mounted behind the cavalry, and even behind some of the officers, whose humanity on this occasion reflects honour upon their characters; but many more were left behind dead or dying, or buried under the drifts of snow. We have been favoured with the most affecting accounts from several eye-witnesses; but as from the situation of the gentlemen, we cannot authenticate them with their names, we must be satisfied with extracting a short view of these horrors from an account which is already before the public.

"The army, on the 15th of January, passed the formidable lines of Greb, constructed in the years 1745, and 1746, for the protection of the United Provinces of Holland, and

of Utrecht. The 16th was a day more peculiarly marked by distressing scenes, than any other during the retreat. The troops were on that morning put in motion at day-break, with a view of reaching Loonen, a village distant about 23 miles from their position, near Scavpenzael: owing to the uncommon severity of the weather, and the snow, which lying deep upon the ground, was drifted in the faces of the men, by a strong easterly wind, they were so worn down by fatigue, that it was thought advisable and necessary, to halt some of the regiments at two neighbouring villages, about nine miles short of their place of destination. The whole of the British could not, however, be possibly accommodated, and it was left to the discretion of the commanding officers of corps, to continue their march to Loonen, or to take up such situations as they could meet with in the hamlets on the road. Some of the regiments proceeded, even after sunset, with their baggage and field pieces, and consequently were entirely dispersed, as it was then impossible to trace out any path-way over the dreary common. Great numbers of men, unable to bear up against the fatigue they had undergone, and several women and children, were frozen to death, in their attempts to discover the road their battalions had pursued. The whole of the eighty-eighth regiment was so scattered, that no return whatever could be given in of its strength the next morning; and the few straggling parties that joined, gave a very melancholy account of the main body.

An officer of the guards, who was ordered to reconnoitre the next morning, had more opportunities than

than any other person, of witnessing the dreadful consequences of the preceding night's march: the distressing account is therefore given, in his own words.

"On the morning of the 17th, I was sent upon a particular duty, to trace out a road over the common, by which the army and artillery might safely proceed to Loonen. When the party marched it was scarcely light; and as day broke in upon us, the horrible scenes that it revealed, afforded a shocking proof of the miseries of a winter's campaign. On the common, about half a mile off the high road, we discovered a baggage-cart, with a team of five horses, apparently in distress; I galloped towards the spot, and found the poor animals were stiff, but not dead; the hoar frost on their manes plainly shewing they had been there the whole night. Not perceiving any driver with them, I struck my sword repeatedly upon the canvass tilt, inquiring at the same time if there was any person in the cart. At length, a very feeble voice answered me, and some one underneath the canvass appeared to be making an effort to arise. A pair of naked frost-nipt legs were then advanced, and the most miserable object I ever beheld, sunk heavily upon the ground; the whole of his cloathing so ragged and worn, that I can scarcely say that he was covered. So stiff and frozen was this miserable wretch, that he was by no means capable of moving; he informed me that his regiment, the fifty-fourth, which he was following the preceding night, had lost its road, and in turning into another, he found his horses incapable of clearing the cart from the ruts, and that himself and his two comrades were left behind to proceed in the

best manner they could: the two men he spoke of were then lying dead in the cart, having all three endeavoured to communicate to one another a degree of warmth, by creeping close together. We placed the miserable survivor upon one of the horses of his team, and led him forwards till joined by the battalion; by that means his life was prolonged, yet, I fear, but for a season; for when placed in the hospital, his toes dropped off, frost bitten, and his mass of blood appeared in a corrupted state. The whole of this day's march was marked by scenes of the most calamitous nature, similar to the one that I have just recited. We could not proceed a hundred yards without perceiving the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horses, in every direction. One scene made an impression upon my memory, which time will never be able to efface. Near another cart, a little further on the common, we perceived a stout looking man, and a beautiful young woman with an infant, about seven months old, at the breast; all three frozen, and dead. The mother had most certainly expired in the act of suckling her child, as with one breast exposed, she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance in a stream, drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had but just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk, frozen as it trickled from the mouth; their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, resembling those of persons in a sound and tranquil slumber. About fifty yards advanced, was another dead man, with a bundle of linen cloths and
a few

a few biscuits, evidently belonging to the poor woman and child; and a little further, was a horse lying down, but not quite dead, with a couple of panniers on his back, one of which contained, as we discovered, the body of another child, about two years of age, wrapped up in flannel and straw. This, as we afterwards heard, was the whole of one family; a serjeant's wife of the fifty-fifth, her brother and children; the man found with the horse and bundle, had remained behind his regiment to assist them during a march thus memorable for its miseries. He had just gained sight of a distant hamlet, where they might have obtained a shelter from the inclemency of the weather, when his strength failed him. The commanding officer of the fifty-fifth rode by at that critical moment, but too late to render them any service; and as the battalions passed the spot, the troops were witnesses in their turns of this melancholy scene."

The retreating army pursued the route towards Deventer, which left the most important places in the United Provinces open to the conquerors. Utrecht accordingly surrendered to the French on the 16th of January, without any remarkable circumstances attending its capture. The British, and the other troops in the pay of Great Britain, had taken their departure the preceding evening, by the way of Amersfort, towards Zutphen. Rotterdam fell an unresisting prey to the conquerors on the 18th, and Dort on the succeeding day.

In the mean time the utmost consternation prevailed among the partizans of the stadtholder. The princess of Orange, with the younger and female part of the family, and with all the plate, jewels, and mov-

ables, which could be packed up, escaped on the 15th. The stadtholder, and the hereditary prince, did not leave Holland till the 19th. His serene highness embarked from Scheveling in an open boat, with only three men to navigate her, and arrived safe at Harwich. It is said that it was with the utmost difficulty these illustrious personages effected their escape from the Hague, as the Dutch populace insisted on their detention, to answer for the calamities which their adherence to English politics had brought upon their country. It was entirely owing to the fidelity of a small detachment of the stadtholder's body-guard, that they were extricated from this situation of difficulty and danger. They reached Scheveling barely in time to procure a boat: at this place too, the citizens assembled to oppose their embarkation; the body-guards were obliged to fire upon the populace; a serious tumult ensued, and several lives were lost.

As early as the 17th, it is said, Dr. Kraayenhoff, one of the banished patriots, arrived at Amsterdam, with a letter from the French general, to prepare the regency for the reception of the French army. On the 19th, that important city was literally taken possession of by thirty French hussars. The tree of liberty was immediately planted in all the great squares; the inhabitants mounted unanimously the tricolour cockade; a revolutionary committee was chosen, chiefly composed of those gentlemen, whom the blindness of the former administration had cast into prison for presenting a petition in favour of peace, and against the inundation. On the succeeding day, general Pichegru entered the metropolis in triumph, at the head of 5,000 men,

men, and was received by the inhabitants with the loudest acclamations. It is to the honour of the conquering party, that the whole was conducted in the most peaceable manner; not a drop of blood was shed, nor any thing like persecution instituted for any political opinion. The liberty and independence of the United Provinces was immediately proclaimed, by the sanction of the French general. The citizens were called together to appoint, by a free and general election, new magistrates. M. de Vessel was chosen the principal of the municipal officers, under the title of mayor; and twenty-one other gentlemen were elected provisional representatives in the states.

Leyden and Haerlem immediately followed the example of Amsterdam. On the 18th of January, the burghers of Leyden required of the members of the regency the re-establishment of the city guards, who had been disbanded on the Prussian usurpation in 1787. The request was assented to; and the citizens being regularly armed and embodied, restrained the populace from outrage, and the revolution was effected in the same peaceable and festive manner as at the metropolis. Flushing, Middleburgh, and the whole island of Walcheren, surrendered on the 30th of January. The Dutch admiral, it appears, acted in concert with the French on that occasion. Two French commissioners were dispatched from Cadland. — They went on board the admiral's ship, and immediately the tri-coloured flag was hoisted, amidst the acclamations of the populace. The admiral then proceeded with the commissioners to take possession of Middleburgh, &c. Breda and Williamstadt opened

their gates to the besiegers, in consequence of peremptory orders from the states. The important fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom was supposed to be in an excellent state for defence. The garrison consisted of 4000 men, including one British regiment, the 87th. It was summoned on the 1st of February, and general le Maire, who commanded the French army before the town, forwarded, at the same time, the proclamation issued by the states-general, requiring all the garrison towns, in consequence of the stadtholder's abdication, to open their gates to the French. A capitulation was therefore immediately assented to. The Dutch governor, much to his credit, wished to insert an article for permitting the British troops to return to England; but this was peremptorily refused, and the 87th regiment remained prisoners of war.

The whole province of Zealand formally capitulated to general Michaud, on the 4th of February. The terms were liberal in every respect. Perfect liberty of religious worship was established; persons and property secured; French troops were not allowed to be put in garrison; nor were assignats to be circulated by forcible means.

While these events were in agitation, a requisition was made by the French generals for a supply of some articles of provision and cloathing for the armies. The French republic was pledged for the payment of the amount; and the proclamation issued by the states-general at the Hague on the 27th of January, states, that the demand was made not as from a conqueror, but an ally, in support of the common cause.

The peace and unanimity with which the revolution in Holland

was effected, reflects some credit on the prudence and humanity of general Pichegru. It is remarked in a correspondence from Amsterdam, that the French entered that city, not with the pomp and ostentation of conquerors,—not in large bodies, but in small divisions. It was three days before they assembled in a body; and the whole way from the Waal to Amsterdam was covered with officers and soldiers, who had the appearance more of travellers than warriors. But, however proper it may be to accord the praise of moderation where it appears so justly due, more is perhaps to be attributed to the Dutch character in this instance, than to the discipline of the French. Cautious and methodical even in the most critical situations, they perceived the storm advancing, and made every possible provision for security and tranquillity. The magistrates, whose adherence to a weak and impolitic government had drawn these calamities upon their country, evacuated their seats without a struggle; and the mass of the people were bent more on their own safety than on the gratification of revenge. Before the French could approach, the municipality in every city or town of consequence was re-organized; and a kind of embassy was dispatched to negotiate favourable terms from the conquerors. The opulent citizens voluntarily enrolled themselves as militia, or rather as a guard of police, to prevent riot, insurrection, or plunder; and the populace themselves were less actuated by violent passions, and a disposition to outrage, than perhaps the mob of any other country in Europe would have been. Thus the steady and unimpassioned character of the nation, had previously made every

necessary arrangement: and, had any outrages or riots ensued, it must have been from an entire neglect of discipline and order in the conquering army.

On the 27th of January, the provisional representatives of the people of Holland assembled. *Citizen* Pierre Paulus (for the Hollanders had already adopted the language of their new allies) was unanimously chosen president. His speech, though not brilliant, was well adapted to the occasion. The success of the French, and particularly the extraordinary frost which favoured their entrance into the country, was considered as an interposition of Providence. The moderation and the liberal professions of the French were extolled.—He concluded by recommending peace and unanimity. “Let us,” said he, “our hearts filled with gratitude, render thanks to God for this wonderful interference of his providence; and since our liberty has so manifestly been founded by his will, let us keep his divine example before our eyes, and in all humility endeavour to make it the object of our imitation. Let justice, equity, and humanity be the beginning and the end of all our actions and resolutions: and laying aside all hatreds, all spirit of party, and of vengeance for former wrongs, let us remember that it was he who taught us to ‘bless those that curse us.’”

“Then will a blessing attend our labours; then and then alone union will spring up among us,—union, without which we have seen that this country cannot subsist, but with the aid of which, we have a bright example in our annals, that we are invincible.

“Then tranquillity and calm will reign in every breast, and the foundation

Foundation being thus so happily laid, the edifice of our liberty will be gradually reared amid the influence of virtue, of reason, and of philosophy.

“ When the sovereignty of the people shall have been acknowledged,—when the inalienable rights of man, without distinction of religious or political opinions, shall have been solemnly declared,—we may expect that peace, liberty, and security, which have been so long banished from our land, will again take up their abode with us, and will form the source of our common felicity.

“ It is for this most desirable end, that I offer up my prayers to the Almighty, that he may grant us his divine blessing,—that he may afford to us all, and particularly to me whom this assembly has favoured with such a mark of its confidence, his paternal assistance,—and that he may turn the efforts, which we are about to make, to the happiness of a people so long outraged, insulted, and oppressed.”

Several decrees were immediately passed for the future regulation of the government, and for the deposition of the stadtholder from all his offices.—Among these were the following:

1. The sovereignty of the Dutch people, and the declaration of the rights of man.

2. The abolition of the stadtholdership, as also of the offices of admiral and captain general of the United Provinces, together with all their appendages.

3. All the citizens and inhabitants of Holland are released from their oaths to the old constitution.

4. The college of the deputy council, and that of the chamber of accounts, are suppressed, and in their room are established a com-

mittee of public safety, a committee of military affairs, and a committee of finance.

5. The commission of the deputies to the assembly calling itself the states general, is recalled.

6. The right of shooting, hunting, and fishing, is restored to every one on his own property.

7. Steps shall be instantly taken to repair the effects of the inundations.

8. The taxes levied hitherto shall be provisionally continued; but measures shall be immediately taken to diminish them, and to put such as remain upon a more equal footing.

9. A courier shall be immediately dispatched to Paris, to order the commissioners of the assembly calling itself the states general, to desist from acting in the name of the people of Holland, and they are hereby recalled.

10. A commission of the assembly of the provisional representatives of Holland shall immediately begin their sittings in the hall of the ci-devant states general, in order to advance the general interests of the people.

The attention of the assembly was next directed to the state of the bank of Amsterdam; and the result of their inquiries was, that no deficiency whatever was likely to exist in the bank, and that the debits and credits would precisely balance; with this exception, that instead of specie, there had been received into the said Bank from time to time, as securities for large sums advanced by it within the last fifty years, a very considerable number of bonds, viz.

Seventy bonds of the India company of Amsterdam, guaranteed by the states of that province, each being for 100,000 florins banco, at

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three per cent. interest, besides a similar one of 50,000 florins banco; on which there would be due, according to the calculations of the said clerks, the sum of 249,000 florins banco for interest. On account of which bonds, the treasury of the said city was debited in the aforesaid balance, banco 6,273,000 florins.

Besides these, there were fifty bonds, each for 24,000 florins, on account of the provinces of Holland and West Friesland, belonging to the loan office of Amsterdam, on which, according to the information of the clerks, the bank had advanced, agreeably to the aforesaid balance, the sum of 838,857 florins banco, on which there would be due for interest 30,000 florins.

In addition to which, the loan-office owed to the bank, conformable to the same information, the sum of 1,715,000 florins banco.

That further, if every thing should appear as was stated by the said clerks, and sterling being converted into stock, the treasury of the city would, in addition, owe to the bank, and for which it was made debtor at the closing of the accounts above alluded to, the sum of

And what it owed at	
the actual closing of	
the accounts	f. 38,358 2 0

Making together	
banco	f. 193,672 8 8

That there was also due from the city to the said bank 227,264 2 8, for which bonds were originally given; that the clerks' statements were burned, but for which the

city, notwithstanding, paid interest annually to the bank.

We have already mentioned, that the British army took the rout to Deventer. To general Abercrombie, who conducted it during this painful and perilous retreat, we believe that every praise is due for his humanity and vigilance. They reached Deventer about the 26th or 27th of January, but were not long able to maintain themselves in that position, as they were closely pursued by a body of from 30 to 50 thousand of the enemy, in high spirits, and better provided with every necessary than the wretched fugitives. The partial thaws which occasionally took place, only served to aggravate the misery of the latter, from the floods which succeeded these alterations in the temperature, and either impeded their progress, or obliged the soldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water, which sometimes reached even to their knapsacks. At Deventer, Zwol, and Zutphen, great numbers of the sick were left behind, but the magazines were partially destroyed*. Of the loss of men in this dreadful march we have never seen an accurate return. Private letters have asserted that the British army, which amounted to 13,000 men when the retreat commenced, was reduced by the beginning of February to half the number. In the march from Amersfort alone, upwards of 300 soldiers were frozen to death, besides women and children. The number of waggons employed for the removal of the sick, amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixty, which, at the rate

* In the two days that the army remained there, it is said that upwards of 12,000 stand of arms were destroyed; 60,000 cwt. of powder; some millions of musket ammunition: 100 gun carriages; the artillery was in general spiked; working implements and other stores were lost, to an incredible amount.

only of ten to each waggon, may be enumerated at 1600 at least, independent of multitudes, who, from wounds, or the desperate circumstances of their respective cases, were of necessity left behind to the mercy of the enemy.

On the 10th of February the flying army was obliged to halt at Scuttorp, from a prodigious flood of the river Vecht, which was occasioned by a sudden thaw; and the soldiers were employed in breaking the enormous masses of ice which clogged the arches of the bridge, in order to clear a passage for the waters. On the 12th they crossed the Ems, at Rheine, and proceeded on their march without interruption till the 24th, when the posts of Nieuhaus and Velthuys, chiefly occupied by the emigrant corps, were attacked by an advanced guard of the republicans, and forced to fall back with the loss of about 100 men in killed and wounded.

The division commanded by lord Cathcart encountered still greater difficulties, as his rear was continually harassed by the advanced parties of the French. At Groningen, they were refused admittance into the city, and every where experienced only loss and disappointment from the prevailing disaffection to the Orange family.

On the 27th and 28th of March, the main body of the British forces reached Bremen, where they remained till the 10th of April, when they embarked for England.

While these unparalleled events were taking place in the Low Countries, the campaign on the Rhine, and in other parts, appeared to languish, and few movements of much importance were attempted by the French. They were, however, not wholly inactive; and even

in the month of December they appear to have entertained hopes of the speedy reduction of Mentz, and began to transport towards its vicinity a quantity of heavy artillery from Landau, and other parts. On the 24th of that month the fort du Rhin, which covered Mannheim, surrendered to the arms of the French republic. The preservation of the fine and flourishing town of Mannheim was the reason publicly alleged for this capitulation; but it was generally understood that it was surrendered in consequence of a secret understanding with the government. Thus, the town of Mannheim was saved from the calamities of a bombardment, and, by an early submission, the inhabitants were left unmolested. On the 29th, the fort of Zahlbach, near Mentz, sustained three attacks from the French, which were made with their usual impetuosity. The republicans were however repulsed with the loss, it is computed, of about 400 men. The balls reached the town of Mentz, and even killed a young woman who was standing in the market place. After the reduction of Mannheim, a considerable part of the troops which had been employed against the fort du Rhin were sent to reinforce the army before Mentz; yet as the siege appears not to have been formally undertaken till the summer was in some measure advanced, we may conclude that the operations of the French to that effect were retarded by the extreme severity of the season.

In the month of March, the French were enabled to make some advances into the bishopric of Munster. Bentheim was taken early in that month, after an obstinate engagement; and on the 31st they advanced to Bienen, a league

distant from Rees, and an engagement commenced at an early hour in the morning. The French were at first repulsed; but having brought, according to the principles of their new tactics, fresh reinforcements into the field, before the close of the day the tide of success was turned, and the Austrians were defeated with considerable loss. The republicans immediately took possession of Bienen. After this the allied powers appear to have lost all their energy and activity in the north of Germany, and the conquests of the French were only bounded by natural obstacles, or neutral territory.

On the side of Spain, victory seemed equally to precede the armies of the republic; and the only resistance which they experienced was from the badness of the roads, and the almost impassable ramparts of mountains, through which the French generals, with the spirit and perseverance of Hannibal, were forced to cut their way. As the port of Rosas, situated eight leagues to the N. E. of Gironne, in the province of Catalonia, and on the borders of the Mediterranean sea, was considered as an object of great importance, the whole force of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees was directed towards its reduction at the close of the year 1794. The possession of the fort of Bouton, which commanded the bay of Rosas, and kept the naval force in check, was, however, an indispensable preliminary; and this was taken with great gallantry by the republican troops. After this, the siege of Rosas commenced in form, and the first parallel was opened before the gates of Rosas; but the operations were interrupted by an unusual flood from the fall of rain, and the melting of the snow, and

twenty-three days elapsed before the besiegers could derive advantage from the works they had erected. It was at first intended to open a second parallel, but this was found to be impracticable, and the necessity of the case induced the French general to adopt a new mode of attack. A little hill which overhung the city was favourable to the designs of the besiegers; and such engineers as the French are, were not likely to overlook so obvious an advantage. On the night of the 30th of December, the order was given, and a battery of eighteen 24 pounders was begun and completed. On the morning of the 3d of January, the besiegers began to batter in breach; but the first shot was hardly fired before the volunteers solicited permission to mount. The wall was already damaged, and the garrison embraced the opportunity afforded by the darkness of the night, to embark on board the fleet which was at anchor in the bay. Five hundred and forty men who remained in the garrison surrendered at discretion; and the disquietude of the inhabitants was soon removed by the order and discipline maintained by the conquerors. On the 5th of May, another signal victory was gained over the Spaniards. About 3000 men appeared on the side of Sestellia, and endeavoured to surround the republican forces. They were, however, completely repulsed, and put to flight with considerable loss. Shortly after this defeat, the Spanish nation was happily delivered from the miseries of an absurd and fruitless warfare; but this is a subject of which it will be necessary to speak in another place. To judge of the abilities of the British ministers in conducting the war, and of the truth of their representations in term-

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ing it a successful contest, it is only necessary to contrast the melancholy detail which has just been given of the state of the allies, and particularly in Holland, with the following list of the acquisitions made by the French republic from its commencement, while contending against the most powerful alliance of all the great military powers of the continent, which perhaps was ever formed for the subjugation of a single nation. It is extracted from a report made about this period to the national convention: but the facts are verified by every record, viz.

The ten provinces of Brabant, Antwerp, Mechlin, Limburg, Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, Cambesis, and Flanders, forming the Austrian Netherlands, and formerly subject to the emperor of Germany.

The seven united provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Guelderland, and Utrecht forming the Dutch nation, and formerly subject to the stadholder.

The principality of Liege, with the cities of Liege and Spa, formerly subject to the prince bishop, as sovereign of that country.

The bishoprick of Spire, with its chief city, formerly subject to its sovereign bishop.

The bishoprick of Worms, formerly subject to its sovereign bishop.

The duchy of Deux Ponts, formerly subject to the elector Palatine.

All the electorate of Treves, on the south side of the Rhine, with the chief city of the electorate, and the city of Coblenz.

All the electorate of Cologne, on the south of the Rhine, with its chief city.

All the electorate of Mentz, on the south of the Rhine,

All the dominions of the elector Palatine, on the south of the Rhine, with Mannheim the chief city.

The duchy of Juliers, with its chief city, Aix la Chapelle, formerly subject to the elector Palatine.

The duchy of Cleves, with the cities of Cleves and Wesel, formerly subject to the king of Prussia.

In the south, the duchy of Savoy, with its chief city, Chamberry, formerly subject to the king of Sardinia.

The city and comtat of Nice, formerly subject to the same.

The principality of Monaco, formerly subject to its sovereign prince.

From Spain, the greatest part of their rich provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, with their important garrisons, cities, and founderies.

To all this is to be added, what is of not less importance, the whole Dutch navy, with the immense stores of Holland, the depot of Europe.

The whole of these countries are calculated to contain a population of thirteen millions, which increases the French republic to the enormous number of thirty-nine millions of people!!!

With this account, the table of military events presented by Carnot, in a report from the committee of public safety, perfectly corresponds. It commences with the battle of Hondschoote, and ends with the capture of Rosas, embracing a period of about 17 months. Victories, including eight

pitched battles,	27
Actions of less note	100
Killed of the enemy	80,000
Prisoners	91,000
Strong places and cities taken	116
By siege or blockade	36
Fortifications and redoubts	230
Cannon	pieces 3,800
M 4	Muskets

Muskets	70,000
Powder	lb. 1,900,000
Pairs of colours	90

This table was ordered to be printed, hung up in the hall of the convention, and sent to the armies.

It is almost impossible to form an estimate of the immense advantages which the French derived from these conquests. The stores and granaries of Ostend alone afforded to the nation a supply equal to ten millions; and twenty-five millions of contributions in specie were imposed upon Belgium. For eight months the republican armies subsisted on the produce of the captured countries; and the resources which the United Provinces must procure them will insure a future subsistence. The domains liable to be taken into the hands of the nation, were estimated at three thousand millions of livres; and this was considered as an ample security for the assignats in circulation.

The commissioners, sent to the conquered countries, conducted themselves, it is said, with much moderation, or, we should perhaps express ourselves better, to say *policy*. In some cases they relieved the wants of the poor; and the contributions were levied in the manner most easy to the people, by making them bear a proportion to property.

While the French were thus eminently successful against their foreign enemies, the civil war, which had long divided the force and wasted the population of the country, was happily terminated. Of the origin and conduct of the insurrection in La Vendée, but little is distinctly known. The tract of territory which includes the rebellious departments is chiefly inhabited by a class of peasantry, the rudest perhaps, and the least in-

formed of any in France. Attached even to bigotry to their ancient forms of religion, their clergy exercised over their minds a despotic sway. It is, however, to be remarked, that, in the commencement of the revolution, the clergy in general were by no means hostile to the reforming party; on the contrary, those, who in the language of this country are termed the inferior clergy, were in general favourably disposed to a revolution which promised a more equal arrangement in the distribution of benefices, and by making the elections popular, gave a larger scope to merit, and destroyed that miserable system of monopoly which disposed of the preferments of the church in the most arbitrary manner, and for the most corrupt purposes. The dissatisfaction of this order of the clergy appears to have been first excited by some emissaries from Rome, and by certain intolerant maxims which the pope himself seems to have favoured, if not inculcated, with respect to the right of the nation to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. The unjust and impolitic proceedings of the constituent assembly, which confiscated rather than regulated the property of the church, armed the Romish emissaries with fresh powers for exciting discontent. A small part only of the clergy took the constitutional oaths; and these were regarded with disrespect, both by their own brethren and the people at large. One false step in politics commonly leads to many others. Unjust and intolerant as the decrees were for the banishment of the non-juring priests, they appear to have been the necessary consequences of the preceding impolitic measures. Thus the great body of the clergy was completely alienated

alienated from the revolution. Their efforts were, however, attended with little success in parts where the people were cultivated and informed,—where there was a free circulation of the popular journals,—where the national militia was regularly organized; but, in the ancient provinces of Angers, Brittany, and Poitou, where the ignorant peasantry were bigoted to their ancient prejudices, and where the feudal regimen was not totally extinguished, the discontented clergy, aided by the authority of the ancient chieftains, were enabled to work up the passions of a brave, hardy, but ignorant and superstitious people into a kind of fervour which bordered upon madness. The rash and intemperate politics of the terrorist party were not calculated to assuage, but to increase and foment the growing evil. Nay, there are some writers who positively affirm, that Robespierre (who appears to have acted in the same manner as the ministers of other countries in exciting alarms, and whose power was long supported entirely on the rumour of plots and insurrections) rather cherished the rebellion than wished completely to repress it. On this account, it is affirmed, the first generals employed by the jacobin party against the Vendéans, contented themselves with slight and temporary advantages, when they might have completely crushed the insurgents; while their party in the convention were using every means to exasperate these deluded multitudes, and to drive them to despair. Every engine of cruelty was employed in the revolted districts; and, according to the report of Carnot, such had been the frequent deceptions practised upon them by the jacobin agents, that

they could no longer place any confidence in promises.

The events of this war, from time to time, we have noticed in our preceding volumes; and, in our last we mentioned, that, although driven across the Loire after the victories of Mortagne and Chollet, the natural recesses of that romantic country still afforded shelter to thousands; and if they were no longer able to make a decisive stand in the face of day, still their nocturnal devastations continued to harass the peaceable citizens, and almost rendered the country a desert. Among a people who had been so long attached to the feudal system, and who now appeared as the great supporters of aristocracy and royalism, it might have been expected that their leaders would have been selected from the first rank of nobility, and dignified at least by their birth, if not by their education and talents. But the most distinguished chieftains of the royalist army were Charette, a person whose highest appointment had been that of a lieutenant of marines, and Stofflet, who had been, before the revolution, engaged in the humble office of a game-keeper to some of the ancient nobility. The talents of the latter, however, notwithstanding what may be naturally attributed to him,—a defective education,—appear to have been superior to those of the former. Charette, indeed, seems to have been scarcely distinguished by any other quality than that of invincible but ferocious valour; but all the great requisites of a commander in chief were wanting in him. Stofflet, in regular warfare, would have been esteemed a good partizan; and one advantage both of them possessed above their adversaries,—a complete

plate knowledge of the country.

It affords an excellent lesson of moderation to every government, to be told that the downfall of the jacobin system of terror was a more fatal blow to the chiefs of La Vendée, than any they had received from the arms of the republicans. On the report of Carnot, to which we have just alluded, an amnesty was published, offering, instead of the fire, proscription, and carnage, which had desolated their country, pardon, amity, and protection; and this, with the punishment of their persecutor, Carrier, appears to have had the happiest effects. The chiefs, deserted by their followers, saw no alternative but to accept the proposed amnesty; and the republican commissioners, it may well be conceived, were not backward to accept the submission of men, whose example must necessarily have the happiest and most extensive influence.

After some preliminary negotiations, in the beginning of February, Charette, and the principal chiefs of his army, in the name of the Vendéans,—and another chief, of the name of Cormartin, as representing that party which was distinguished by the appellation of Chouans, or Night-owls,—signified publicly their inclination to live, in future, subject to the laws of the republic, and to deliver up their arms and magazines. Stofflet alone, at the head of a few hundreds, resisted, for some time, the offers of amnesty, either through jealousy of the other chiefs who had submitted, or in the expectation of obtaining better terms. In the mean time conferences were opened in the latter end of February, at Laple, a farm about three leagues distant from

Nantes, between all the chiefs of the Chouans and Vendéans, and the representatives of the French people on mission in those departments; and on the 3d of March the treaty was solemnly concluded, signed, and ratified at Nantes.

The entry of Charette and his companions into that city was announced by a discharge of 21 guns. Charette, who rode a beautiful charger, was dressed in blue, and begirt by a tricolor ribbon, his hat decorated with a long feather. That general was at the head of the procession, followed by four of his lieutenants; then came a groupe of representatives; then another, formed of the staff of Charette; another of representatives; then Canclaux, general of the army of the west, with his staff, and the Vendéan officers; a company of infantry, a squadron of dragoons, one of gendarmes, and a detachment of grenadiers of the national guard, preceded by the musicians, and followed by the remnants of the Nantes cavalry; and, lastly, two coaches decorated with the red cap, and filled with pacificatory commissaries.

The representatives seemed to be elevated with joy,—they ceased not to exclaim *vive la paix*; and the people repeated the cry. Charette seemed mournful, and much affected. He received and returned on both sides the salutations. He said sometimes, *vive la religion, vive la paix*; and some repeated *vive l'union*.

The procession marched into the town very slowly; thence they repaired to the quarters of the representatives, where the chiefs partook of some refreshments. Many of them went to the play-house. At their appearance the orchestra played

played the favourite tune, *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?* The spectators accompanied with enthusiasm. The municipal officers caused the air to be repeated several times. The acclamations, the bravos, the clappings of hands, rendered that scene truly affecting. Those, however, who were the objects of it, appeared but little to participate in it.

The declaration signed by Charette, Cormartin, Sapineau, and the other chiefs, was expressed in very strong terms; such as were calculated entirely to convince the country of their sincerity, and such as left no room for evasion, with respect to the nature and objects of the treaty.

"Whilst an oppressive government (say they) deprived our fellow-citizens of their most precious rights, we have defended ours with firmness and perseverance. We exhausted in our misfortunes every successive aid. Despair at length lent us its frightful succour, and rendering us insensible to those considerations which soften the most ferocious hearts, had engraven on ours the resolution rather to die, than to live under such a tyranny.

"But now the government of blood has disappeared. The leaders of that impious faction which covered France with cypress and mourning, have paid, with their heads, the forfeit of their criminal designs. The representative Ruelle, the friend of the laws and of humanity, is come to bear amongst us the words of peace. That confidence which had been so lowered by the acts of barbarity which had preceded his mission, begins now to revive. On his appearance, we feel no disinclination to such approaches as may tend to remove the calamitous effects of our divi-

sions. New representatives, worthy of our esteem and our praise, have been joined to the first; we have informed them of our intentions, and our desire of a sincere pacification, guaranteed by honour. In our conferences we have made them understand what interested the happiness of our country, and what it belonged to their prudence and wisdom to grant, for the purpose of obtaining the desirable end of peace. United in the same tent with the representatives of the people, we felt more strongly, if possible, that we were still Frenchmen, and should be animated only by the general good of our country.

"It is with these sentiments that we declare to the national convention, and to France, our submission to the French republic, one and indivisible, and our acknowledgment of its laws; and that we make a formal engagement not to make any attempt against them. We promise to surrender, as soon as possible, all the artillery and horses in our possession; and we make a solemn promise never to bear arms against the republic."

At the same time an address was published by Charette, and four others of the principal revoltors, to the inhabitants of La Vendée, exhorting them to submit to the laws, — extolling the justice and liberality of the convention, — and setting before them, in a strong point of view, the folly and the mischief of perseverance in a wrong cause.

The resistance of Stofflet was protracted, as has been already intimated, for a few weeks; but the desertion of all the other royalists, and even their determination to take an active part, and to assist the republicans in reducing to submission this refractory general, appears to have had a sensible effect upon

upon his army, which was considerably weakened by gradual desertions. On the 20th of April, Stofflet, and the remainder of the Chouan generals, signed a public declaration of their submission to the laws of the republic. It was in the following terms:

"We, the undersigned commander in chief and officers of the catholic and royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, do hereby declare, that, animated by a desire of peace, we have delayed its conclusion to this day, for no other reason, than that we might be able previously to take the sense of the people, with whose interests we are intrusted, and of the chiefs of the catholic and royal army of Britany. Now, that their sentiments have been proclaimed, not only by a publication of the 12th of February 1795, entitled Words of Peace, but also by the declaration of the 1st of Floréal (April 19), we accede to the measures taken by the representatives of the people, to pacify the departments hitherto in a state of insurrection, by submitting to the laws of the republic, one and indivisible, and promising never to carry arms against her, and to deliver up our artillery as soon as possible.

"May this declaration on our part contribute entirely to extinguish the flames of civil discord, and convince foreign nations, that France no longer contains but one family; and that we earnestly wish that they may soon form one society of friends.

"We request the representatives of the people, who have concluded this pacification, to repair to the national convention, there to attest the sincerity of our sentiments, and to destroy the suspicions which

disaffected persons may excite against the loyalty of our intention."

The singular circumstances of the case render it necessary to insert these authorities at full length, as they form the only proper criterion for determining concerning the guilt or innocence, the integrity or falsehood, of the individuals who afterwards acted in direct violation of them,—and as they may possibly assist us in accounting for the subsequent conduct of the parties concerned.

That the marine force of France was ever able, in its most flourishing periods, to contend with that of Great Britain, may justly be doubted. France is an agricultural, England altogether a maritime country; the French have, therefore, fewer able seamen at their disposal than the English have; the French seamen are not wanting in courage, but they are wanting in skill; and (what is more surprizing) from this deficiency, notwithstanding the impetuous and volatile character of the nation, they are really less active than the British seamen. Added to this, there were many temporary causes which prevented the French from making such a stand on the sea at this time, as might have been expected from the natural strength of the nation. The destruction of their shipping at Toulon might have been repaired; but the loss of men cannot be remedied. The discouragements to commerce, which had prevailed during the reign of the anarchists, and even the energy of Robespierre's government, which, perhaps, was necessary to the safety of the republic against its continental assailants, contributed essentially to the derangement of the French marine. In the requisitions which were made

made by the committee of public safety for the reinforcement of the armies on the frontiers, no discrimination was made; and the prime seamen of France, who ought to have been differently employed, were marched to the frontiers to exercise an occupation foreign to their habits, and for which the inland peasantry were equally qualified. By the celerity with which these levies were made, the armies of the republic were enabled, perhaps, to achieve those important victories which have astonished Europe; but the navy was destroyed. This appeared not only in the course of the preceding campaign, but even in 1795, when the marine commanders of France were more cautious in their movements. The republic had no fleet of sufficient force to keep the sea against the marine of Britain; their detached cruizers were therefore left without protection, and without refuge, whenever they were descried at a distance from the coast. Several frigates were taken by the English in the course of the year,—most of them without resistance, but some after a serious conflict, one of the most remarkable of which happened on the 4th of January, off Martinique, between the French frigate *La Pique* of 34 guns, and the *Blanche*, commanded by the gallant captain Falkner, of 32 guns. The engagement lasted five hours of close fighting. The French frigate had all her masts shot away, and had 76 men killed, and 110 wounded, besides about 30 who were lost with the masts. The loss of the English was 8 killed and 12 wounded; but among the former was captain Falkner himself.

An action of some importance took place on the 14th of March,

in the Mediterranean, between the English fleet, consisting of 14 ships of the line and 3 frigates, under the command of admiral Hotham, and a French fleet consisting of 15 sail of the line, and an equal number of frigates with the British. Admiral Hotham, while in Leghorn road, on the 8th of March, received intelligence that the French fleet had been seen off the isle of St. Marguerite; and this intelligence corresponded with a signal made from the *Mozelle*; then in the offing, for a fleet in the north-west quarter. The admiral immediately ordered the British fleet to be unmoored, and the following morning put to sea. Having previously received information by the *Mozelle*, that the fleet she had seen was steering to the southward, he shaped his course for Corsica, and dispatched the *Tarleton* brig with orders for the *Berwick* at St. Fiorenza to join him off Cape Corse; but, in the course of the night, the *Tarleton* returned with the unwelcome news, that the *Berwick* had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

The two squadrons did not come within sight of each other till the 12th. The signal was made the following morning (13th) by the British admiral for a general chase; and the wind blowing very fresh, one of the French line of battle ships was discovered without her top-masts, which afforded captain Freemantle, in the *Inconstant* frigate, a good opportunity to attack, rake, and harass her till the *Agamemnon* came up, when the French ship received so much damage, as to be disabled from putting herself to rights. The two English vessels were, however, so distant from their own fleet, that they were obliged to

quit her, as others of the enemy's ships were coming up to her assistance.

On the morning of the 14th, the enemy's disabled ship was observed by admiral Hotham, with one that had her in tow, to be so far to leeward, and separated from their own squadron, as to afford a probable chance of cutting them off. For this purpose every possible exertion was made; and the French were reduced to the alternative of abandoning these ships, or of coming to battle. Though the latter did not appear to be their choice, yet they came down with a view of supporting them; but the Captain and Bedford were so far advanced, and so closely supported by the other ships of the British van, as effectually to cut them off. The conflict ended in the French abandoning these ships, which proved to be the *Ca-Ira* of 80 guns, and the *Censeur* of 74. The total of killed on board admiral Hotham's fleet was 75, and of wounded 280. The loss of the French is not known.

The *Illustrious* and *Courageux* were the van ships which engaged the *Ca-Ira* and the *Censeur*; and they suffered so much in the conflict, having each lost their main and mizen tops, that the British admiral was not able to renew the battle. The *Illustrious*, in particular, was so much disabled, that she was taken in tow by a frigate, but was afterwards separated in a gale of wind, and driven on shore and lost near Avenza. Thus the loss of both parties in the Mediterranean may be accounted equal. Each lost two ships of the line; the French the *Ca-Ira* and *Censeur*, and the English the *Berwick* and *Illustrious*. The French ac-

counts state that the two captured ships engaged at once eight English ships of the line, and did not strike till they were totally disabled, and had lost immense numbers of men. It is remarkable, that one, if not both of the French ships that were taken, were among the number of those reported, in the *London Gazette*, to have been destroyed at Toulon.

The masterly retreat of admiral Cornwallis from a superior force in the beginning of June, has been justly celebrated as a naval manœuvre. The squadron under his command consisted of 5 line of battle ships and 2 frigates. On the 7th of June, as he was cruising off Belleisle, he fell in with a fleet of merchant ships under convoy of 3 ships of the line and 6 frigates. The men of war escaped; but the British admiral captured 8 of the convoy, which were laden with wine and military stores. On the 16th, as he was standing in with the land near the Penmarks, the *Phaeton* frigate made a signal for an enemy's fleet, which they soon found to consist of 13 of the line, several frigates, 2 brigs, and a cutter. The wind, at this juncture, fell very much, and came round to the northward, so as to bring the enemy's ships to the windward; and the next morning they were seen moving, before day-light, upon both quarters of the squadron. About nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the front ships of the French line began to fire upon the *Mars*, which, as well as the rest of the British fleet, kept up a running fire during the whole of the day. It has been said that admiral Cornwallis was relieved from his perilous situation, by causing the signals to be made for a superior British fleet being in sight,

fight, which deterred the French admiral from pushing his advantages, and enabled the British fleet to effect their escape with little loss.

On the 23d of the same month, a naval victory of some importance was achieved by admiral lord Bridport, off Port l'Orient, over the same French fleet from which admiral Cornwallis had escaped. The British force was greatly superior in weight of metal, and consisted of 14 ships of the line and 8 frigates. The French had only 12 ships of the line and 9 frigates. At the dawn of day on the 23d, the *Nymph* and *Astrea*, being the look-out frigates of the British squadron, made the signal for an enemy's fleet; and the admiral perceiving that they indicated no intention to meet him in battle, made the signal for four of the best-sailing vessels to chase, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind. Early in the morning of the 23d, some

of the British ships came up with the enemy; and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till three in the afternoon. As the French, however, kept as near as possible to the shore, only three were captured, the *Alexander* (which had been taken from the English in the preceding year), the *Formidable*, and the *Tigre*; when these ships struck, the British squadron was close to some batteries on the shore, so that it was even with difficulty that they were retained; and the rest of the French squadron escaped into l'Orient. The loss of the British in this action was 31 killed and 115 wounded: the loss of the French we have not been able to ascertain.

In the course of the winter of 1794, a French squadron, of 1 ship of the line, 2 frigates, and 2 sloops, destroyed all the British settlements on the coast of Africa, took a number of merchant ships, and an immense quantity of plunder.

C H A P. VIII.

State of the Interior of France. Factions in the Convention. Denunciation of Joseph le Bon and Fouquier Tainville. Reform of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Repeal of the Law for fixing a Maximum on Merchandize, &c. Decree for preserving Order in the Convention—for the Freedom of Religious Worship and Opinions. Peace with Tuscany. Prosecution of Barrere, &c. Insurrection in Paris. Sentence of Banishment passed on Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes. Cambon and other Deputies arrested and confined. Decrees respecting the new Constitution, and for the provisional Government. Report of Johannot on the Finances of France. Trial of the Judges and Jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Decree respecting Emigrants. Decree for restoring confiscated Property. Republic acknowledged by Sweden. Treaty of Alliance with Holland. Insurrection in Paris. Negotiation and Peace with Prussia—with Spain. Transactions with the Swiss Cantons. Second Treaty of Alliance with Prussia. Death of the Prince. Decree for liberating the Princess. Trial and Execution of Joseph le Bon. New Constitution presented. Debates on this Subject. General Outline of the Constitution. Remarks upon it. Decrees for re-electing two-thirds of the Convention to the new Legislature. Peace with Hesse Cassel—with Hanover. Incorporation of the former Possessions of the House of Austria, on the French Side of the Rhine, with the Republic.

THE period now approached when that motley group of legislators, who had been assembled amidst the factious struggles of intestine commotion, and in the mad paroxysm of liberty in the year 1792,—that body, so distinguished by its energy in defending the French republic against its foreign foes, and so infamous for the oppression which it authorized or permitted at home,—was to terminate its labours. The latter days of the convention were scarcely less brilliant and glorious, than its antecedent conduct had been culpable and base; and, by its concluding acts, it in some measure compensated for the injuries which it had formerly committed against the cause of liberty.

Distracted as the convention still was by faction and by jealousies, and implicated as were most of the lead-

ing members in the guilt of Robespierre's administration, it was some time before it was able to recover its character, and before its proceedings could be directed in the straight and firm paths of justice and honour. The punishment of Carriere, which was accomplished with some difficulty, though of his cruelty and injustice little doubt could be entertained, was the first triumph which the party, adverse to the jacobins, obtained; and it was easily seen that this bold step was only the prelude to more vigorous measures. Among the vilest and most depraved of the agents of Robespierre, was Joseph le Bon. He had been put under arrest soon after the memorable 27th of July; but his trial had, from various causes, been delayed. Next to this man, no person was more odious than Fouquier Tainville, who had exercised the

the horrid and sanguinary office of public accuser * to the revolutionary tribunal, with a hardness of heart, and a severity of manners, which even sometimes exceeded the mandates of his unfeeling employers. The president of this tribunal, our readers will recollect, suffered with Robespierre; but the public accuser had been only committed to prison, where he lay for several months, not without hopes, from the power which some of his former patrons still were known to possess, of escaping the punishment that in strict justice awaited him. On the 4th of December 1794, a motion was made by André Dumont, and passed with the loudest acclamations, that the three committees should be instructed to present a report, in the course of eight days, on the conduct of Joseph le Bon; and, at the same time, he embraced the opportunity to call the attention of the convention to the crimes of Fouquier Tainville.

On the same day the committee of general security was ordered, on the motion of Tallien, to frame a report concerning those persons who were imprisoned in consequence of the transactions of the 27th and 28th of July, in order that those men who were misled and deluded by their leaders, should be set at liberty, and the severity of justice be exclusively confined to their principals. About the same time a decree was passed, charging the committee to revise the whole code of the laws, and to propose the repeal of such as should be found contrary to justice and liberality.

On the 17th of December, the convention decreed that both the

judges and jury of the revolutionary tribunal should be replaced; they also ordered the arrest of certain members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes, who had been convicted of several acts of atrocious cruelty, but liberated by the tribunal, on the ground that there did not appear against them any proof of a counter-revolutionary intention.

The unjust and impolitic decree which had impoverished France, and contributed more than any other cause to the scarcity of food,—the law which fixed a *maximum* on the price of provisions and merchandize,—was repealed on the 23d of December; and about the same time a most elaborate report from the united committees on the commerce and finances of France, was presented by Johannot. We shall not attempt to follow the reporter through his various details, or through the ingenious expedients which he proposed for the renovation of commerce. Let it suffice to observe, with respect to the finances, that it appeared on the face of this report, that the national domains which remained unsold at the close of the year 1794, were, on a moderate calculation, worth upwards of SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS STERLING; and that the paper-money, which had been issued on their security, amounted to very little more than a *third* part of that sum.

In the latter end of the same month, the debates of the convention became so tumultuous and indecently violent, that it was necessary to pass a decree, ordering, that if any member of the legislature insulted his colleagues, he should

* The office of public accuser is somewhat analogous to our office of attorney-general in prosecutions for high treason.

be committed to the Abbey prison. Some other measures of internal regulation were adopted in the beginning of the year; and, on the 21st of February, a decree, highly honourable to the convention, was unanimously passed:—it was for securing the freedom of religious worship and opinions.

The first diplomatic transaction which the year 1793 presented to the cognizance of the convention, was fatally ominous to the combined powers, and highly auspicious to the republic. On the 10th of February, Richard announced to the representatives of the French people, that a treaty of peace and amity had been concluded by the committee of public safety with the grand duke of Tuscany, who had formally detached himself from the grand alliance. The treaty was taken into consideration on the 13th, when some doubts were intimated concerning the power of the committee to conclude a treaty of peace; but the reign of jacobinism was now no more; and it was wisely determined, that whatever tended to place an impediment in the way of peace, was contrary to good policy, and to the general prosperity. The power of the committee to negotiate and conclude treaties, subject to the ratification of the legislative body, was acknowledged by an almost unanimous vote; and the treaty itself was confirmed amidst the universal applause of the convention and the spectators. It was in substance as follows:

“Article 1. The grand duke of Tuscany having revoked all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession to the armed coalition against the French republic,

“There will, in consequence, ensue peace, friendship, and a good

understanding between the French republic and the grand duke of Tuscany.

“2. The neutrality of Tuscany is re-established, on the footing on which it was before the 8th of October 1793.

“3. The present treaty cannot take effect, till it is ratified by the national convention.”

It was mentioned in our last volume, that the subversion of Robespierre's government was effected by the co-operation of two powerful parties,—by the joint action of two conspiracies,—the one external, or in the convention, at the head of which were Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and several leading members,—the other internal, or in the committee of public safety itself, and directed by Barrere, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois. Between these parties, however, when the purpose was effected for which they had coalesced, there was little probability of a cordial union. The ambition of each was too insatiable “to bear a brother near the throne;” and the political views of each were probably different. We would wish to observe the strict line of impartiality in speaking of these foreign factions; and we have done it as far as our information has enabled us; but our readers must be aware that the medium through which that information is transmitted, may possibly be tinctured with some political prejudices. As far as it is possible to form a clear and candid opinion of the views of these parties, we are disposed to believe that the object of Barrere and his party was rather to moderate, in some respects, the system of revolutionary government which Robespierre had established, than totally to destroy it; and to invest themselves

themselves with that power and authority which he had possessed. The object of the other party, we are inclined to believe, tended more to the establishment of a regular and equal system of government. Of this party Tallien appeared as the ostensible head; but there was evidently little of personal attachment to him, in the men by whom he was supported. His private character was indifferent; and his previous conduct suspicious. The active members of the convention, therefore, in supporting Tallien, rather appear to have supported the principles than the man; and when they contended with him for the destruction of the whole system of revolutionary government, they were, in fact, contending for themselves.

In such a conflict the members of the old committee were not likely to be successful; for, besides that their professions were not so explicit, nor so much on the side of popular liberty, as those of their opponents, their previous conduct had marked them as at least accessories in the grossest atrocities. A shade of suspicion was, indeed, cast upon the character of Tallien, as being indirectly concerned in the massacres of September; but the majority of the men who voted with him were men of fair characters, and had been altogether unconnected with the system of terror. On the contrary, however France might be indebted to the energy and abilities of the old committee, it could not be forgotten that Barrere and Billaud had been the abject instruments of Robespierre; that the sanguinary vengeance exercised upon the unfortunate city of Lyons, after its revolt,

by the unrelenting and savage temper of Collot d'Herbois, had justly created a prejudice against him in the mind of every person of sentiment and humanity. The restoration of the seventy-one ejected members, also, and afterwards of Languinais, Lareveillere, and some others, the remnants of the unfortunate Gironde, was a severe blow to the former adherents of Robespierre.

Yet authority once established is not easily subverted; and sentiments or prejudices once deeply imbibed are only gradually obliterated. Though the public mind was unanimous in condemning the tyranny of Robespierre, yet many months after his fall the remains of Marat had, by a public decree, been deposited in the Pantheon; but the indignation of the Parisian youth, excited by the journal of Freron, and by a popular air called *Le Reveil du Peuple*, had been directed in an irregular effort against this civic profanation; and they were forcibly removed and dispersed, and all the busts and monuments of that wretched anarchist destroyed. Lecointre of Versailles was the first man who had the courage to impugn the conduct of the members of the old committee of public safety; but his denunciations, which were made in August 1794, our readers will recollect*, were heard with little attention; and the applause which was bestowed on them, was rather the spontaneous expression of feeling among the audience in the galleries, than the effect of conviction in the legislature themselves. Towards the conclusion of the month of December, the prosecution of these men began to assume a more

* See our last volume, p. 389.

serious aspect. The cautious and politic Barrere adopted that line of conduct which certainly was the safest for him,—silence. The more irritable temper of Billaud Varennes induced him to placard the walls of Paris, complaining in the most unqualified terms that his character was aspersed, and there was a deep design to sacrifice the patriots to the resentment of the offended royalists. On the 26th of December, on the motion of Clauzel, it was ordered, "That the committees on the following day should make a report on the representatives denounced by Lecointre and all France." On the 27th, Merlin of Douai reported, "That the committees were of opinion, that there was no cause for inquiry into the conduct of Voulant, Amar, and David; but that there was room for examining the conduct of Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, and Vadier." A decree, therefore, for instituting the proposed inquiry, was immediately passed; and a commission of twenty-one members was appointed to report upon the facts imputed in these denunciations.

While it must be confessed that the accused deputies had deeply participated in the crimes of Robespierre, yet it must be allowed on the other hand that it was with an ill grace that a prosecution was instituted against individual members of the committee, who had only been the official agents of the tyrant, by that assembly which had sanctioned by its authority all the acts of the committee itself. This defence does not, however, apply to the cruelties exercised by Collot D'Herbois at Lyons, for which undoubtedly, if the charge was well-founded, he was amenable to public justice. The public merits of some of these members had also

made a deep impression on the minds of the people. The powerful and energetic speech of Barrere, to encourage the people of France *to rise as one man*, and to expel the hirelings of despots from the territories of the republic, resounded still in the ears of the sanguine friends of liberty. The criminal violence of that committee of which he was a member, was swallowed up in the recollection of the brilliant victories which the soldiers of the republic had gained under its orders and its plans. That there were cruelties committed under their auspices, all allowed and lamented; but the philosopher strongly contended for the frailties of human nature; and the patriot painted in glowing colours the alarming situation of France at that period, when the powers of Europe assembled their utmost force against them, to divide, destroy, and exterminate.

On the 2d of March, Saladin presented the report of the commission of twenty-one, on the conduct of the accused deputies. "We entered," said the reporter, "into the inquiry, whether tyranny had been exercised on the people,—if oppression had lain heavy upon the convention? These questions were decided in the affirmative. In vain should we dissemble it; all France would tell us that a state of fear and restraint, destructive of all government, subversive of all order, exclusive of virtue, and annihilating the authority of the convention, has existed in too great a degree. It is to the courage of the convention that we owe the revival of liberty. If the accused have established popular commissions by their private authority, and exercised a despotic influence over the national representation, their guilt is proved; but they say that the most atrocious mandates

mandates were issued from the bureau of general police, by the direction of Robespierre only, or, in his absence, by St. Just. Why did not all the members of the committee remonstrate against those violent measures? They could not be strangers to the transactions of this bureau, because they signed the mandates of arrest. He who made a pompous eulogium from the tribune on the virtues of Robespierre, —who in that discourse asserted, that this tribunal would deliver France from all the intriguers,—Lejeune, the principal agent in this bureau, came continually to the committee of public safety, to have the measures of the general police approved there. Robespierre was absent from the committee for four decades, and St. Just was always with the armies of the North;—in the mean time the accused issued the tyrannical mandates of arrest." After the reporter had produced several of them, he entered into a detail of the means employed by this government, to establish their atrocious tyranny.

The accused deputies, in their defence, particularly Barrere, contended that the operations of Robespierre extended to the Jacobins and the revolutionary tribunal, where he exercised an unlimited power,—that it was notorious that Dumas, and Coffinhal the president of that tribunal, went every morning to the house of Robespierre to concert their measures. It was notorious, that there it was these wretches composed their lists. But these measures being public, they must be shared among the people at large. They strongly insisted upon it, as a material fact, that the national convention alone could overthrow Robespierre; all its energy was necessary for this great revolution. Their colleagues, they said, placed

in their situation, would have undoubtedly acted as they had done.

With respect to the sanguinary law of the 22d Prairial, which made a part of the accusation, they asserted that, "that decree was carried, at the moment it was drawn up, to the convention, by Couthon and Robespierre, without having been discussed in the committee." The accused members then proceeded to establish, "that the committee could not, with any fairness, be impeached for the crimes of the representatives in the departments, or for those of the two hundred and fifty thousand members of the revolutionary committees, nor for the creation of the popular commissions." Robespierre, said they, obtained a decree that six popular commissions should be formed; the committees delayed as much as possible the carrying of these commissions into effect; till, threatened by Robespierre, they completed two; and these even had not sufficient time to do mischief.

To the charge, that it was during the absence of Robespierre from the committee, that the greatest number of executions took place, they reply, "That circumstance was the inevitable effect of the law of the 22d Prairial, in which the committee had no participation. The dreadful object which the authors of it proposed, was, the multiplying of the executions after that period: but the surprise is done away when we recollect that Robespierre, when absenting himself from the committees, had more time to devote to the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, and to his fierce, gloomy, and sanguinary temper."

The trial of the accused deputies formally commenced before the convention on the 22d of March: but in the mean time Vadier had escaped in the disguise of a public

messenger or courier. They were ably defended by Lindet and Carnot, who insisted, that, during the tyranny of Robespierre, the committee acted altogether under compulsion, and that the individual who had dared to oppose the usurper, must have been inevitably sacrificed. The more violent Jacobins were still more earnest in their defence, which they grounded upon different principles; and by the frequent commendatory allusions which they made to the system of Robespierre, they excited a suspicion in the moderate part of the assembly, that it was not the tyranny but the tyrant, whom they had opposed on the 27th of July. About this time Cambon was dismissed by a vote of the convention from the committee of finance.

The Jacobin party without was more active than within the hall of the convention; and the laxity with which the powers of government had been exercised since the fall of Robespierre, unfortunately afforded too easy a means of conspiring. An immense influx of strangers was remarked in the metropolis about the end of March, and seditious assemblages were observed in different parts of the city, and more particularly in the suburbs. A scarcity of bread, partly real and partly factitious, aided the designs of the conspirators. On the 1st of April, therefore, the storm which had been collecting for some time broke out. An immense and desperate multitude poured out from the suburbs on the morning of that day, and proceeded to the hall of the convention, under the pretence of petitioning for bread.

At the moment of their arrival Boissy D'Anglas was making a report on the means to be adopted for supplying the republic. He was interrupted in his speech by an

unusual tumult at the door, which proceeded from the insurgents, who had forced the centinels; and instantly the hall was filled with the populace, who with confused and tumultuous cries demanded "Bread and the constitution." The mountain or Jacobin party embraced this moment to support the insurgents with all its energy; upon which the latter began to exclaim more explicitly in the following terms: "We are composed of the men of the 14th of July, the 10th of August, and the 31st of May." They added, "that they were resolved to be free, and to be no longer the victims of mercantile rapacity,—and that the accused patriots should not be sacrificed to the passions of the other party:" they hinted at the bad laws which the convention had lately made, "and that they ought to change their measures." After the principal orator of the deputation had finished the seditious harangue, which led the convention to sound the tocsin, and call the people to arms, he was succeeded by others, who were rather more modest in their requests, but whose demeanor was scarcely less insolent. Some of them indeed, amidst their demands, averred that they would make a rampart of their bodies for the convention; but the principal feature of the business could not be mistaken,—namely a conspiracy of the partizans of the accused members against the convention. From two o'clock till six in the evening (of the 1st of April), there were marks of disquietude and of consternation on every countenance: the convention was insulted; the possibility of the return of the reign of the Jacobins soon roused the citizens to action; and before six in the evening, the convention was guarded by twenty thousand men, and soon after the whole city was under

under arms. A decree was passed to punish the agitators of these disorders, and Dumont observed, that all these tumults were excited only to prevent the trial of the three great criminals. "Let us," said he, "abolish the pain of death, but cast out these monsters from our society." It was accordingly decreed, that Barrere, Collot, and Billaud should be transported to Guiana, and that they should be sent off immediately.

At this period of distraction and disorder, the popular general, Pichegru, either through chance or design, happened to be in the metropolis; and on the motion of Barras, he was immediately nominated to the command of the military force of Paris. By his authority and exertions peace was soon restored; and as the moderate party was now predominant, and as the conduct of the mountain faction had been not only suspicious, but even indecent, the occasion was embraced to arrest some of the leading members of that party, who were ordered to be confined in the fortrefs of Ham in Picardy; among these were Charles, Choudieu, Faussedoire, Leonard Bourdon, Huguet, Ruamps, and Duhem; and the list of proscription was afterwards increased by the names of Bayle, Thuriot, Heutz, Maignet, Levasseur, Crassous, Lecointre, and the celebrated financier Cambon.

The proceedings of the convention on this occasion certainly in some respects accorded with the growing spirit of moderation, and a regard to humanity. Banishment is a punishment which is preferable to that of death in all political offences; yet, in other instances, too much of that violence which has disgraced France was manifested.

The tribunal was scarcely competent, as the convention confounded (as in the case of the king) the characters of judges, jury, and accusers, all of them inconsistent with their real function, that of legislators: the trial was neither conducted with sufficient formality, nor was it concluded when the precipitate sentence was passed. The conduct of the other members who were imprisoned was certainly blamable; but they ought to have been referred to some properly constituted tribunal to decide on the nature and proof of their crimes: and the only power which, in our opinion, the convention could legally exercise, was that of expelling them from the assembly.

On the 3d of April, the day immediately succeeding the suppression of the riot, the following members were appointed as a committee, to prepare the mode of organizing the laws of the republican constitution: Cambaceres, Merlin of Douai, Thibaudeau, Sieves, Mathieu, Lesage of Eure and Loire, and Creuze Latouche; and on the 19th Cambaceres produced the result of their labours, and a decree in the following terms was unanimously passed:

I. A commission of eleven members shall be formed to prepare the organic laws. This commission shall be appointed by nominal appeal on the 21st of April. It shall discuss the means of action, with respect to the sovereignty of the people, connexion with foreign powers, the finances, the public force, the legislative body, &c.

II. The plans on these different subjects shall be printed one decade after their being presented. All citizens are invited to communicate their ideas with respect to the best organization of the constitutional

code; and the commission shall order the best conceived of these to be printed.

III. No limit is assigned to the labours of this commission; but it is recommended to them to employ the greatest celerity.

The committee appointed to this important function were Baudin, Durand, Maillane, Lanjuinais, Thibaudeau, La Reveillere, Lepaur, Le Sage, Boissy D'Anglas, Creuze Latouche, Louvet, Bertier, and Daunou. In the mean time, after considerable discussion, a plan of provisional government, till the constitutional act should be completed, was adopted by the convention, and it was as follows:

I. The functions vested in the different committees by the law of the 7 Fructidor are to remain in full force in every part that does not militate against the present decree.

II. The committee of public welfare is alone empowered to pass arrests relating to the means of executing all matters that respect their actual functions and powers.

III. The expenditure shall be directed by the committees of public welfare and finance united into one section, composed of three members from each of the two committees.

IV. The union of the committees shall be by four commissioners sent to the committee of public welfare by each of the committees, wishing to deliberate with that committee.

V. The committee of public welfare shall be divided into sections, which shall all, in their respective departments, be charged with the correspondence with, and with the superintendence of, the executive commissions.

On the 6th of May, Johannot presented an important report to the

convention, on the situation of the finances. He proposed that the interest of the national debt and the annuities should be paid in future with the utmost regularity, and that a sinking fund should be established for the payment of the principal. "If the war should last two years longer," said he, "the republic will still have several thousand millions of livres applicable to the purposes of a sinking fund."

He stated the national property at	LIVRES.
The national forests, occupying five millions of acres, he valued at	2,276,430,410
The lands of the emigrants, and some royal palaces, he valued at	2,000,000,000
The national domains in Belgium	15,226,280,220
	3,000,000,000

The whole amounting to 22,502,710,630 making above eleven hundred millions sterling. The reporter asserted with the greatest confidence, that this property was sufficient to pay off the national debt, and all the expences of the war, even though its continuance should be greatly protracted. Having enumerated the particulars of the resources, he stated that these resources would increase by the adoption of a good system of mortgage. The committee proposed that bills should be issued on the security of the national property remaining unsold. It was also proposed that the following funds should be assigned for the payment of assignats:—the money due on the first Ventose, for the national property sold, amounting to 2,091,002,714 livres,—the produce of the houses and buildings ordered

to be sold by lottery, valued at one thousand millions. Deducting from the national property unfold, amounting to fifteen thousand millions, the seven thousand millions in bills of mortgage, and one thousand millions for rewarding the defenders of the country, there would still be (the report stated) seven thousand millions of livres entirely free and unappropriated.

The trial of Fouquier Tainville and the ex-judges and jurors of the late revolutionary tribunal was deferred to the 8th of May, probably with a view of arranging more correctly the mass of accusation against them. Most assuredly there is no public offence which demands greater severity than the mal-administration of public justice; and there is too much reason to believe that no men ever were convicted upon more ample proof than these delinquents. The crimes with which they were charged, and which appeared to be fully established against them, were, 1. That they had prostituted the administration of justice to the base and criminal designs of those who wished to enslave and ruin France. 2. That they had drawn out lists of proscription, and had used the forms of justice for the gratification of private malevolence. 3. That they had ordered for execution pregnant women, contrary to the practice of all civilized countries, and a crime nothing short of actual murder. 4. That they had tried and convicted to the number of sixty prisoners at one time, and within the short space of three hours. 5. That they had conducted the business of the tribunal in so loose and slovenly a manner, that the father has been

executed for the son, and the son for the father. 5. That they had frequently refused to the prisoners a copy of the indictment. 6. (Which particularly respected the public accuser, i. e. the attorney-general, and the judges), that they had packed the juries, instead of choosing them, according to the laws of the republic, fairly by lot from amongst the citizens at large. With Fouquier Tainville were convicted fifteen others, who had all been judges or jurors of this corrupt and detestable tribunal: they were executed on the following morning, the 9th, amidst the execrations of the people.

From this statement of the nature of their offences, there are few who can doubt of the justice of their punishment, if it be taken for granted that the evidence was unexceptionable: and that the bulk of it was such, appears upon the face of the printed trial, and from innumerable well authenticated instances which stand upon record in other publications*. The fate of these men will, we trust, ever act as a warning to all who exercise in any country those important functions which place at their mercy the lives and fortunes of their fellow citizens. He who perverts the law, or wrecks it to an evil purpose, is more guilty than he who violates it. Above every human crime, indeed, the mal-administration of justice, the betraying of that most sacred of trusts, seems marked with the abhorrence of God, and excites involuntarily the indignation of all mankind. However shielded by power or protected by influence for the present, there generally comes a time when this sin, like murder, is brought to light and punishment.

* See a number of these facts stated with becoming abhorrence in the elegant and animated Letters of our countrywoman Miss H. M. Williams.

A change in the administration of the government is ever fatal to such men; for they have committed that which cannot be forgiven by the injured parties and their friends,—that for which there is indeed no possible excuse.

While the convention acted thus decisively against the partizans of anarchy and terror, they were equally watchful of the designs of the royalist faction. Strong decrees were passed to prevent the return of the emigrants without the consent of the legislature; yet saving clauses were admitted in favour of the creditors and relatives of emigrants; all confiscation of property was abolished, except in cases of actual emigration; and the estates of those persons who had been condemned by the revolutionary tribunal were restored to their families.

In the course of the month of April the French republic was acknowledged in a peculiarly frank and cordial manner by the court of Stockholm; and in the latter end of that month the Swedish ambassador, baron Stael, was received with great form. The address of the king of Sweden to the convention concludes with these remarkable words: — “We are making vows for the continual increase of your prosperity, and we recommend you, with all our heart, to the Divine Protection.”

The moderation exhibited by the French rulers towards the Dutch republic has already been mentioned by us with applause.—Truth extorted this commendation from us; and whatever contradicts it, is misrepresentation. This moderation was made the basis of a treaty greatly advantageous to the two republics, which was concluded in the course of the summer, and of which

the following articles contain the leading features:

I. The French republic restores from this moment all the conquered places and countries which have belonged to the seven United Provinces, from which, however, the frontier towns of the generality, such as Maastricht, Venlo, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, with their respective territories, are excepted. The countries, of which both shores of the river Rhine consist, namely, on its right side, the islands South Beveland and Walcheren, and on its left, the states of Flanders, must remain in the possession of the French until their fate is decided; and this will wholly depend on the fate of Austrian Flanders. All the countries on this side of the Rhine and the Waal shall likewise be restored; but those on the other side shall, until further orders, be occupied by the French military.

II. The French as well as the Batavians (Hollanders) shall enjoy, without paying any tolls, the free navigation of the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Meuse, and all their branches as far as the sea.

III. The Batavians shall, for their part, pay to the French republic, the expences of the war which the latter has been compelled to make against the former. This payment, however, can be made good by amicable dispositions; still the Batavians are to make, without loss of time, a provisional payment, either in hard cash or in good bills upon France or neutral countries, of twenty millions.

IV. The French republic to acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of the Batavian.

V. The French republic to conclude an alliance, both offensive and defensive, with the Batavian.

VI. Nei

VI. Neither the French nor the Batavians shall conclude peace, or make any other treaty, unless both parties participate therein.

The exiled deputies of the Jacobin faction had embarked on board different vessels for Guiana. Some of those who had been ordered to be imprisoned were also sent to the castle of Ham in Picardy, the place of their destination; but two of the ablest and perhaps most mischievous of them, Cambon and Thuriot, had escaped and concealed themselves in the fauxbourg St. Antoine. The juncture was now favourable for exciting a second and more powerful insurrection than that which had been suppressed on the 1st and 2d of April; for the scarcity of bread, which had been the pretext for the late revolt, had increased, and the emissaries of sedition had little difficulty in persuading the people of the suburbs, who were really suffering a degree of famine, that the legislature was chargeable with all the public miseries.

For several days previous to the 30th of May, the day of outrage, placards were stuck up in various parts of Paris, accusing the convention of withholding bread from the people. Some of the deputies were insulted in the streets, and attempts were made to excite the troops in Paris to rise against the legislative body. At length, on the evening of the 19th, a plan of insurrection was openly distributed in the different sections, prefaced with that alarming political principle—"That insurrection is the most sacred duty of the people," and followed by a determination, "that the citizens of Paris, of both sexes and of all ages, should, without any further delay, proceed in a mass to the convention to demand bread,—the abolition of the revolutionary govern-

ment,—the immediate establishment of the constitution of 1793,—the dissolution of the present convention, and the establishment of another,—the arrest of each of the members who composed the present convention,—the convocation of the primary assemblies on the 25th of Prairial, in order to renew the constitutional authorities, and to replace the national convention by the legislative body, on the 25th of the ensuing Messidor.—"The rallying exclamation was to be, "Bread and the constitution of 1793."

Early on the morning of the 20th, the *tocsin* was rung in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and the *generale* beaten. Immediately on this alarm the convention assembled. The committee of public and general safety, informed on the preceding night of the commotion that was to take place, had adopted the necessary precautions; and as soon as the convention met, a report was presented from the committee, relative to the insurrection. A decree was immediately passed, ordering all the citizens to their respective sections, outlawing every person who should head the insurgents, and declaring the sitting permanent.

A proclamation was addressed to the people, and deputies were sent to restore order. The insurgents in the mean time surrounded the convention, and the persons in the tribunes insulted the deputies. The tribunes were ordered to be cleared, and the gendarmes were summoned to defend the convention. Several conflicts now took place between the gendarmes and the insurgents. Loud cries were heard in the environs of the hall. A croud of women burst into the tribunes, exclaiming for "Bread and the constitution of 1793." These cries were accompanied with actions menacing

cing to the national convention, whose deliberations were for some time suspended. The venerable Vernier, the president, with a becoming energy, commanded silence, and having obtained it, exclaimed,—"We have seen women sent, as it were by design, into the tribunes, and occasionally go out to receive the orders of the insurgents. Let them know, that, though these murmurs may produce a tempest, yet nothing can induce us to depart from our duty. They demand bread,—and to give them bread is the object of our constant care.—Let the people know that disorder will only stop the supplies of provisions." The president then ordered, without effect, the left tribunes to be cleared. General Hoche was appointed commandant of the armed force: he took an oath before he left the convention, that he would enforce the respect due to it. The insurgents at length obtained possession of the hall of the convention; but some veteran soldiers repelled the besiegers, and there was an interval of tranquillity, for about half an hour; after which a cry of, "To arms," was heard on all sides. Bayonets and swords clashed against each other at the door,—a conflict took place,—detachments of the armed force traversed the hall,—three guns were fired; upon which a great crowd entered the hall. A citizen snatched off the hat of one of the mob, upon which was written,—"Bread and the constitution of 1793:" the person who had taken off the hat, was immediately assailed with sabres. He flew towards the tribune; but before he had reached it, a musket was fired at him, and he fell by the side of the president. The representative of the people, Feraud, ran to his assistance; but he also fell under repeated strokes

of sabres and pikes. He endeavoured to save himself, but was killed in one of the corridors; and his head was brought into the convention upon a pike. Boissy D'Anglas, who in the course of the tumult had taken the president's chair, remained firm and immovable amidst the violence and confusion which still continued to increase. A drum was heard to beat, and immediately there entered an immense number of armed men marching in regular order, and filling the whole hall. A petitioner, in the dress of a cannoneer, read the paper which was before agreed upon by the insurgents;—he was often interrupted by the acclamations of the immense multitude which filled and surrounded the hall. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the convention resembled more a camp of armed men than an assembly of legislators. The greater part of the deputies had departed: those who remained were principally the favourites of the insurgents, who took advantage of this moment of horror and consternation, to pass several decrees favourable to their faction. Duroi demanded the repeal of the law of the 5th Ventose, which struck the patriots under the name of terrorists:—Goujon, Duquesnoi, and Bourbotte, made several motions, which equally favoured the fallen party of Robespierre and Barrere: their propositions were received with the enthusiastic acclamations of the multitude; but this usurped authority was of short duration, and was soon destroyed by a crowd of citizens who made their appearance in company with the military, and entered the hall, exclaiming, "Long live the convention, and down with the factious!" It was instantly announced, that if those who prevented all legal deliberations, did not immediately

immediately retire, force would be used against them. The multitude, alarmed by this menace, escaped in disorder by the windows. Bourdon de l'Oise, when silence was restored, demanded the repeal of the pretended decrees which were torn from them by violence; and this, with the arrest of Bourbotte, Duquesnoi, and Duroi, was speedily decreed.

The Jacobins, though they had been defeated the preceding night, did not give up the cause, but rallied in the faubourgs, and the following afternoon, the 21st, returned to the charge. They had now thrown aside the guise of petitioners, and had roused their patriotism to the execution of the most violent acts. Having taken undisturbed possession of the Caroussel, they pointed their cannon against the hall of the convention, which they imagined would be a sufficiently strong intimation to the members of the purpose of their visit. The citizens of Paris, who had flown to the assistance of the legislature on the first summons, satisfied with the victory they had gained the preceding day, had not watched with sufficient vigilance the motions of the enemy; and the party who had relieved their comrades, was too weak to oppose any obstinate or effective resistance.

The convention, whether conscious of the superior force of the insurgents, or desirous of averting this new danger by a seeming accommodation, sent a deputation of ten of its members to fraternize with them. This project of fraternizing with the rebels, it was asserted by one of the members, was so admirable, that it would be the destruction of the English government. When the deputation was going out to fraternize, the assembly decreed that bread should become more

plenty, and that the constitution of Robespierre should be put into immediate activity. These decrees were ordered to be carried out to the insurgents for their approbation; and a deputy returned to tell the convention that their decrees were accepted, being precisely those which the crowd had come to enforce.

The compliance of the assembly with so much of their demands, led them to insist on sending a deputation in return, to which the convention assented; and immediately a troop were introduced, with an orator at their head, who, after observing that they had received with cordiality the deputation sent by the assembly, declared they were ready to go home, if the rest of their demands were complied with. Bread and the constitution had already been decreed; but the remainder of the petition had been left unnoticed:—the immediate release of their friends the patriots, and the punishment of all who preferred money to assignats, were points which the people, according to the speaker, swore that they would rather die than relinquish. The orator finished by crying "Vive la convention! if the members of it were friendly to liberty, which he was inclined to believe;" and of which the president begged him to be assured, by declaring in return that these new demands should be instantly considered. The deputation was invited to the honours of the sitting; and to shew the perfect good disposition of the convention, the president called to them as they were going from the bar, to inform them that he had forgotten to mention the repeal of the decrees respecting gold and silver. To complete this scene of disgrace and ignominy, the president was ordered to give the fraternal kiss to the rebellious horde, and a deputy

puty congratulated the convention on the holy re-union.

The following day, the third of this insurrection, which has obtained the name of the revolution of Prairial, the convention was permitted to go on with the ordinary business of the day; while the Jacobins were employed in consultation and preparation for another attack. The convention had decreed, on the second, the outlawry of the deliberative body of insurgents, who had taken possession of the hotel de ville; and the tribunal had condemned to death the assassin of the deputy Feraud; neither of which sentences had effect, since the former retreated to the fauxbourg, and the latter was rescued from the executioner in going to the scaffold.

The pusillanimity or ill-timed lenity of the convention had emboldened, as might have been expected, the conspirators; and the fauxbourgs were again preparing to march on the fourth. There were now no moments to be lost. The Parisians, perceiving the danger which impended over them, repaired to their respective sections, and every avenue to the Tuilleries was filled with battalions of citizens armed in defence of the convention. The assembly, thus supported, took courage, and decreed, that if the fauxbourg St. Antoine did not deliver up its arms and cannon, as well as the assassin of Feraud, the inhabitants should be declared in a state of rebellion, and the sections of Paris ordered to march instantly against them. The rebels, who had received some intimation, or who conjectured that some hostile attempt would be made on the part of the convention, had defended the entrance to the fauxbourg on the side of the city, and

seemed inclined to resist the attack. They were, however, alarmed by the arrival of some regiments of troops of the line, together with some of the sections: but when they saw the whole of the fauxbourg surrounded by increasing numbers; and, in addition to famine, were informed that, if they did not instantly surrender, their houses should be laid in ashes by a general bombardment, they sent a deputation in the evening to inform the convention, that since they had repealed the decree respecting gold and silver, making these metals no longer merchandize, they were inclined to come to terms.

The convention, treating their offer of capitulation with contempt, ordered the generals to reduce the fauxbourg to unconditional obedience, which was effected the same day; the inhabitants having forced the rebels to surrender, since they saw the destruction that awaited both themselves and their property, if they joined them, or sanctioned their resistance.

Among the prisoners taken by the troops of the convention, were several of the gendarmerie, whom they led in triumph through the streets, with the cannon belonging to the fauxbourgs. The disarming of the Jacobins, which had been previously decreed, was now put in execution; the use of pikes was abolished, and the cannon belonging to the several sections delivered up to the convention. Perhaps no measure of equal importance, or equally salutary, has been decreed by the French legislature since the 10th of August, 1792. In speaking of the transactions of that day, we censured the arming of the mob, as one of the most fatal errors of the Gironde party. Those arms were soon employed against themselves, and

and were always ready to be brought into action on any occasion of insurrection. We have used the same freedom in censuring the volunteer companies, &c. of Mr. Pitt. In fact, every well-organized government should study to keep the people from the use and exercise of arms. He who is made a soldier is at once incapacitated for industry; and if a large body of the people be thus trained to idleness and licentiousness, it is impossible to say against whom they may direct their force. They will for the present perhaps be ready to obey their first employers: but once invest them with power, and it is impossible to say whither caprice may direct them, or to what excesses they may be led by intriguing demagogues. We have been censured, as favouring republican principles: but are these the sentiments of democrats or anarchists?—No! The principal imputation, indeed, with which we have been charged to charge the present administration of Great-Britain, is the servile adoption and imitation of the practices and principles of those Jacobins against whom they declaim.

This insurrection roused the assembly to the sense of its danger, and prompted it to some acts of severity. The gendarmes who were taken prisoners were put to death; six also of the deputies who were arrested were tried by a military commission, and condemned; three of whom perished by suicide after their sentence was pronounced, and the rest suffered on the scaffold.

The Mountain was once more overthrown; its chiefs, the members of the old committee, Collot d'Herbois, Billard Varennes, and Barrere, were ordered back to take their trial: but the two former had, the night before the courier arrived,

set sail; and Barrere only remained, who was immediately brought back and committed to prison.

This insurrection of the Jacobins at Paris was concerted and followed by an insurrection of the same class in the departments. The south of France had been long a prey to their desolating fury; and various had been the struggles, since the fall of Robespierre, between them and the friends of those who had been sacrificed by revolutionary measures. The reaction in some places had been terrible; at Lyons the chief agents of Collot d'Herbois had been massacred in prison, and in other towns vengeance had taken place of law. Nor was this spirit confined merely to acts of personal resentment. The fanatic, under pretence of crushing terrorism, indulged his abhorrence of toleration, and the royalist of republicanism. Companies, called companies of *Jesuits* and of the *Sun*, were instituted, which, if not so barbarous in their executions as the Jacobins, were as much to be condemned in the exercise of what they called retaliation.

On the 20th of May an alarming insurrection took place at Toulon, in which Brunel, one of the representatives of the people, lost his life. Niou, who was then on board the fleet, hastened to oppose the designs of the insurgents,—but in vain:—they insisted on the liberation of the terrorists. The fleet was on the point of sailing; but the Jacobins succeeded in detaining it in the road. The insurgents took possession of the gates of the town, and mounted cannon upon them.

The insurgents shortly after marched from Toulon on their way to Marseilles, to the amount of three thousand men, with twelve pieces of cannon, but were soon stopped

in their career, by the forces under the command of generals Charton and Pactod, who completely defeated and carried three hundred of them prisoners to Marseilles. By this event, Toulon was again restored to the republic and to tranquillity.

It had long been a matter of public notoriety, and was remarked in our last volume, that the Prussian and Austrian forces were, as well as their leaders, on bad terms; but it was not suspected that any defection was about to take place on the part of the Prussians, till they began to retreat towards the Rhine, which they soon after passed. An agent of the Prussian court, Mr. Smarz, a merchant of the Palatinate, arrived at Basle, according to the register of that place, the beginning of August 1794; and though he was not known as the agent of Prussia, the retreat above-mentioned shewed that some communications had taken place. As the sudden defection of the king of Prussia from the coalition was likely to occasion a great fermentation among the combined powers, he did not think proper to take a more decisive step for the present than that of putting his army in safety, till he saw what effect the disposition he evinced would produce in Europe. After some delay, a bolder step was taken. On the first of October, a Prussian agent spread a report throughout Switzerland, that the peace between France and Prussia was actually concluded; and this report, which was industriously circulated throughout Europe, was so generally approved, or so little blamed, that a more serious negotiation began to be opened at Basle, first by three agents sent officially from the Prussian court, and afterwards by

an avowed ambassador, whom M. Barthelemy met at Basle, having previously received a visit from the counsel of the embassy, at Baden where he resided. The person who was chosen by the Prussian court for this delicate and important embassy, was baron Goltz, who had formerly been ambassador at Paris, who was a man of principles friendly to liberty, and was desirous of the credit of concluding the treaty. This negotiation was in a state of great forwardness, and was nearly concluded, when the Prussian ambassador was seized with a complaint which in a few days terminated in his death. Suspicions of his being poisoned were naturally excited by the circumstances of the case:—the removal of a man, who, far from being hostile to those with whom he was sent to negotiate, had all the dispositions, while he served his employers, to render service also to the interests of France, might be considered by the party who were adverse to the conclusion of the treaty, as the means of interrupting, delaying, or breaking it off in the person of his successor. The body of baron Goltz was opened, and the report made upon it was not such as tended to remove the suspicions, which had been raised. Some time elapsed before another minister was sent to Basle: but it does not appear that the negotiations were stopped, since the principal secretary of the legation came to Paris, and, after various conferences with the committee of public safety, returned, and went to Berlin. The committee were apprised by other channels, that the conditions they exacted would be complied with, and that they ought to make no concessions. The treaty was put in such forwardness during the interval between the death

death of baron Goltz, and the arrival of his successor Monf. Hardenberg, that little was left for him to do, except affixing his signature. M. Hardenberg is of an Hanoverian family, a subject of that electorate, and a warm friend to the English. Difficulties were likely to have arisen, and a considerable delay might have taken place in the pending negotiation, had not an order been given by the committee of public safety for the making of secret articles; and after a warm contest between the different negotiators, the business was at length concluded, and the treaty signed. This treaty was beneficial to France, and answered all the purposes which were proposed by it; but Prussia lost the opportunity which was now presented to her, of taking the lead in the arrangement of continental concerns, and even of placing herself at the head of the empire. Among other things held out to the king of Prussia, was the flattering hope that, under his influence, the protestant interest might become predominant in the empire, since France would now throw her whole weight of influence on that side, which had heretofore given so great a preponderance to the opposite scale. The king of Prussia might have become the general pacificator of Europe: the protestant princes would have accepted his mediation; and if the catholic princes continued obstinate in carrying on the war, they would, by so impolitic a proceeding, have weakened their force, and consequently their opposition to his views of acquiring that influence which had hitherto belonged to the house of Austria as the head of the empire. Whether the interests of the coalesced party predominated in the cabinet of Berlin although the

1795.

coalition was dissolved,—or from whatever cause the indecision of the court of Prussia arose,—time was given, by its neglect of the favourable moment, for Austria and England to regain the ascendancy; and though Hesse Cassel made a treaty soon after, and Saxony and several other powers withdrew their contingents from the army of the empire, while the duke of Wirtemberg and others began a negotiation,—every thing was broken off, the treaty of Hesse Cassel, and another with the elector of Hanover, excepted, by the reverse of the French on the eastern side of the Rhine.

The treaty with Prussia, we have observed, contained *secret* articles; and the disclosure of these articles must have frustrated the designs of the contracting parties, and perhaps have even prevented the conclusion of the treaty itself. We have seen, that, on a preceding occasion, the function of negotiating treaties was vested in the committee of public safety. On the 16th of March, the subject was debated more at large in the convention; and it was proposed to add to the committee certain commissioners, chosen by the legislature on every such occasion; but this proposal was negatived, and the committee of public safety was exclusively invested with the right of making treaties with foreign powers. The next object of discussion regarded secret articles. After a long debate, in which the propriety of admitting secret articles was most ably supported by Cambaceres, it was agreed, "that secret articles may be made, provided that they do not militate against those of the open treaty."

On the following day the discussion was resumed; when Camba-

O

ceres,

ceres, in the character of reporter from the committee of public safety, presented the plan of a decree upon this subject, which was unanimously adopted, and which we shall insert at large, as it is in substance that which now stands under the head of treaties in the new constitution of the French republic.

I. The committee of public safety, charged with the direction of foreign relations, negotiates, in the name of the republic, treaties of peace, truce, alliance, neutrality, and commerce. It agrees upon the conditions of them.

II. It takes all the necessary measures for facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of such treaties.

III. It is authorized to make preliminary and particular stipulations, such as those of armistice and neutralizations relative thereto, during the time of negotiation, and secret conventions.

IV. The secret engagements, contracted with foreign governments, can only have for their object assuring the defence of the republic, or augmenting its means of prosperity.

V. In case of treaties containing secret articles, the dispositions of such articles can neither be contrary to, nor derogate from the open articles.

VI. Treaties are signed, either by the members of the committee, when they have treated directly with the envoys of foreign powers, or by the ministers plenipotentiary, to whom the committee has delegated powers to that effect.

VII. Treaties are not voted till after they have been examined, ratified, and confirmed, by the national convention, upon a report from the committee of public safety.

VIII. Nevertheless, conditions, agreed upon in secret engagements, are to be executed as if they had been ratified.

IX. As soon as circumstances permit rendering public political operations which have been the subject of secret conventions, the committee of public safety gives an account to the national convention of the object of the negotiation, and of the measures it has taken.

Though the negotiation with the king of Prussia had commenced (as we have seen) long before, it was not presented to the convention till the 10th of April. "At length," said Reubell; "you are on the eve of gathering the fruit of your principles. The coalesced powers, who had sworn the ruin of the republic, feel compelled to sue to you for peace, since you have proved that justice and humanity were really the order of the day.

"Your committee, this day, offers, for your ratification, the peace which it has concluded with the king of Prussia. We have not forgotten, for an instant, that if the wishes of the French people are for peace, it is for a glorious peace, and such as can compromise neither its dignity nor its interests. We thought it our duty to re-establish a commercial intercourse between Prussia and the French republic, and even to extend it by removing the theatre of war from the north of Germany. We thought it proper that a power so long coalesced against us, and now become our friend, should have a preponderance in the Germanic circles, which may be useful to the republic.

"We have observed, since the commencement of the last campaign, that the Prussian nation has suffered

suffered no opportunity to escape, of giving us the testimony of their esteem. We have been seconded in this proceeding by the indefatigable zeal of the citizen Barthélemy, our ambassador in Switzerland." The open treaty expresses,

I. That there shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French republic, and the king of Prussia, considered as such, and as elector of Brandenburg, and as a co-estate of the Germanic empire. Every hostility between the contracting powers shall cease from the ratification of the present treaty. Neither of them shall furnish in consequence any contingent, under any pretext, of men, money, horses, provisions, or ammunition to the enemies of the contracting parties, nor shall the one of the parties grant a passage through its territory to the troops hostile to the other.

II. The republican troops shall evacuate, within 15 days after the ratification, that part of the Prussian territory which they occupy on the right bank of the Rhine. They shall continue to occupy that part of the territory which they occupy on the left.

III. The arrangements with respect to the territory on the left bank of the Rhine are postponed until a general pacification shall take place between the republic and the Germanic empire.

IV. The commercial intercourse between France and Prussia is re-established on the same footing as it was before the commencement of the present war. Measures shall be taken to remove the scene of hostilities from the north of Germany.

V. All the prisoners, made on each side, shall be restored without any difference with respect to num-

bers or to rank, within three months at the latest.

VI. The republic will receive the propositions which shall be made by those of the princes having possessions on the right side of the Rhine, in favour of whom the king of Prussia shall interpose.

VII. This treaty shall not have its full effect until it shall have been ratified by the contracting parties, at the latest within one month.

The Prussian negotiation was followed by the treaty made between the French republic and Spain. As the king of Prussia had broken the *integrality* of the coalition by his secession, the king of Spain with less difficulty abandoned it also; and seeing the French troops in full march to his capital, orders were dispatched to Mons. D'Yriarte to come to an immediate conclusion. So great was the expedition employed in this negotiation, that although Mons. D'Iranda had been sent to Bayonne by the Spanish court at this time, and general Servan was sent to meet him, by the committee of public safety,—before these negotiators had one interview, the peace was concluded at Basle between Monsieur D'Yriarte, and Monsieur Barthélemy.

The treaty consisted of twelve articles: it was signed at Basle, on the 22d of July, by Mr. Barthélemy on the part of the French republic, and by don Domingo D'Yriarte on the part of Spain. By this treaty, France relinquished all the conquests which she had made upon the Spanish territory, and restored all the cannon and ammunition taken in the several towns which had fallen into her hands. In consideration of this restitution, Spain ceded to the French republic all the Spanish part of St. Domingo, together with all the cannon and

ammunition contained in it. The republic also agreed to accept the king of Spain's mediation in favour of Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, the duke of Parma, and all the other Italian princes. The Dutch republic was also included in the treaty.—By this treaty another of the regular governments of Europe was taken out of the combination against France; not only a deep wound was inflicted upon the coalition, but a severe blow was thus aimed at the power of the British in the West Indies, and an impediment was thrown in the way of their operations in the Mediterranean.

Switzerland had, during the progress of the French revolution, and of the war, remained apparently neuter; but the spirit evinced by the cantons was extremely hostile to the cause of France. It was not till the Prussian negotiation was settled, that Basle recognized the French republic; till then Mr. Barthelemy had no official character in Switzerland, the events of the 10th. of August 1792, having annulled his former delegation. Among the magistracy of Basle who stood foremost to aid in accomplishing the event of the Prussian negotiation, and afterwards that of the recognition of the French republic, was Monf. Ochs, the chancellor of Basle, who lent his house to the Prussian minister, and was the mediator between Monf. Barthelemy and the Prussian agents. In his house also was signed the treaty with Spain. The mode of signing the Prussian treaty occasioned some surprize, and at first some incredulity with regard to the real existence of the pacification, since the treaties were signed differently; which singular circumstance had, however, been previously arranged

between the parties; the Prussian minister having first signed his copy of the treaty, and the French minister having taken the lead in that which belonged to the republic. The splendid success of the French arms operated very strongly on the sentiments of the Swiss cantons; some of which, particularly Soleure, and Fribourg, had treated Monf. Barthelemy with great indignity, and had been excited by the numerous emigrants who filled those cantons, to such violent animosity against the French cause, that they were only prevented from declaring hostilities, by the wise and moderate counsels of the cantons of Zurich, Basle, and some others. The recognition of the French republic by the canton of Basle was followed by its recognition in other cantons, chiefly the protestants; since even the democratic catholic cantons are too much under the influence of their priests, not to be somewhat hostile to the French revolution. Baron Goltz received a public funeral at Basle, at which a detachment of Swiss troops and militia paid military honours.

In the course of the month of May a second treaty was concluded between the French republic and the king of Prussia. This principally regarded the line of neutrality to be observed during the continuance of the present war, which the king of Prussia undertakes by this treaty to protect and preserve.

Among the events of this year, there is none which will make a more sensible impression on the humane reader, than the death of the infant son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. though it is not easy to determine in what light to consider it,—whether as a misfortune or deliverance. In the convention a motion had been made for the liberation

beration of this child of misery; and the friends of liberty must every where regret that a proposal so honourable to its cause was ever-ruled. It was at first suspected that the unfortunate child owed his death to poison; but for such an atrocity there appears to have been no adequate motive; nor indeed will the conclusion be much more favourable to French humanity, if we say, as we think we are authorized, that an unjust imprisonment, if it did not produce, at least hastened his untimely fate. He had ever been an unhealthy child, and subject to a scrofulous complaint; a disorder in which confinement and inactivity are commonly fatal. For some time previous to his decease, he had been afflicted with a swelling in his knee, and another in his left wrist. His appetite failed, and he was at length attacked with a fever. It does not appear that any attention or medical aid was neglected. The disease, however, continued to increase; and, on the morning of the 9th of June, he expired in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792.

Penetrated, perhaps, with this event, or influenced by the general sympathy of the people of France, who appeared desirous of making some atonement to the miserable remains of the Bourbon family for the injuries and calamities which they had suffered, in the beginning of July the committee of public safety, greatly to their honour, proposed the exchange of the princess, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies delivered up to Austria by the treachery of Dumouriez, and the two ambassadors, Semonville and Maret, who had been seized, contrary to the law of nations, upon neutral terri-

tory by an Austrian corps, and who also were detained as prisoners in that country. After some hesitation, the emperor was induced to accede to the proposal; and before the conclusion of the year, the princess was delivered to the Austrian envoy at Basle in Switzerland, and the captive deputies were at the same moment restored to their country.

The only one of the agents of Robespierre, who had distinguished himself by his cruelties, and who yet remained unpunished, was Joseph Le Bon. In the beginning of July he was ordered before the convention, and permitted to enter into a long defence, which was spirited and ingenious. On the 10th the convention passed to the *appel nominal* upon the question, whether there were grounds of accusation against Le Bon? The question was unanimously decided in the affirmative. A committee of twenty-one members was appointed to draw up the act of accusation; and he was sent to Amiens, which had been the scene of his cruelties, where he was soon after tried and executed.

On the 13th of July, the convention passed the following decree with respect to foreigners, which, from its importance to the description of persons to whom it refers, we insert at length:

I. All foreigners born in the territories with which the French republic is at war, and who have entered France since the 1st of January 1792, are enjoined to depart from thence.

II. They shall quit the communes in which they reside, within the space of three days, reckoning from the publication of the present law. They shall, besides, be allowed one day for every seven

leagues, between the place they are to quit, and the frontier.

III. They shall declare before the municipalities, and, at Paris, before the civil committees of the section, what route they intend to take: this route will be described on the passports to be delivered to them.

IV. Every foreigner comprehended in the present law, who, after the delay pointed out by the second and third articles, shall be found on the territory of the republic, or who shall stray from the road traced out to him, shall be put under arrest.

V. The dispositions of the preceding articles shall apply to the foreigners who, pretending to have been born in countries either allied or neuter, shall not be recognized and acknowledged by their respective ambassadors and agents.

VI. The following may continue in France:

1. Foreigners born in the countries with which the republic is at war, who came into France before the first of January 1792, provided they have a known dwelling, or are guaranteed by four citizens, housekeepers, and distinguished by their patriotism and probity.

2. Foreigners born in the countries in friendship and alliance with France, who shall be acknowledged by the ambassadors or agents of the powers with which the republic is at peace.

VII. To each foreigner there shall be delivered a paper containing his description, with these words on the top,—“hospitality! security!” The word “fraternity” shall be added for the foreigners born in the countries with which the republic is at peace.

VIII. Every foreigner found in a seditious assemblage shall, for that

simple reason, be considered as a spy, and punished as such.

IX. Every foreigner, at his arrival in a sea-port, or in a frontier commune of the republic, shall appear before a municipality. He shall there present his passport, which is to be immediately transmitted to the committee of general security for examination. He shall, in the mean time, be under the charge of the municipal officers, who shall give him a provisional card of security, pointing out that he is in their keeping.

X. The councils general of the communes may, nevertheless, give provisional authority to the merchants of allied or neutral countries who shall enter France. They shall communicate this to the committee of general security, to which they shall send a collated copy of the passport, and an indication of the route the foreigner purposes to take.

XI. In the measures prescribed by the article IX. the extraordinary couriers, as well as those charged with missions to the convention or the government committees, are not comprehended.

XII. The committee of general security is charged to adopt every necessary measure for the execution of the present law.

The unsettled state of France, the factions which prevailed in the convention, itself, and the late disturbances in Paris, served to convince every reflecting person, and every true patriot, of the necessity of giving to France a regular form of government, an executive power, and to snatch her, by one decisive effort, out of the miserable revolutionary vortex in which she had long been involved. While the events, therefore, which we have just related, were in agitation, the convention

convention was sedulously employed in discussing the plan of the new constitution. It was presented by the committee of eleven on the 23d of June, and was introduced to the consideration of the assembly by an excellent speech from Boissy d'Anglas, the reporter of the committee. Long and interesting debates succeeded. The different articles were separately discussed; and many referred back to the committee of eleven for revision. In the course of these debates, the convention restored that useful institution which made a part of the old free constitution of France, electoral assemblies; and, indeed, the whole plan was materially altered.

On the 23d of August the constitution was declared complete, and was referred to the primary assemblies for their confirmation and acceptance. The following are the leading principles of this constitution.

It is divided into fourteen titles or chapters, and is preceded by a declaration of the rights of man, not essentially different from that which was prefixed to the first constitution.

The first title in the constitutional code contains an enumeration of the *territorial possessions* of the republic, and expresses the division into departments, cantons, and communes *.

The

* France is divided into—departments.

These departments are—

L'Ain, L'Aisne, L'Allier, Les Basses-Alpes, Les Hautes-Alpes, Les Alpes-Maritimes, L'Ardèche, Les Ardennes, L'Arriège, L'Aube, L'Aude, L'Aveyron.

Les Bouches du Rhone.

Le Calvados, Le Cantal, La Charente, La Charente Inférieure, Le Cher, La Corrèze, La Côte-d'Or, Les Côtes-du-Nord, La Creuse.

La Dordogne, Le Doubs, La Drôme.

L'Eure, Eure-et-Loire.

Le Finistère.

Le Gard, La Haute-Garonne, Le Gers, La Gironde, Le Golo.

L'Hérault.

Ille-et-Villaine, L'Indre, Indre-et-Loire, L'Isère, Le Jura.

Les Landes, Le Liamone, Loir-et-Cher, La Loire, La Haute-Loire, La Loire-Inférieure, Le Loiret, Le Lot, Lot-et-Garonne, La Lozère.

Maine-et-Loire, La Manche, La Marne, La Haute-Marne, La Mayenne, La Meurthe, La Meuse, Le Mont-Blanc, Le Mont-Terrible, Le Morbihan, La Moselle.

La Nièvre, Le Nord.

L'Oise, L'Orne.

Le Pas-de-Calais, Le Puy-de-Dôme, Les Basses-Pyrénées, Les Hautes-Pyrénées, Les Pyrénées-Orientales.

Le Bas-Rhin, Le Haut-Rhin, Le Rhone.

La Haute-Saône, Saône-et-Loire, La Sarthe, La Seine, La Seine-Inférieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Les deux Sevres, La Somme.

La Tarn.

Le Var, Vaucluse, La Vendée, La Vienne, La Haute-Vienne, Les Vosges.

L'Yonne

The limits of departments may be changed or rectified by the legislative body; but, in this case, the surface of a department cannot exceed one hundred square myriamètres (400 square leagues, of 2566 toises each.)

Each department is distributed into cantons, each canton into communes.

The cantons retain their present limits.

Their limits may, nevertheless, be changed or rectified by the legislative body; but, in this case, there cannot be more than one myriametre (two leagues, of 2566 toises each) from the most distant commune to the chief place of the canton.

The French colonies are integrant parts of the republic, and subject to the same constitutional law.

The second title defines the *political state of citizens*. Every man born and resident in France, who is twenty-one years of age, has inscribed his name in the civic register, lived one year on the territory of the republic, and pays a direct contribution, is a French citizen. Foreigners are naturalized by seven years' residence, or marrying a French woman. The rights of a citizen are lost by naturalization in a foreign country, or by any infamous crime.

By the third title the nature of the *primary assemblies* is defined. They assemble in full right on the 1st Germinal (March 21) of each year, and proceed, according as there may be occasion, to the election,—1. Of the members of the electoral assembly. 2. Of the justice of peace and his assessors. 3. Of the president of the municipal administration of the canton, or of the municipal officers in communes of more than 5000 inhabitants.

By the fourth title the functions of the *electoral assemblies* are regulated. Each primary assembly nominates one elector for 200 citizens, whether present or absent. Each elector must be twenty-five years of age, and possessed of a certain property. The electoral assemblies chuse, as there may be occasion,—1. The members of the legislative body. 2. The members of the tribunal of annulment. 3. The high jurors. 4. The ad-

ministrators of the department. 5. The president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunals. 6. The judges of the civil tribunals.

By the fifth title the *legislative body* is composed of a council of ancients and a council of five hundred, who are both to reside in the same commune. The council of the ancients is composed of two hundred and fifty members:—one-third of the members of each council is renewed every year;—the members, therefore, are three years in the exercise of their functions;—they may be re-elected immediately once; after which there must be an interval of two years before they can be elected again;—each department contributes in proportion to its population only to the members of the two councils, and they are nominated by the electoral assemblies;—the proposition of laws belongs exclusively to the council of five hundred; but the council of the ancients are empowered to approve or reject those propositions; the resolutions of the council of five hundred, adopted by the council of ancients, are then entitled laws. The preamble to laws shall set forth the dates of the sittings of the council of ancients in which the three readings of the proposed laws took place. When the council of ancients have rejected the plan of a law, the same plan cannot be presented to it till after the expiration of two years; neverthe-

They are divided into departments, as follow:—

The island of St. Domingo, the legislative body of which shall settle the division into four departments at least, or six at most.

Guadeloupe, Marie-Galante, La Desirade, Les Saintes, and the French part of St. Martin; Martinico; French Guiana and Cayenne; St. Lucia and Tobago;

The Ile of France, Les Seychelles, Roderigue, and the establishments of Madagascar. The Isle of Reunion;

The East Indies, Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Mahe, Karical, and other establishments.

less the council of five hundred may present, during this interval, the plan of a law containing articles which made a part of the plan of the rejected law.

By the sixth title, it is enacted, that the executive power is delegated to a *directory of five members*, nominated by the legislative body;—the members of this directory must be forty years of age at least, and must have been members of the legislative body, or general agents of execution; but cannot be chosen till the expiration of one year after they have ceased to be members of the legislative body. The directory is partially renewed by the election of a new member every year:—none of the members who have thus gone out can be re-elected till after an interval of five years. The directory provides according to the laws for the external and internal security of the republic;—it disposes of the armed force,—chuses the generals,—and superintends the execution of the laws and the coining of money.

The directory is elected by the two councils in the following manner:—the council of five hundred is to make out, by secret scrutiny, a list, containing ten times the number of the members of the directory to be elected; from which the council of ancients selects, also by secret scrutiny, the proposed number.

The directory may at all times invite the legislative body, in writing, to take a subject into consideration, but cannot propose to it legislative dispositions, except with relation to peace and war.

The seventh title relates to the administrative and *municipal* bodies.

Under the eighth title, which regards the *judicial power*, the tribu-

nal of annulment is established. There is one appointed for the whole republic, to be situated near the legislative body. It is authorized to pronounce on demands of annulment against decisions in the last resort given by the tribunals,—on demands of reference from one tribunal to another,—on grounds of lawful suspicion, or public security. This tribunal cannot investigate the merits of the case; but it annuls sentences passed on trials in which the forms have been violated, or which have been attended with any deviation from the express terms of the law,—and refers the merits of the process to the tribunal which ought to take cognizance of it.

The ninth title concerns the order and regulation of the *public force*.

The mode of *public instruction* is pointed out in the tenth title or chapter. There are in the republic primary schools where the pupils are taught to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and those of morality. There are also, in different parts of the republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and in such a number that there shall be at least one for every two departments. The whole republic has a national institution, charged to collect discoveries, and to improve the arts and sciences. Notwithstanding these regulations for public instruction, citizens have a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, as well as free societies to promote the progress of the arts and sciences.

The eleventh title respects the *public finances*, the national treasury, &c.

The twelfth title contains, in substance, the decree respecting *foreign treaties*,

treaties, &c. already inserted. No public treaties are binding till after they have been examined and ratified by the legislative body; nor can war be determined upon, except by a decree of the same body, on the formal and necessary proposition of the executive directory.

The thirteenth provides for the occasional revision of the constitution.

The last title enacts, that there exists among the citizens no superiority but that of public functionaries, and that only in relation to the exercise of their functions. The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement contrary to the natural rights of man. No man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts, saving his responsibility before the law. No man can be hindered from exercising the worship he has chosen, or forced to contribute to the expences of that which he does not adopt. There are neither privileged companies, nor corporations, nor any limitation to the freedom of commerce, and to the exercise of industry and arts of every kind. The citizens have the liberty of assembling peaceably, and without arms; but no assembly of citizens can call itself a popular society, or, employing itself upon political questions, can correspond with any other, or affiliate with it.

In this constitution we see less to censure than in any of those which have been proposed since the 10th of August 1792. The executive power is more concentrated, and the functions of the different branches of government better defined, than they were either in that proposed by Condorcet, or in that of 1793. It is well calculated to preserve the liberty of the citizens while it lasts; but we are dubious

whether it has vigour enough to preserve itself from the assaults of faction. To this constitution, the objection which we made to that of 1789, equally applies. The executive power is not invested with a sufficient authority or influence to keep in check the ebullitions of faction in either of the councils. A corrupt influence may be extended too far; our parliament, therefore, which, in 1780, came to the memorable vote, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished," was undoubtedly right; and every day's experience confirms the truth of the position; but there is a fair and legitimate influence which the executive government of every free country ought to possess to a certain degree; and that consists in the nomination to certain offices and appointments, civil and military. This is a power which, if restricted within due bounds, will serve to restrain the factious and selfish, though it cannot silence the real patriot. This legitimate influence differs from corrupt influence (which consists in loans, jobs, contracts, bribes, &c.) in this, that the one is definite, known, and public; the other is indefinite, often secret, and leads insensibly to the plunder, corruption, and ruin of the nation. We conceive, therefore, that the patronage of the directory might be somewhat enlarged with advantage to the nation, and yet might still be kept within sufficient bounds to prevent the erection of tyranny on the ruins of the republic.

A still stronger objection presents itself to our minds; and that is, not only that a disagreement may take place between the directory and one or both of the councils, but

but even among the members of the directory themselves. The antipathy which the former tyranny has generated in the people of France to every thing which bears the appearance of monarchy, has probably prevented them, for the present, from vesting the executive authority in the hands of a single person; we cannot, however, but think that the American constitution is much better calculated both for duration and energy, which has entrusted this power in the hands of *one responsible* minister, with the aid of a council, and under proper and salutary limitations.

On the 5th of Fructidor (August 22), previous to the transmission of the constitutional act to the primary assemblies, the convention decreed, "that the electoral bodies should appoint the deputies to the legislative body, and that they should *choose two-thirds* from among the members of the present convention;" and, on the 13th of the same month, some further decrees were passed to the same effect; and one in particular, which enacted, "that in default of the election of two-thirds of the convention in the manner already prescribed, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves." These decrees were also sent to the primary assemblies for their consideration and approbation; but, for the reception which they experienced from those bodies, and the contests which ensued, it will be necessary to refer to the succeeding chapter.

A treaty of peace and amity was concluded between the French republic and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel on the 28th of August. By this treaty the landgrave engages neither to prolong nor renew his subsidiary treaties with Great Bri-

tain, nor to employ his troops in any manner hostile to the republic during the war. Peace was also concluded with the ELECTOR of HANOVER upon nearly the same terms; and we record the fact with peculiar pleasure. Such a circumstance is the plainest proof of the genuine goodness of his majesty's heart, and of his aversion to bloodshed. When we consider, moreover, the immense emoluments which his majesty, as elector of Hanover, derived from Great Britain, by the employment of his Hanoverian troops in the cause of his allies, this sacrifice to humanity must appear the more brilliant and exemplary. It proves, in effect, that the present war is not consonant to his majesty's wishes and inclinations,—that, as far as Great Britain is concerned, the whole blame must rest with the *ministers*,—that *they* are the persons who have plunged the nation into all its present misfortunes and perplexities,—that *they* have neglected the happiest and most favourable opportunities for concluding an honourable peace,—that *they* carry on a disastrous war, in the pursuit of some visionary project for the realizing of which they depend upon *accident* and chance—that *they* protract the public calamities against the voice of humanity, against the dictates of reason, against the unbiassed judgment of all Europe, against the sense of the public, and, probably, against the genuine sentiments and wishes of his majesty himself.

On the 30th of September the convention, after a long discussion, solemnly decreed the incorporation of all the countries which the house of Austria, previous to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine, with the republic of France.

CHAP. IX.

Convocation of the Primary Assemblies for the acceptance of the Constitution. Opposition to the Laws for re-electing two thirds of the Convention to the new Legislature. Sections of Paris protest against it. Erroneous conduct of the Sections. The Constitution generally accepted. Contest continues between the Sections of Paris and the Convention. Insurrection of the Sections. Election of Representatives to the new Legislature. Proposal in the Convention for appointing a Commission of Five to save the Country. Over-ruled by Thibeaudeau. Dissolution of the Convention. Punishment of Death abolished. General Amnesty. Meeting of the new Legislature. Choice of the Directory. Intrigues on that Occasion. Characters of the Members of the Executive Directory. Character of Sieyès &c. Club of the Pantheon. Choice of Ministers. Disappointment of Louvet, Chenier, and Tallien. Characters of Louvet, Tallien, &c. The Reveil du Peuple forbidden. Disturbances in the Departments. Good conduct of the Directory. Club of the Pantheon shut up. Good effects from the Council of Elders. Good order preserved in the Legislature and Tribunes. Patriotism of the Directory. State of Religion in France. Revival of Literature. New Academy. Account of the Institutions for the Education of the People.

THE forty-eight sections of Paris, while they unanimously accepted the constitution of 1795, as firmly rejected, with the exception only of two sections, the law for the re-election of the two thirds of the convention into the new legislature, and the law declaring that in default of the re-election of the two thirds by the departments, the convention should constitute itself into an elective body, and fill up the deficiency by its own nomination. Those laws, the first of which was called the law of the fifth, and the second the law of the thirteenth of Fructidor, were sent into the departments with the constitutional act, and being by some of the primary assemblies considered as forming a part of the constitution, were in consequence accepted, even when they were far from being approved.

The scene which Paris presented at this epoch was solemn and in-

teresting. It was the assembly of a considerable portion of a great nation called together for the exercise of the most important duty of civilized society. The meetings of the primary assemblies were conducted with the utmost decorum and dignity. Next to the chair and desks of the president and secretaries, the old men of the section were seated, and around and behind them were ranged the younger citizens. Every person was permitted to deliver his sentiments, and was heard with candour and indulgence. The protest against the law of what was called the forced election, was loud and vehement; and the example of the public spirit of Paris was imitated in several of the departments. Had the Parisians confined their opposition to this legal mode of resistance, and continued to incite their fellow-citizens to the rejection of the obnoxious laws, they might perhaps have succeeded

needed in having had the ensuing legislature renewed agreeably to their wishes, and to what they deemed the genuine spirit of free and constitutional elections; while the convention must have yielded to the unequivocal decision of the great majority of the nation: but unhappily a different course was pursued.

The two obnoxious laws underwent many severe examinations in the primary assemblies, and much brilliant and powerful argument was displayed to prove that they were useless for the purpose for which they were formed, and of the most pernicious tendency with respect to liberty. It was difficult to dispossess the sections of the high ground they had taken, if they had not fatally been led to abandon it themselves, and, by that presumption which is the greatest enemy to success, precipitated themselves from the honourable and legal controul to which they were entitled, into disgrace and ruin.

The first false step which was taken by the sections was that of permitting the electors whom they had named, to assemble previous to the day which had been fixed by the convention. It was maintained by the primary assemblies, that when the people were convoked, all laws of regulation belonged to themselves; and therefore, having named their electors, those electors being the immediate representatives of the people, had the right to take the sovereignty on themselves, and assemble for the purposes of business as soon as they thought it expedient. Accordingly, about one hundred of the electors met in the hall of the French theatre in the Faubourg St. Germain, and having chosen *Monf. de Nivernois*, the *cit-devant* duke, president, began to

open their debates. The convention was alarmed at this disobedience to its decree, and perceived that if this first act was passed over without notice, the next might be that of declaring that the convention was no longer the national representation. A body of the military was therefore sent to disperse the meeting as illegal; which was effected without opposition or tumult; for the Parisians, though they had made the most strenuous resistance to the obnoxious laws, had not been unanimous in promoting this premature assembly.

In the mean time the primary assemblies, from every part of the republic, sent the declaration of their acceptance of the constitution, which in some cases was accompanied by approbation, in some by disapprobation of the decrees in question; but in the vast majority, as might have been expected, the sanction of the constitution and of the decrees were confounded together. The convention was careful each day to declare the majority in favour of the decrees: but the sections had doubts of this majority; and having made application to inspect the records, they asserted that the decision of the majority, if the true and real sense of the majority was suffered to prevail, would be in favor of a total renewal of the legislature, and against the decrees in question; since they observed, that, where a primary assembly was unanimous in rejecting the decrees, it was marked by the convention as one vote, although in the sections of Paris a primary assembly sometimes consisted of fifteen hundred or two thousand persons.

The calm display of truth, however, no longer accorded with the heated spirit of either party. The convention

convention received with arrogance and disdain the deputations from the primary assemblies of the sections, and sometimes refused them admittance; while the language held in the sections, and the projects they seemed to meditate, induced the committees of government to call in the troops of the line in order to protect the convention. The Parisians paid little attention to this military guard, having persuaded themselves that no man would draw his sword against a citizen; and this belief was confirmed by certain acts of fraternity which had taken place between the citizens and the soldiers in the camp, which, since the insurrection of Prairial, had been pitched sometimes at Marly, and sometimes upon the plain of Sablons.

It was now proclaimed throughout Paris that means more forcible than mere remonstrances were necessary to bring the convention to reason. That assembly was represented as a body of assassins and of tyrants. It was asserted that though some purgations had taken place, and the most execrable of the horde had been put to death, or imprisoned, yet there still sat murderers of the second of September, conspirators of the 31st of May, the approvers of the judicial assassination of the Gironde, the opposers of the reinstatement of the persecuted deputies, the faithful associates of the mountain-chiefs, the remaining actors in the decemviral tyranny, men from whose hands the stains of blood were not yet washed away,—that if such men as these were suffered to exist as legislators, their habitudes of wickedness would ill correspond with ideas of just and equitable government, and that opportunity only would be wanting to make the land again a waste of deso-

lation and death,—that all these men could expect, was to be permitted to return to the common rank of citizens,—and that if they were allowed to exist, this must arise from the indulgence or contempt of their fellow-citizens, who might perhaps pardon their crimes, or excuse their cowardice; but that this act of presumption and tyranny, the insolence of pointing themselves out as the only proper guardians of the public weal, could not but awaken the general indignation,—and that they ought to be driven from their seats with ignominy, as the least punishment that could attend them.

The language of these sectionaries was moderate when compared with that of some of their associates. The law of retaliation was insisted on with vehemence; revolutionary tribunals were instantly to be erected, and each deputy was to undergo a trial, of which his conduct from the beginning of the revolution should form the sole evidence. It was added, that if it were found he had been guilty only of cowardice, he should be stigmatized as a man unfitted for public trust; but if he had committed crimes, or abetted those who had committed them, he should be punished accordingly. The prisons into which the deputies were to be put when apprehended, were appointed, and measures taken to carry this plan into execution.

The men who published these sentiments professed themselves to be true and decided republicans; they declared that it was their horror against men who had thus sullied the noblest of causes, which led them to endeavour, by an act of exemplary justice, to wash away the pollution of their country, and make some atonement to the world for

for the evils which these rulers had committed.

It was not to be expected that the sections or the convention could long remain in this state of hostility; since, if the sections delayed executing the purposes they had formed, the convention, strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, would render their attempts ineffectual; and if the convention suffered the insurrection of the sections to proceed, they would have to contend not only against Paris, but also against the affiliated departments.

For some days, uncertainty and alarm prevailed through the city; the menaces of the sections rose higher at every meeting of their assemblies, while the convention refused to admit the deputations which presented themselves at their bar, with reclamations against what they termed the forced election; and the perseverance of the assembly in maintaining that decree,—“the direful spring of woes unnumbered,”—seemed to increase in proportion to the resistance of the people. In the mean time fresh troops were poured into the town, which the Parisians continued to behold with the fatal confidence that, when ordered to fire, they would answer by grounding their arms. Whether the convention entertained the same idea, or not, they did not confide themselves entirely to the regular troops; but conscious of the antipathy which subsisted between the sections and that class of men who were branded with the appellation of *terrorists*, they collected some hundreds of those persons from the prisons where they were confined, and put them in requisition as the defenders of the national representation.

These men, though they owed no

great attachment to the convention, were not only eager to escape on any terms from their prisons, but were well inclined to seize an opportunity of avenging themselves on what they called the *muscadins*, and the royalists; they therefore took arms with alacrity, and ranged themselves on the side of the convention. This last measure of the convention proved the invocation to the battle. The sections furiously inveighed against the formation of this body-guard, whose enrolment they declared to be the signal that the Robespierrian government was about to return, and the horrors of revolutionary tyranny.

On this occasion all that could operate on the passions was poured forth by the orators of the sections, and the convention was held up to view as guilty of every crime, and responsible for every evil which had desolated the republic. The sections who were the most forward to promote the insurrection, had shewn considerable signs of hostility. On the 12th of Vendémiaire (Oct. 4.) General Menou, commander of the military force of Paris, had been sent to the chief place of their assembly, which was the section of Lepelletier, to disperse them, or possess himself of their arms. The citizens were assembled when the troops marched against them. The deputy who was commissioned to visit the sections, and the general, held long parleys with the citizens, in which the latter declared that they would lay down their arms if the convention would disarm the terrorists; but as no commission was given to listen to terms, these conferences ended in the withdrawing of the forces on both sides. This conduct was severely reprehended by the convention, and the general was broken by the committees,

committees. In the mean time the sections were beating to arms, and making more serious preparations. At midnight the inhabitants of Paris were awakened by the beating of drums and thundering noises at the gate of every house; and the cry of "to arms to arms,"—"every citizen to his section,"—"liberty or death," resounded in every quarter. This plan was not attended with much success; for it does not appear that the citizens in general were apprized that night was to be the time of action. The morning of the 13th (Oct. 5) presented nothing that indicated any positive hostile measures: but at noon the sections were again in motion, and were preparing to march their forces towards the chateau of the Tuilleries. A large detachment were in possession of the church of St. Roch, and lined the street of St. Honoré, while the sections on the southern side of the river advanced along the quays.

It has not yet been determined which of the parties began the contest; the conventional troops assert that they received the first fire, while the sectionaries maintain that the terrorist auxiliaries of the regular troops began the attack; but this is of little importance; since the act of taking arms, and marching towards the convention, were sufficiently plain indications what were the sentiments of the sectionaries. While the citizens on the northern side of the river were engaged in close and terrible combat, those on the south were endeavouring to reach the convention by the quay of Voltaire, along which they sauntered carelessly, with that contempt of danger which characterizes the French people since the revolution, exposed to the conventional cannon, which was placed at

the ends of the bridge, and commanded the whole length of the column. The contest on this side was not long; for on the leader of this division attempting to force the passage, though he had not a single piece of artillery, and many of the assailants were not even furnished with cartridges, the commander of the post ordered a discharge to be made, which, passing over the heads of the main body, killed about half a dozen of the rear of the column, which stood on a rising ground; upon this the whole division dispersed. The battle near the convention was far more obstinate; the sectionaries repeatedly possessed themselves of the cannon, which were as often retaken; and when compelled to retire from the strength of the conventional forces in artillery, having none themselves, they returned again to the fight. After four hours contest, they were forced to retreat; the post of St. Roch was taken, after great slaughter, and the sectionaries fled to their headquarters in the section of Lepelletier. After an interruption of two hours, the cannon was heard again, and it only ceased firing at midnight, when the conventional troops had full possession of the field of battle, having driven the sectionaries from all their posts.

There has been no just estimation of the number that fell on this fatal day; the accounts vary from five hundred, to two thousand; but the most commonly received opinion is, that the number did not exceed eight hundred.

It has been pretended that the royalist party, taking advantage of the popular effervescence against the convention, had mingled themselves in the primary assemblies, directed their plans, and urged them on to this fatal contest. A confir-

mation

mation of this assertion was said to be found in the papers of a person of the name of Le Maitre, who was arrested immediately after the affair of Vendemiaire, and whose papers being seized, contained proofs of a criminal correspondence with what was called the committee of Basle, composed of emigrants, of whom he was the agent. Le Maitre was tried by a military commission, and executed. In his correspondence, which was published in a very imperfect and mutilated manner, some scattered expressions, such as "the sections resist,"—"they go on well, &c." were said to furnish complete evidence that the Parisians were in league with the royalists and emigrants abroad; and revolutionary language being the order of the day for a short time after the 13th of Vendemiaire, it was proclaimed in the style of the ancient committee of public safety, that the revolt of the sections was but a part of a vast web of conspiracy, which extended as far as the cabinet of St. James's, and of which while Mr. Pitt held one thread, the French government had happily seized the other. These assertions were chiefly made in the "Sentinelle" of Louvet, a daily paper paid by the government, and were re-echoed in other papers which sprung up at this period, written by Jacobins, and also paid by the government; such were "L'Ami des Loix," "Le Journal des Patriotes de 1789," which was the title the terrorists now assumed, &c. These reports, which were propagated with avidity, (and which are only such as are always circulated and believed in all party contests) gained no credit with those who had any opportunities of knowing what had passed in the primary assemblies, which, however mistaken they might be as to the

means to be employed, were apparently animated by no other sentiments than those of attachment to liberty and the republic. The resistance of the sections had arisen naturally from that resentment which the people of France could not but feel against a body of men who, after having shamefully sanctioned that dreadful tyranny which it was their peculiar duty to oppose at the risk of life, and sacrificed those whom they were chosen to protect, had now determined to retain the power of which they had proved themselves to be so unworthy, by laws which violated every principle of free representation. The sections were also prompted to resistance by another motive. They had felt the disgrace, and had been severely punished by the evil, which resulted from their abject submission to the Mountain faction on the 31st of May, 1793, when the whole city of Paris, under arms, sanctioned the conspiracy. Since the fall of Robespierre, the citizens of Paris had often and solemnly sworn to each other that they would be no more enslaved. When therefore they perceived the design of the convention to retain its power by an infringement of their rights, they determined upon what they considered to be a legal and honourable resistance. But it happened that their resistance in 1795 had nearly proved as fatal as their submission in 1793. The royalists abroad and at home, no doubt, hoped to take advantage of this commotion as they would of any other; but they had, we believe, no share whatever in directing it.

The sections, in their unequal contest with the convention, had, with fatal security, neglected all the ordinary means of success; there was no combination, no subordi-

nation, no commanders, and no unanimity; for although all the sections had joined in the most determined opposition to the laws of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, not above a fifth part took arms to maintain their opinions. It was not therefore surprizing that the sections were defeated, and that, although they fought with desperate valour, the regular troops, aided by artillery, prevailed. The principal error of the sections, and indeed what must be considered as the master-spring of this rash enterprise, was the persuasion that the troops would not be induced to shed the blood of the citizens; and because at the epocha of the revolution they had witnessed the defection of the military, they concluded, as the circumstances bore in their minds some similarity, that the same spirit of fraternity still existed.

The convention was suspended when the battle began, which was at four in the afternoon, but immediately formed themselves into a house, waiting in silence the event. The victory was announced to them at nine o'clock in the evening by Barras, whom they had appointed commander in chief, and who represented the enemy as composed of emigrants, nobles, the slaves of royalty, and chouans.

The citizens were compelled to surrender the remainder of their arms, as they had surrendered their cannon after the revolt of Prairial, (20th May); and military commissions were established to judge the insurgents. Two persons were executed, the rest having been condemned *par contumace*, which answers to outlawry.

Thus ended this disastrous day; the legal, honourable, and constitutional opposition which the citizens

were making to what they believed the arbitrary mandates of the convention, was now crushed; they had abandoned this high ground, and joined issue with their antagonists on that whereon they stood the strongest. No farther opposition was made, for every farther remonstrance would have been received as an act of rebellion; and as the chiefs had taken their flight, there were none who now felt themselves so bold as to encounter danger in a cause that had been so signally defeated. This insurrection was confined to Paris and its environs; for some of the neighbouring communes were disarmed as they were on their march to assist the sections. The convention now declared that the majority of votes in the departments were in favour of the laws of Fructidor. This had been vehemently denied by the Parisians; but as the event of the 13th of Vendemiaire (5th Oct.) put an end to all opposition, no further investigation was made of the subject.

The departments at least demonstrated with sufficient evidence who were the men who possessed their confidence, by the uniform election of the same members; so that some were chosen deputies by almost the whole of the departments, though they could take their seats only for one. This honourable and national distinction was conferred on Languinais, Le Sage, La-riviere, Boissy d'Anglas, Defermon, and some others; and in no mode could the country have expressed more strongly its sentiments with respect to the line of conduct which its representatives ought to pursue, and the class of men whom it wished to see placed as the principal guardians and executors of that republican constitution, of which it had so unanimously decreed the acceptance.

ance. Had the ensuing legislature consisted only of those named by the departments, the number would not have exceeded a tenth part; but as the convention had decreed, that in default of the election of the two thirds of that assembly by the departments, that is, of 500 of the actual members, this defect should be made up by their own nomination, the nation was compelled to submit to this conventional choice.

The almost unanimous testimony of the country in favour of those men, who, while they had shewn themselves the most ardent friends of liberty and the republic, had borne their evidence as strongly against the crimes and atrocities which had sullied the convention, excited the jealousy and hatred of others, for whom scarcely more than a solitary voice was given. The former were branded with the names of Chouans, Intriguers, and other degrading titles; and little was wanting to raise up another proscription; "for terror," to use the words of Thibeaudeau, "once more hovered over the national convention."

A commission, consisting of five members, was appointed to consult on what measures should be adopted to *save the country*,—which had long been a party term when any revolutionary plans were to be carried into execution. This commission to *save the country*, at the moment when the constitution was about to be put into action, excited the most general consternation. It was suspected by some that the intention of the party which was now predominant, was to lay aside the constitution, and employ what were called measures of energy, against the pretended enemies of the republic, and also to annul the election made

by the primary assemblies of the new third of the legislature, who, it was apprehended, might throw obstacles in the way of a farther revolutionary career. The convention at this period seemed ready to adopt any motion which the spirit of Jacobinism could dictate; but, happily for the cause of freedom, one member was found bold enough to stand in the breach. Thibeaudeau, in a vehement declamation, declared that he would perish rather than survive the new tyranny which was preparing for his country; he demanded that the commission, which he called a *har-chamber*, should be immediately broken, and that the constitution should be the law of the land on the day appointed by the people. This harangue, which was seconded with great energy by La Reveillere Lepaux, roused the convention from its dishonourable lethargy; the report of the commission for the permanence of the assembly was rejected; the commission itself was annulled, and, on the day appointed by the law, the president declared that the national convention was dissolved.

The convention terminated its sittings on the 27th of October. The last decrees were for the abolition of the punishment of death at the peace, and for granting a general amnesty. From the benefits of this amnesty were excepted persons concerned in the last conspiracy,—persons opposing the execution of the new constitution,—the forgers of assignats,—transported priests, and the emigrants.

Thus terminated the public proceedings of an assembly whose decrees and transactions were more important and extraordinary than those of any set of men upon record. "Where is there a Tacitus

(says a French writer) to convey to posterity the history of their glorious actions, and culpable excesses? This convention, composed of lawyers, physicians, and men of letters, with a daring hand signed the death-warrant of the successor of an hundred kings, and in one day broke the sceptre for which an existence of fourteen centuries had procured a religious veneration. These men, when their country was betrayed by Dumouriez, Valenciennes surrounded and taken by the combined armies of Europe, Toulon in the hands of the English, the king of Prussia under the walls of Landau, and ninety leagues extent in the west devoured by a hundred and fifty thousand Vendéans, published a decree which converted France into an armed nation; by their exertions fourteen hundred thousand men sprung up to repel their enemies; the king of Prussia was repulsed; the Austrians defeated; the English forces made to measure back the space of their former intrusions with agonizing steps; and the Gallic soldiers met with a kind reception in the dominions of the fugitive stadtholder, whose subjects had been forced into a calamitous war."

After the verification of their powers, the members of the legislature formed themselves into two councils, agreeably to the constitutional act,—the one called the council of ancients, composed of two hundred and fifty members above forty years of age; and the other, without this restriction, composed of five hundred persons, and taking the name of the council of five hundred. The first great task of the new senate was the election of the executive power, which was to be composed of five persons, who were to assume the title of the executive di-

rectory. This election gave rise to intrigues and designs of a curious and singular nature.

The conflict of the 5th of October had occasioned one of the strongest reactions which have occurred in the course of the French revolution. The mighty balance of that revolution has never yet been sustained by any just equipoise; sometimes royalism bears down the one scale, of which the sure consequence is, that of Jacobinism bearing down the other. No sooner had the republican party, after the fall of Robespierre, abolished all sanguinary measures,—no sooner did liberty, wearing a form of mildness and benignity, endeavour to heal the wounds of the republic,—than the royalist party took advantage of this change of circumstances as favourable to their designs. In conjunction with the priests, they often stimulated the passions of the patriots against their late oppressors; and sheltering their purposes beneath the mask of that just indignation which the horrors of revolutionary government had excited, hurried on the republicans sometimes to imprudent, and sometimes to criminal acts of resentment.

In the mean time the virtuous patriots of the convention, who had then the ascendancy, were guilty of some fatal errors. By ill-concerted measures with respect to the chiefs of the terrorist faction, they enabled them to create fresh disturbances; while from a sentiment of probity, they refused to coalesce with the party which had subverted Robespierre on the 27th of July. The chiefs of that party were Tallien, Freron, Legendre, and some others, who, conscious that Lanjuinais, Le-Sage, Boissy D'Anglas, Isnard, Rabeau, and others, who had suffered an honourable pro-

scription

scription at the period of revolutionary tyranny, and who were pure from its horrors, possessed all the public confidence, desired nothing so ardently as to have their errors and their faults forgiven, to throw a veil over the past, and to unite themselves to the *côté droit*. But their advances towards a coalition, which it would have been politic to receive, were rejected; and finding themselves thus repulsed, they eagerly seized the opportunity which the 5th of October presented, of wresting the reins of government from the hands of those who had disdained their alliance.

The great mass of the people who had resisted the convention on the 5th of October, were without doubt republicans, and had no other design than that of opposing laws which they considered as subversive of the real principles of liberty; and, had they obtained the victory, there is no reason whatever to conclude that they would have made any other use of it than that of calling together a body of national representatives, elected by the free and unbiassed choice of the people in their primary assemblies. But the party which prevailed after the 5th of October, bestowed no other epithet on the Parisians than that of *Chouans*; and all who had not been the warm adherents of the laws of the forced elections, were branded with the denomination of accomplices of what is now called the conspiracy of Vendemiaire. This outcry was raised against the very men who possessed the public confidence, and whom the public opinion would have placed at the helm of the new government. Those men were Lanjuinais, Le Sage, Boissy D'Anglas, and some others, who, it was known, had disapproved of the

forced election, although they had had the weakness not to oppose that law at the tribune of the convention.

Had they been called to fill the highest offices of the executive government, it was believed that the sections of Paris would have remained unpunished, and the terrorists unrewarded. During the last fortnight of the convention it became an arena where all the furious passions where unchained, and where the mountain party, which once more lifted up its head, urged on what was called the middle party of the convention (or the plain), to the most violent revolutionary measures.

Paris was now converted into a camp, filled with soldiers, and the people were threatened with a military government instead of the mild and equal laws of their new constitution. If the system of terror had not before existed, it would now have been established. But it was a machine the springs of which were worn out; it was "known by its signs;" and when the present adherents of that system exclaimed, "that the country must be saved by measures of energy; that there were conspirators within the walls of the convention" (by which conspirators were meant the most upright men of that assembly); when it was whispered, "that the constitution must, for the present, be laid aside, and the election of the people annulled;" every one recollected (for it was fresh in every memory) that in the same manner, and with such pretences, Robespierre had dragged the party of the Gironde to the scaffold, had locked up the constitution of 1793, and had erected his own execrable tyranny.

The suspicion and alarm which were awakened by the fatal experience of the past, joined to the ho-

nourable resistance of Thibeaudeau, baffled the designs of those who had sought to bow the people beneath the yoke of a second revolutionary government; and they no longer attempted to withhold the constitution. The present temper of the convention, however, entirely excluded from the highest offices of the state the men whom probably the voice of the people would have raised to those dignities. At the same time the prevailing party in the convention felt that to compose the whole executive directory of avowed terrorists, would excite such general indignation as it were well to avoid. A middle path was therefore chosen. A list was formed of men who were not indeed distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. The party of what was called *les hors la loi* (the outlawed deputies in the time of Robespierre), who, a few weeks before, would have had the absolute choice of the executive power, could now only raise, by a sort of compromise with the convention, one of their own party to that station. This person was Reveillere-Lepaux; he was formerly a lawyer; when called to the legislature, he attached himself to the party of the Gironde, had the honour of sharing their proscription during the tyranny of Robespierre, and was obliged to conceal himself in order to preserve his life. Reveillere-Lepaux is a man of strict integrity, and also a man of letters; he has applied himself particularly to the study of botany, of which he possesses considerable knowledge. He was with difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to accept the office of director, which a weak state of health, as well as a taste for study and retirement, led him to decline.

At length, however, he yielded to the solicitations of those who felt that it was important to place at the head of affairs a person of his integrity; but it is said that, already wearied of his employment, and suffering in his health, he intends shortly to resign. Rewbell was born in the province of Alsace; and his profession was also that of a lawyer; he was one of the village attorneys of whom Mr. Burke makes mention, who composed the constituent assembly, where he performed his part with honour, and proved himself a friend to the liberties of his country. After the conquest of Holland by the French, Rewbell was sent with Sieyes, to conclude a treaty with that country. Rewbell has always belonged to what is called the middle party, and contributed, with great ardor to the fall of the Jacobins, after the 27th of July. He is a man of plain good sense, and is said to know well how to take advantage even of difficult circumstances.

Letourneur de la Manche was, before the revolution, an officer of engineers; he is not distinguished for talents, and was rather more attached to the mountain than the plain; but his conduct has been unfilled by any of the excesses of the Jacobin party. The Abbé Sieyes is well known as a man of letters, a philosopher, and the author of the Table of the Rights of Man, drawn up by the constituent assembly. How a man so celebrated, and so intimately connected with the *casé droit*, escaped persecution during the reign of Robespierre, was a matter of surprise to many; and he has been suspected of having purchased his peace with the tyrant by some unworthy compliances. By others Sieyes has been accused, on the contrary, of attachment to royalism; he

he had once a literary contest on that subject with Thomas Paine, and long since, in his Disquisitions on Government, declared that the edifice of the French constitution ought to terminate in a pyramid, or point; by which he meant regal power; an opinion that is now frequently cited by his adversaries. Sieyes is gloomy and unsocial in his disposition, and is said to have that circumspection which results not from timidity but from hypocrisy. Proud and imperious with the vanquished, he knows how to observe that sort of cautious conduct with the victorious party, which enables him to abandon them when another party arises. This forbearance costs him much, because he is naturally arrogant, and impatient of contradiction. He loves to involve his conduct in mystery. He has the art of ruling weaker minds and of making them act as he thinks proper, while he remains hid behind the storm which he himself has raised. Above all other things he values his safety and his life; and this was perhaps his motive for rejecting his nomination to the executive directory; but Sieyes, though he "does not play," it is well known, "o'erlooks the cards," and has the direction of what is called the middle party of the legislative body; but as he rather leans towards the mountain than the plain, he proposes, by means of those whom he directs, since he scarcely ever appears himself at the tribune, measures of severity rather than of clemency, and schemes of ambition rather than of moderation. Barras, formerly the viscount Barras, and in the military service, a person of a very ordinary capacity, and better fitted for a man of pleasure than a statesman, would certainly not have attained

the station he now enjoys, but for the peculiar circumstances of the moment. He had indeed distinguished himself, by leading on the forces of the convention against the municipality of Paris on the 27th of July, although, in the time of Robespierre, he was sufficiently renowned as a *terrorist*; he had also contributed to suppress the insurrection of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine on the 20th of May, and had been appointed by the convention commander in chief on the 13th of Vendemiaire, and subdued the sections of Paris.

Such were the men who were selected by the governing party at that period in the convention, to fill the office of the executive directory. To the names above mentioned there was indeed added that of Cambaceres, a man of some talents, but of more duplicity, and one of the chiefs of the middle party. The mode of election established by the constitution for the office of the directory was, that each member of the council of five hundred should write the names of fifty persons, and after a scrutiny, a list of those fifty who had obtained the majority of votes, should be proclaimed by the president, and sent to the council of ancients, who, from that list, were to chuse five persons for the office of the executive directory. The prevailing party in the council of five hundred, having agreed upon six persons whom they chose to appoint to the directory, had sufficient address to prevail with the great majority to inscribe on their respective lists, together with those six well-known names, forty-four others which had never till then been mentioned. Accordingly, the names of the most obscure persons, village-justices, farmers, and even

simple peasants, being placed with those of the six legislators, nothing was left to the council of ancients but an insulting mockery of choice, of which they felt the ignominy, but to which, in the present circumstances, they were compelled to submit; and Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, Sieyes, Barras, and Letourneur de la Manche, were elected members of the directory; Sieyes having resigned, the same farce was again acted, and the names of Carnot and Cambaceres were sent with a fresh list of persons unknown to the council of ancients. Carnot was chosen by a majority of a few votes; he was an officer of engineers before the revolution; he is a man of distinguished abilities, and, possessing great military knowledge, is peculiarly well qualified to direct the plans of the campaign. The name of Carnot is indeed sullied with the stain of having been placed with that of Robespierre and the other sanguinary names of the ancient committee of public safety, of which he was a member. But candour obliges us to remark that Carnot and Robert Lindet, who were both members of that execrable committee, were not considered as men of blood. It is well known that they took no part in the councils of Robespierre, but were constantly and uniformly employed in their respective departments, Lindet in regulating the affairs of subsistence, and Carnot in arranging the plans of those memorable campaigns, by which, to use the language of Barrere, he *organized victory*.

The palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power, and took the name of the directorial palace. A splendid costume was allotted to the members of the directory, in which,

soon after their instalment, they gave audience, and in which they are always obliged by the constitution to appear; the courts of their palace is filled with guards, and whenever they shew themselves to the public, they are surrounded by a degree of external pomp which the persons who framed the constitution believed would inspire that respect which pomp excites in the vulgar. They reasoned, however, amiss with regard to the people of France. In the various democratic lessons they have received, the trappings and appendages of high estate have so often been held up to their view as subjects of contempt and derision, that, could the magnificence of Lewis XIV. have been restored, it would have had little power to dazzle their imaginations. They were therefore far from being fascinated by long embroidered robes, worn by men whom they considered as their equals; and complained in no gentle tone, that the national money which was lavished to purchase those useless gaudy decorations, would have been better employed in alleviating the distresses to which the people were reduced by the evils of war, and still more by the mischievous abuses of revolutionary government.

The new constitution, which was issued amidst the thunder of the cannon of Vendemiaire, was severely menaced by the conflicting tempests which hung around its birth. The national convention, on the last day of its sitting, decreed (as we have already remarked) a general amnesty for all revolutionary proceedings, and that all persons detained in prison for such causes should be set at liberty; but with a formal exception for the conspirators of Vendemiaire, whose crimes were beyond the pale of conven-

conventional mercy. This decree, which was brought forward by the mountain party, was in vain opposed by some members who saw the danger with which it menaced the country; in vain, when the article of exception was read against the conspirators of Vendemiaire, Philippe Delleville added, "and the conspirators of Germinal and Prairial." He was interrupted by murmurs. "Feraud is dead," he exclaimed; the murmurs increased; the law passed, and the prisons poured fourth in multitudes those men who had so long spread desolation and despair throughout the republic. The first design of the terrorists, on their release from captivity, was the subversion of the constitution, and the return of revolutionary government. They held meetings at first in private apartments of different coffee-houses in the Palais Royal, but soon growing bolder in proportion as they believed their influence increased, they assembled in considerable numbers in an house situated close to the Pantheon, from which their meeting took the name of the society of the Pantheon. Here they brought forward the most incendiary motions, lamented the days of Robespierre, formed their plans of subverting the government, and renewed their correspondence with affiliated societies in the departments, which was arranged in such a manner as to elude the law prohibiting such affiliations. What increased the public alarm, was the choice made by the executive directory of its agents, — a choice which spread dismay and consternation amidst all those citizens who had any thing to lose, or who could not separate the love of the republic from the love of

virtue. The executive government had been formed by a mixture of force and cunning; the terrorists had contributed to the victory of Vendemiaire, and that victory against the pretended royalism of the sections had set aside those men who would otherwise have filled the highest offices of the government, and had placed the present directory in their seats. Afraid of nothing so much as the appearance of lenity towards what was called royalism, afraid also of those daring Jacobins to whom they owed some late obligations, the executive power filled almost every office at its disposal, with the chiefs or the creatures of the terrorist faction. The deputies of the national convention, who had been confined in the chateau of Ham since the insurrection of Prairial, the members of the revolutionary committees in Paris and in the departments, were all set at liberty, and placed in public stations under the auspices of the directory. The ministers alone were chosen in equal numbers from both parties. The nomination of the ministry was a source of no small mortification to Louvet, Chenier, Tallien, and some others, who considered themselves as having the best right to those places. But the public beheld *their* disappointment with pleasure. Louvet, who was once the object of public esteem on account of his political principles, and of sympathy on account of his proscription, had become an apostate to his party; and while his disordered imagination perceived every where around him phantoms of royalty, and hosts of emigrants, he became the champion of *terrorism*, and, as far as his influence extended, had promoted the return of that system

by which he had himself been forced into exile, and his friends dragged to the scaffold. Chenier, with some talents, but more arrogance,—an indifferent poet, but a worse legislator,—whose principles have always changed with the fashion of the day,—who had beheld in silence his virtuous and respectable brother condemned by the tribunal of Robespierre to suffer death,—who, after the fall of that tyrant, had covered himself with the ignominy of making a report to the convention on the virtues of Marat, and proposing his being placed in the Pantheon,—who afterwards paid his assiduous court to the *côté droit*, and at the epocha of the 5th of October, joined the terrorists;—Chenier is at once hated and despised, and is only considered as one of those brawlers of the tribune, who, in times of confusion, acquire an influence to which they have no claim from their personal merit.

Tallien had indeed served the republic when with signal courage he accused Robespierre face to face in the memorable sitting of the 27th of July; but Tallien was not free from the stains of the 2d of September, at which period he was a member of the municipality of Paris; and although he endeavoured to expiate the past by joining the moderate party after the fall of Robespierre, he again made his peace with the terrorists at the epocha of Vendémiaire; and he it was, who being a member of that commission of five, which Thibeaudeau justly called a star-chamber, had dared to accuse the most respectable men in the convention, at the tribune, and was only prevented by the honourable interposition of Thibeaudeau, from attempt-

ing to lay aside this constitution, as his party had done the last, and establishing military, instead of revolutionary government.

The excuse alleged by the friends of the directory for the choice it had made of terrorists for its agents, was, that nothing less could prevent the royalists from lifting up their heads. The circumstances of the moment, it was said, called for ardent spirits, and rapid measures,—for agents whom it was necessary not to push forwards, but to hold back,—and of whom all that was to fear was their exaggeration. It was added that no danger could arise from placing the Jacobins in office, who were so universally execrated, that if ever they attempted to go too far, or renew their own system, the whole republic would assist the directory in their overthrow. This mode, however, of maintaining the equipoise of government by arming one class of men against another, was generally reprehended.

In the mean time the Jacobin meetings augmented, and the places of public resort were filled with spies of Merlin de Douay, the Jacobin minister of the police, many of whom were dressed in military uniforms, and, armed with long sabres, insulted the unarmed citizens. The young men of Paris had, before the 5th of October, worn very generally green silk cravats, and their hair fastened up by a comb. These fashions were now declared to be the signals of rebellion; and every person by whom they were worn, was subject to be arrested. In the mean time the directory sent a proclamation to every theatre of Paris, which was read, to the audience, forbidding the favourite popular air of the "*Reveil du Peuple*,"

ple," which, since the fall of Robespierre, had been sung with fond enthusiasm throughout the republic, to be performed at any of the spectacles. This air had been often repeated by the youth of Paris, and the sections, during the contest previous to the 13th of Vendémiaire; and it was now therefore called a royalist song, although it contained not one sentiment that was not republican,—and also a murderous song, because it breathed the feelings of just indignation against the men of blood. At the same time the directory ordered that the "Hymn of the Marseillois," the "Chant du Départ," and the air of "Plutôt la mort que l'esclavage," should be sung every evening, at every theatre of Paris. These airs had once been the delight of the people; but having been in some sort polluted by the terrorists, who continually repeated them at their execrable orgies, they were no longer heard with the same pleasure; and before the affair of Vendémiaire, whenever the Jacobin party sung the Marseillois hymn, the sectionaries answered by the *Reveil du Peuple*. The Jacobins asserted, that it was only counter-revolutionists who did not delight in those airs which had led the armies of the republic to victory. The sectionaries replied, that were they on the frontiers, they would gladly join the armies in repeating those triumphant carols which were immortalized by their glorious exploits; but the terrorists having so often sung those airs with inhuman merriment at the foot of the scaffold where innocence was sacrificed, no real lover of his country would join with *them* in the song. After the 5th of October, however, all contention on this point (and

a song is a point of no light importance in French politics) had ceased; the sections being reduced to silent submission; and since that day no voice had dared to utter the "*Reveil du Peuple*." It was therefore with no common indignation that the people heard the proclamation of the directory, prohibiting this air, and ordering those above mentioned to be performed. The people took the only mode which was left them of expressing their resentment. At those parts of the Marseillois hymn which were never heard without the loudest applause, they preserved the most profound silence; and at those parts where "tyrants were told to tremble, &c." their applause was unbounded. The directory, a few weeks after, recalled the proclamation, finding that they could as little force the Parisians to applaud, as the late king of Prussia could force Mademoiselle Auguste to sing.

The most serious mischiefs which arose from the choice the directory had made of its agents, were in the departments, where terrorists were sent forth with the title of commissaries of the executive power, and imitating in their conduct, as far as they dared, the proconsuls of Robespierre, occasioned the most alarming troubles. At the head of this band was Freron, once a Jacobin deputy of the convention, who had had his full share in the system of tyranny; but who, after the execution of Robespierre, appeared to be sincere in his recantation of his past principles. In a popular paper which he then published daily, entitled *l'Orateur du Peuple*, he called upon the youth of Paris to arm themselves against the terrorists; which they did accordingly, and were in consequence called *la*

Journée

Jeunesse de Freron; and he was also among the first accusers of Barrere, and of the ancient committees of government. Freron, however, after the contest of Vendemiaire, made the *amende honorable* to his former associates. The very day after the battle he set off for the south with a considerable suite, as commissary of the committee of public safety. He entered Marseilles, Toulon, Aix, and other places of the south, escorted by a body-guard, displaced the administrators elected by the people, released the terrorists, whom he put into office in the very places, where, on account of their former crimes, they were the objects of general execration,—and by this conduct inflamed the ardent passions of the people of the south almost to madness, opened the wounds which were nearly healed, and produced universal disorder, consternation, and despair. In the mean time Reverchon, another commissary of the executive power, at Lyons, spread terror and desolation once more through that unfortunate city. A number of its principal manufacturers emigrated; its commerce, which was beginning to revive, received a new shock, and the city, which was arising from amidst its ruins, would have become again a desert if Reverchon had not been recalled.

Freron also was at length ordered to return to Paris, after having received a reproof from the directory for having exceeded the limits of his commission. A conciliatory address was sent by the directory to the departments of the south, which are now recovering from the agitation occasioned before the 13th of October by the intrigues of the royalists and the fanatical priests, and the far greater disorders which

have arisen since that period from the daring efforts of the terrorists.

With the greatest satisfaction the real lovers of liberty at length perceived, that, whatever were the motives which had induced the directory, upon its first installation, to fill the public offices with men altogether unworthy of national confidence, it was not its intention to suffer the Jacobins to triumph. By an order of the directory, the assemblies of the Pantheon were prohibited, the place was shut up, and this measure, which excited confidence and hope in every good citizen, was applauded by all but the Jacobins.

Since the 5th of October a numerous meeting of deputies of the convention had been held every evening at the former hotel de Noailles. This meeting is composed of what we have called the middle party of the convention, which, after the events of Vendemiaire, had in some sort joined the terrorists, whom they had liberated from prison. Louvet, Chenier, Legendre, Tallien, &c. are of this meeting, of which the great director is Sieyes. Here the members of this party arrange the motions they are to bring forward, and the parts they are to act in the two councils. Neither the party of Lanjuinais, Boissy-d'Anglas, &c. nor any of the new third of the convention, are of this meeting, the members of which attempted, after the 5th of October, to introduce a system of severity, if not of terror, and proposed many revolutionary measures which they pretended to justify by circumstances, while the party of the *côté droit*, and the new third, who have the same principles, insist upon undeviating adherence to the code of the constitution. These last are the men
who,

who, we understand, possess the public confidence, and esteem. Among the new third are several men of distinguished talents as well as integrity, and on whom the hopes of the country repose; such are Lemerer, Cortallis, Dumolard, Tronçon de Coudrai, Jourdain, Pastoret, Dupont de Nemours, and others. Lemerer particularly distinguished himself by a very fine speech on the liberty of the press, which Louvet and Chenier had endeavoured to restrain, from motives, as it is said, of personal resentment against critics who had reprobated Louvet's licentious romances, and laughed at Chenier's poems. The question was carried in favour of the liberty of the press; which was a fresh triumph to the friends of the republic.

A considerable jealousy of the new third exists among the conventional members, with the exception of the *côté droit*, with whom they are united. A consciousness is felt, that the new third are the real and chosen representatives of the people, while to the election of the two-thirds they were compelled to submit by force. The great revolutionists of the councils therefore take their revenge by qualifying the new third, who they say were elected by the conspirators of Vendémiaire, with the titles of *chouans* and royalists. The new third, however, are firm republicans, and the steadfast guardians of the principles of the constitution; and their watchful opposition to all violent measures produces the best effects.

Already the council of elders has been found, on several occasions, a most salutary check upon the council of five hundred, which is composed of much more revolutionary materials. Whenever the latter

wander from the line of the constitution, they are brought back to its limits, by finding their decree rejected by the other council. One instance of this was a decree which passed in the council of five hundred to oblige the parents of emigrants to divide, during their life, their property with the nation,—which ought not to be divided till their death. When this decree was sent to the council of elders, Lanjuinais, in a discourse at once pathetic and sublime, displayed its injustice and immorality; and the decree was rejected.

The tribunes of the people, which had such fatal influence in the sittings of the convention, are no longer suffered to interrupt the deliberations of the senate by their clamorous interference in its debates. Applauses and murmurs are alike prohibited; and the galleries for the people are expressly arranged so as to admit no more than two hundred and fifty spectators.

The conduct of the directory was now calculated to relieve the public mind from the apprehension of Jacobin dominion. It became evidently the determination of the government to adhere firmly to the constitution, and awe every faction into submission. Whenever just complaints were brought forward of the agents of the administration, they were dismissed; the career of justice began, and every good citizen rallied around a government which, after all the terrible tempests of the revolution, promised him tranquillity, protection, and safety.

Though the prejudices in favour of the late established religion be pretty generally destroyed, yet there remains a remnant of the faithful who have not yet bowed the knee to the late reformation, or rather annihili-

annihilation, of all kind of religious belief. The scattered catholics, who remain true to the church, like the first christians after persecution, crept out of their holes and hiding-places, and mistaking the momentary dispersion of the clouds for eternal sunshine, began to hail the restoration of their accustomed worship. While they continued to rest satisfied with the celebration of their rites in their respective congregations, the government left them to the full enjoyment of their religious liberty; but when they began to form synods, and talk of reconciliation with the holy father, there was no possibility of permitting correspondence with a foreign power, and that one of their most ghostly enemies. Accordingly the synod has been postponed, and the catholic worship in independent congregations is authorized as before.

The executive directory, soon after its instalment, published a proclamation by which it declared that being convinced that the happiness of the French people was inseparable from the perfection of arts and sciences, and the increase of human knowledge,—and desiring to manifest in a solemn manner to all France, and to all civilized nations, its firm resolution to concur, as far as its power extended, to the progress and encouragement of science,—it had founded a national institution, composed of one hundred and forty-four members, whom it had appointed, and ordered their installation to take place in the hall of the former academy of sciences, in the palace of the national museum, formerly the Louvre. Among the members are found the names of La Place, La Lande, Bertholet, Fourcroy, Volney, Raynal, Marmonet, Bitauby, Pastoret, &c.—This proclamation of the directory,

which the legislative body had sanctioned by a decree, directed further that the national academy should hold four public meetings in a year.

The plan of public instruction announced in our abstract of the constitution is also established. It consists of what are called primary schools, central schools, and special schools. A primary school is erected in each canton, where a master is appointed for the boys, and a mistress for the girls, and where they are to remain till twelve years of age. At those schools are taught reading, writing, and the first elements of arithmetic.

One central school is established in each department, with nine professors, who will teach drawing, ancient languages, history and belles lettres, natural history, mathematics, experimental philosophy, general grammar, and legislation. The professors are chosen by a jury appointed by the department, and have the same revenue as the administrators of the department, upon which they may retire after twenty-five years of service. Each central school has a library and librarian, a cabinet of natural history, an apparatus of experimental philosophy, and a botanical garden.—Five or perhaps ten special schools will be established in France for the higher sciences, such as astronomy, &c. and for those arts which require a particular education for the public service, such as medicine and surgery. There will also be a special school for the oriental languages. Education in all the above-mentioned establishments will be at the public expence, and every individual has a right to send his child, who, however, will only receive his education gratuitously, and must be maintained by his parents.

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The conferences of the national institution will mark and accelerate the progress of arts and sciences; but it has no authority whatever over the schools.

CHAP. X.

Renewal of Hostilities in La Vendée. Correspondence of the Royalists with the Allied Powers. Cormartin and other Chiefs arrested. Preparations in England for a Descent on the Coast of France. Absurdity of this Project. Singular Arrangements for the Expedition. Extraordinary nature of the Command. Unprecedented Expence connected with singular Negligence. Troops for the Expedition unprovided even with Tents. English Fleet conducted into Quiberon Bay. Emigrants land at Carnac. Profuse Distribution of the Stores. Cowardice of the Chouans. Port of Quiberon attacked and taken. Emigrants remove within the Peninsula of Quiberon. Chouans driven by a very small force from all the Out-posts. Sortie from the Fort. Second Sortie. Stratagem of the Republicans. Great Desertions. The Fort surprised and taken. Sombreuil and other Emigrants condemned and executed. Charette's Proclamation. A second Descent attempted on the Coast of France. L'Isle Dieu taken. Evacuated. Campaign in Germany. Surrender of Luxemburg. Siege of Mentz. French pass the Rhine. Take possession of Mannheim. Reverse of Fortune. Blockade of Mentz raised. French defeated near Mentz. Mannheim retaken. Armistice on the Rhine. Causes of the French Disasters. West-Indies. Reduction of Tiburon by the French. Of St. Eustatius. Ambitious Projects of the French in the West Indies. Insurrection in St. Lucia. In Grenada. In Dominica. In St. Vincent's. Fire at Montego Bay, in Jamaica. War with the Maroons in that Island. Cape of Good Hope taken by the British. Mediterranean Convoy intercepted by the French, &c. Reflections on the Present State of Europe.

THE uniform ill success which has attended the plans and undertakings of the British minister during the course of the present war, has been a matter of general surprise. Without claiming for the talents of Mr. Pitt that exalted rank which had been fondly assigned to them by his impassioned admirers,—even his most virulent opponents must admit that he is possessed of eloquence; and candour must allow that his preceding conduct had afforded no instance to warrant any conclusion so unfavourable to his talents, as has been latterly drawn. The resources of Britain are great; her navy irresistible. To what then must we

attribute these unprecedented failures? to what, a succession of miscarriages, which must have a cause of more extensive operation than the mere casualty of war? We conceive that a little attention to the conduct and events of the war will enable us to explain this perplexing problem, and to assign the true reason for that series of disappointment and defeat, which has hitherto marked all the late efforts of the British government. The present ministry of Britain have trusted too much to accident,—have built too much upon contingency, for the accomplishment of their views. This, indeed, forms the great distinction between the really wise man, and him

him who is wise in his own conceit,—between the man of solid abilities, and the splendid, but shallow enthusiast.—The one thinks; the other dreams. The one consults his judgment, the other his imagination. The one calculates accurately his means, he lays his plans on the solid ground of fact; the other pursues some gaudy phantom which his fancy presents to his view. The one acquaints himself with every circumstance, examines every particular in detail; he knows on what victory depends, and where to expect defeat; the other trusts to some lucky chance, to some splendid turn of fortune, of which he flatters himself he is the undoubted heir.

These observations were never more strongly verified than in the events which we have now to relate.

However sincere the reconciliation with the royalists in La Vendée might appear to some, there were others who regarded it as extremely insecure,—as a perfidious truce, acceded to through necessity by the Chouan leaders, and complied with only till they could find a fair opportunity for recruiting their wasted strength, and for recovering their lost authority. Those who were upon the spot, the commanders of the French armies in La Vendée, in particular, were, it is affirmed, constantly dubious of the intentions of these pretended republicans, and watchful of their motions. It is, however, in our opinion, still a question, whether the submission of the royalists was not sincere in the first instance; and it is suspected, by intelligent persons, that they entertained no intentions of revolt, till they were stimulated by the intrigues of the emigrants, aided by the money and promises of one of the allied powers. The

expectation of a powerful descent on the French coast, to be made by a vast army, under experienced generals, and covered by an invincible fleet, fatally deluded, it is said, these devoted victims of foreign ambition; and induced them once more to resume their arms in favour of a cause which they had before prudently abandoned as lost.

It is not easy to conjecture what were the advantages with which a *statesman* could flatter himself from such a project. The scene of action was limited; the Chouans had hitherto maintained their ground, merely by their peculiar habits and modes of fighting; and if the whole concentrated force of the allies could make no impression on France, it was scarcely consistent with sound judgment, to expect that it could effect much in a divided state. If to create a diversion only, and to draw off a part of the French forces from the German frontier, was the object, this was certainly effected more completely, and with less loss, by the desultory mode of warfare which the Chouans pursued, than by incorporating them with a regular force, with whom they must inevitably fall, without the smallest chance of rallying again.

The submission of the Chouans was not completed at the latter end of March, when a strong body of royalists took possession of the town of Tremont, notwithstanding the resistance of the inhabitants. From this station they were expelled by general Beauregard, but not without the loss of eight republicans killed and wounded. It was asserted that these men were not connected with the leaders who had signed the treaty: but the truth is, that, as they immediately escaped into the woods of Jumaux, it is impossible to determine to whom they belonged, or
what

what were their views. In the succeeding month, however, affairs again wore a pacific appearance in the rebellious departments, and several chiefs, who had not before laid down their arms, submitted; and the union seemed so completely cemented, that, according to the report of Ruelle to the convention, on the 13th of May, the chiefs of the Chouans had delivered up to the republicans near a million of *forged assignats*, which, they said, had proceeded from a British squadron which hovered over the coast of Britany.

In the mean time the Chouan chiefs, and other royalists in La Vendée, were engaged in a secret, but close correspondence with certain emigrants in England, and, through them, with the British ministry. The vigilance of the deputies on mission in that department, in the month of May, detected this correspondence; and Cormartin and six other chiefs were arrested on the evidence of certain intercepted letters. About the latter end of the same month, the Chouans began to embody in considerable force, and Grand Champ was blockaded on the 27th by one thousand two hundred of the insurgents. On the following day, at four in the morning, however, the deputy Buc, with a large body of republicans, came up with the rebel army, which consisted of about six thousand, encamped in the old castle of Reite, and before Grand Champ. The chiefs were surprised in their beds, and the Chouans were completely defeated and dispersed.

While the royalists were forming arrangements in the interior of France for the reception of their foreign allies, preparations were made in England, for an invasion

on the coast of Britany; but the impatient enthusiasm of the ministers entirely destroyed every prospect of success. We do not mean to insinuate that the expedition, even if well conducted, could have ultimately produced any serious advantage to the allies; it might have changed, for a while, the theatre of war, but could not have effected the conquest of France. If, however, a descent had been made by a powerful force, supported by a marine which had the command of the sea,—if this descent had been made in a favourable position, it might for a season, have embarrassed the republic; and in the event of the enemy's forces becoming too numerous to afford any favourable prospect from a continuance of the contest, the defeated army might have been reembarked without an incalculable loss of stores, and, what is infinitely more shocking, the immense profusion of blood which flowed in this ill-planned expedition. As it was, perhaps the records of history do not contain a parallel instance of folly,—we had almost said, insanity.—Perhaps there is not an instance on record, of an advanced guard of only four thousand men being sent into an enemy's country, in the face of a force at least ten times that amount, while it is well known the covering army could not follow them for two months at least. We have heard the apologists for the minister allege that his design, in this instance, was entirely mistaken,—that he considered the wretched emigrants as an intolerable burthen upon this country, and sent them, not in the hope of success, but on purpose that they might be sacrificed. Waving, for the present, the *humanity* of the case, such an apology would be no great compliment to the *financial* talents

of the minister, since these unfortunate men might have been well maintained and provided for, at one quarter the expence of this absurd undertaking. This apology then is not well-founded; and the motive of the expedition is to be sought for in a cause which we have already intimated,—the unbounded confidence of these mock statesmen, in the chapter of accidents.

The secondary arrangements entirely corresponded with the profound wisdom of the design. A principal, and (as it afterwards appeared) the principal in the command was a M. Puifaye, a man who had been a revolutionist, who had actually been employed in the military service by the Gironde party, and whose courage, as well as integrity, stands impeached by Louvet. With this man, was united in the command, the count D'Hervilly, a royalist, of an unimpeached character, and of some military reputation. But the nature of the respective powers of these two commanders is altogether unprecedented in military history, and can only remind us of some of the May-games of children, where, at certain periods, the parties are to change characters. By the express appointment of the British ministry, M. D'Hervilly was to command till they reached the French coast, and even to determine the point where the descent was to be made; but as soon as the troops were disembarked, he was then to be subject to the orders of M. Puifaye, who, as soon as his feet touched the French soil, was, by a kind of magical operation, to start up commander in chief. The subject is indeed too serious to be treated with levity: but the arrangements were so truly absurd, that they have

inevitably become the theme of ridicule with every military man in Europe.

M. D'Hervilly did not, it appears, solicit to be employed in this service, but was sent for expressly by the British ministers, as well as a young man of uncommon merit, the count de Sombreuil, who was sent afterwards with a small reinforcement to Quiberon. This unfortunate young man was, at that crisis, on the point of marriage with an amiable woman, to whom he had been long attached, but was persuaded to sacrifice his inclinations and his conviction (as it does not appear that he ever approved of the expedition) to a point of honour, and the solicitations of the British ministers.

Though the expence of the expedition was enormous, yet such was the confused manner in which it was conducted, that four thousand men were embarked without tents, without any implements whatever for forming an encampment. The transports which conveyed the emigrants were convoyed by two ships of the line, of seventy-four guns, and six frigates, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, and sailed about the beginning of June. M. D'Hervilly, who had little previous knowledge of M. Puifaye, during the voyage endeavoured to acquaint himself with his sentiments and projects; but was overwhelmed with surprize to find that this chosen and confidential commander of the expedition had no certain information concerning the dispositions of the people of Britany, nor any fixed idea, even concerning the part in which an impression might be made. He therefore determined in his own mind upon two points in the Bay of Quiberon, these

those of Crac and Carnac; but various incidents delayed their landing. After they had been sixteen days at sea, the fleet anchored between the Isle Dieu, and that of Noirmoutier. The army of Charette was then very near; but to disembark here, was neither consistent with the plan which had been traced out by the British ministers, nor with the views of M. Puissaye, who must then have played only a secondary part to Charette.

On the 25th of June the fleet was conducted by a pilot boat, which carried a white flag, into the bay of Quiberon. M. D'Hervilly went on shore by himself, and had some conference with the inhabitants of the village of Carnac: but the appearances of support and success were so little flattering that he determined that it would not be for the advantage of the service to make the descent in this place. In this opinion, however, he was over-ruled by the pressing solicitations of Sir J. B. Warren and M. Puissaye, both of whom urged that if circumstances should appear contrary to their expectations, the troops might be re-embarked. On the evening of the 26th, the commodore gave orders for manning all the boats; the soldiers, to the amount of two thousand five hundred, passed the whole night in the open boats, ready for action, and, at break of day on the 27th, made good their landing near the village of Carnac. About two hundred republicans, on their first appearance, made a shew of resistance; and it was justly suspected that this must have been only the advanced guard of a much larger force, as it was evident that two hundred men only could not be in safety if the country was, what it was represented, entirely in the hands of the Chouans. But it

would be extraordinary if any of the agents of the British ministry had been capable of reasoning accurately upon such matters.

The republicans were easily routed, and fled towards Aurai. An apparent joy was diffused through the whole of the inhabitants of Carnac and the adjacent country. Large bodies of men habited like peasants came from different parts to see the army, and pretending to partake in the general triumph. To these the most profuse distribution was made of arms and necessaries, and this without any certificate of loyalty, without any distinction of age, or even of sex, for musquets were distributed to the women! In this way more than twenty-eight thousand musquets were given, or rather thrown away, and other stores and necessaries to an incredible amount.

The emigrant army was soon after distributed into different cantonments along the shore; and they continued there from the 27th of June to the 2d of July without making any movement whatever. Some of the Chouans were employed on reconnoitring parties; but they soon evinced how little dependance could be placed upon them; for a corps of between two and three thousand no sooner saw a body of three hundred republicans advancing upon them, than they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight. Another considerable body of these invincible royalists had taken possession of Aurai, which was abandoned by the republicans; but upon the sight of a few patriots and two pieces of cannon, they precipitately evacuated the post without firing a single shot.

These events convinced Mons. D'Hervilly that it was in vain to

attempt to penetrate the country with their feeble party. He had continual disputes on this topic with M. Puisfaye, who is described as being utterly unacquainted with military affairs. It was at length determined to attack the fort of Quiberon, which was surrendered to a detachment under M. D'Hervey on the 3d of July. The republican garrison consisted only of about five or six hundred men.

It was now determined in council of war to remove the main army within the peninsula and fort of Quiberon, while M. Vauban, with some regular troops and Chouans should still occupy Carnac. It was also intended to restore order and discipline in this interval of rest. An emigrant officer, who has written an account of the expedition, complains greatly of the ignorance and neglect of the British commissaries (a complaint which seems to have been general), and observes, "that the most exaggerated imagination cannot conceive the disorder which reigned in this department," that is, relative to provisions and stores.

On the 3d and 4th of July, the Chouans who were posted in the villages between Landevan, Mindon, Aurai, and the army, were attacked by some of the advanced guards of the republicans, and their officers found it impossible to keep them to their posts; while the wretched inhabitants of Carnac and the adjacent parts were filled with consternation at the departure of the emigrant army. It was in vain they were assured that the Chouans and royalists would protect them; they knew their royalist countrymen too well to place much reliance on their prowess. It was indeed very soon evident that a mutual jealousy began to manifest

itself between the emigrants and the Chouans. The different habits of the two parties rendered it impossible they should coalesce; the emigrants were regular soldiers, and prided themselves upon their discipline and knowledge of military affairs; the Chouans were accustomed only to the desultory warfare of banditti; they neither had nor wanted the conveniences of regular encampments, nor the "pride, pomp, and quality" of war; they never fought but when they had all advantages on their side; they were easily dispersed, and as easily re-assembled.—The emigrants valued themselves on their rank and quality; the Chouans were simple peasants, who fought for their religion and their prejudices, but had little idea of giving place to the rank and superior accomplishments of their visitors.

The republicans, it appears, had the best information concerning all the movements of their opponents: and no sooner were the emigrants safe within the peninsula of Quiberon, than they attacked Carnac and all the other posts. A part of the emigrants saved themselves on board the boats of the English, and the rest were pursued under the cannon of the fort.

To repair this loss, a sally was concerted in the fort, which was attempted on the morning of the 7th; but the emigrants were repulsed with considerable loss.

From this period to the 15th, the republicans laboured incessantly in constructing the most formidable works on the heights of St. Barbe, and every considerate person in the emigrant army was convinced of the necessity of a retreat. But, instead of this, the most fatal measures were pursued, in compliance, as is supposed, with the insane instructions

structions which they had received from the British ministers. "Far from accomplishing," says the French officer whom we have already quoted, "the very object which was proposed on retiring within the peninsula, viz. the re-establishing order with respect to the stores and distributions, the confusion and disorder increased in a frightful progression. By the orders of M. Puissaye and sir J. B. Warren, the whole of the provisions on board the transports were disembarked; and these provisions, which were destined for the use of the army, were distributed among the hordes of useless Chouans who crowded the peninsula.

In this situation another sortie was projected. The emigrants, Chouans, and English, who were in the peninsula, amounted to upwards of 12,000, and 5000 were selected for this service. On the night of the 15th of July, this detachment marched to attack the entrenchments at St. Barbe. The republicans, however, it appears, were prepared for their reception. They had apparently entrenched themselves in three camps. The two first were carried by the emigrants with little resistance, and a considerable appearance of confusion was exhibited by the republican troops in their retreat. Flushed with victory, the unfortunate emigrants advanced to attack the third camp, when a masked battery of grape shot was opened upon them, and the most dreadful carnage ensued. The miserable fugitives threw down their arms, their knapsacks, and even threw away their shoes to facilitate their escape. If the fire from the British ships had not stopped the advance of the republican columns, it is thought that scarcely a man could have

escaped. In this disastrous affair, M. D'Hervilly was severely wounded. Among other circumstances, which contributed to the sad catastrophe which concluded this expedition, may be reckoned the base intrigues which, it is said, the emissaries of the English ministers made use of in procuring forces for the emigrant corps. Spies were sent to those prisons which contained thousands of Frenchmen, who, fighting for the liberty of their country, had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of their enemies. Of these, partly by bribes, partly by threats, and most of all by a desire to regain their liberty and visit their native soil, many were induced to enlist under the banners of despotism, consecrated by the bishop of Dol. At the hours of shutting up the prisons, those fixed upon were taught to loiter behind, otherwise the enraged republicans would probably have used violence against those about to become traitors to their cause: such men could not be well affected to the service; and the discomfited troops who returned on the 16th from the unfortunate sortie, brought back with them a considerable portion of discontent. Desertion became therefore exceedingly prevalent; a single regiment lost in this manner, between the 16th and the 20th, near 150 men; and the deserters, it may well be conceived, informed general Hoche, with sufficient accuracy, of the whole state of affairs within the fort. In the mean time M. Puissaye lived in a state of Asiatic luxury, such as he had probably witnessed in his communications with his employers; he lost entirely the confidence of his troops, whose only hopes were now fixed upon young Sombreuil. To this promising officer, however, no

mark of confidence was accorded either from M. Puisaye, or the English government; and the discontent of the emigrant soldiery was consequently increased.

The night of the 20th was in every respect calculated for deeds of horror. A dreadful storm blew from the west, accompanied with a deluge of rain. In this night, so adapted to the accomplishment of any daring project of surprize, the usual precautions were scarcely adopted within the fort. Guard was mounted by two regiments just arrived; these were reinforced by a party from that regiment which had been most notorious for discontent and desertion; and the whole of the men on guard were more occupied with seeking a shelter from the storm, than with the duties of the watch. Patrols had been observed in motion by some of the officers on guard; but they were dressed in red uniforms, and repeated accurately the watch-word of the night. The republicans, conducted in this manner by the deserters, who were perfectly acquainted with the whole state of the fort, passed along the low and level shore, and climbing over the rocks, reached without discovery the dungeon; for this post was unaccountably left without a single man mounted upon guard. The artillery men in the guard-house were asleep; and before they could fire the alarm guns, their matches were seized and extinguished, and the powder moistened and spoiled. The lanthorn which was to give the signal to the English ships, was prevented in the same manner from being elevated, so that they remained perfectly ignorant of what passed in the fort.

As soon as the alarm was given, the whole fort became a scene of

confusion. Moved partly by the promises of the republicans, partly by that enthusiastic love of country, which even philosophers feel though they may not always confess it, and partly by fear, considerable numbers of the emigrant soldiers grounded their arms, and cried *Vive la Republique*.

According to the letter of the count de Sombreuil to sir John Warren, M. de Puisaye "having ordered him (M. Sombreuil) to take a position, in which he was to wait his orders, took the singular precaution of hastening on board a ship which he secured for his retreat," and abandoned his followers to their fate. The regiments of D'Hervilly and of Dreñay abandoned or massacred their officers.—A considerable number however remained faithful, and did not surrender as prisoners till after a dreadful conflict. The emigrants, Chouans and English in the fort were upwards of 10,000, most of whom were either killed or taken prisoners. The republican force on the peninsula is stated at no more than 3000; and it is related that when the unfortunate Sombreuil, who was taken prisoner, was informed of this disparity of numbers, he clapped his hand to his forehead, and exclaimed "Ah! I suspected it." "The devoted emigrants (says the writer from whom this fact is extracted), conscious of the fate that awaited them, poured forth bitter imprecations of indignant anguish, not against those by whom they were vanquished, but against those by whom they were sent thither." Happy should we be to relate that from their victorious countrymen they had experienced that mercy which was deserved by many, and which it would have been magnanimous to have extended.

ed to all. But the excellent and meritorious Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, with his clergy who accompanied him, with most of the emigrant officers, were tried by a military tribunal, and were put to death. Most of the privates, the Chouans excepted, we have understood, escaped; and the republican troops behaved with much humanity towards the wounded and the prisoners. The articles taken exceeded the most sanguine expectation:—there were computed to be ten thousand stand of arms, one hundred and fifty thousand pair of shoes, and magazines and eloathing for an army of forty thousand men. Six ships that arrived the evening before the action, laden with rum, brandy, and provisions, fell also into the hands of the republicans.

A most absurd and disgraceful manifesto was published about this time by Charette, in which he attempted to apologize for his own perfidy, by charging the breach of the treaty on the convention, who had (he affirmed) agreed by a secret article to restore the ancient monarchy of France in the person of Louis XVII. and accusing them with having poisoned that prince in order to evade the execution of that engagement. Charette and Stofflet carried on for several months a desultory warfare, but were at length completely vanquished. But these are events which it will be our business to relate in a succeeding volume.

It will hardly be credited, after this miserable catastrophe, that the British ministry should still have meditated a second descent on the coast of Britany, in the hope of co-operating with the Chouans. The British fleet, with the transports and troops on board, was

kept hovering off the coast of Britany for the remainder of the year, in the hope of effecting some important service! In Quiberon Bay a council of war was held on the subject of an attack upon the island of Noirmoutier, which, our readers will recollect, had once been in the possession of the Vendéens. It is said that the naval commander in chief, sir J. B. Warren, was the only man in the council who thought the enterprize practicable. It was attacked, and the assailants repulsed after burning two or three houses and a windmill. It was defended by 15,000 men with 120 pieces of cannon.

In the mean time our adventurers took possession of the small island called L'isle Dieu, where they endeavoured to establish themselves. It however proved of no use but to afford grazing for the cavalry; and the severity of winter obliged them in the month of December to evacuate this miserable station, and with it to relinquish all the visionary prospects of ministers for making an effectual descent on the coast of France. In the course of the expedition Belleisle was summoned, but the summons was treated with contempt.

The fortress of Luxembourg, which had been in a state of blockade from the period in which the armies of France made themselves masters of the circumjacent country, surrendered on the 7th of June by capitulation. The garrison were allowed the honours of war, and were to be conducted to the right side of the Rhine, but under an oath not to serve against the republic till regularly exchanged. This fortress is one of the most ancient in Europe, and is justly

esteemed one of the strongest. The garrison consisted of 10,000 men, commanded by the celebrated marshal Bender. They appear not to have experienced a want of provisions or stores; but the hopelessness of succour, and the near approaches of the besiegers, seem to have determined the able general who commanded there to put a stop to the fruitless effusion of blood.

The surrender of Luxembourg put the French in possession of the whole country on the left of the Rhine, except Mentz, which had been fruitlessly besieged for several months; since the Austrians had the most easy means of defending it against almost any force, having an uninterrupted intercourse with the city from Cassel on the opposite banks, and the river being a complete barrier against the progress of the republican arms. The passage of the Rhine was the only measure which could put this important fortress into their hands: but the French armies had been too much exhausted by the efforts of the last campaign, to attempt making any other boundary to their victories than this river. While the Austrians remained however in undisturbed possession of the opposite side, it was impossible for the French to expect any success; they therefore determined, as soon as the troops were recruited, to attempt the passage, and by the conquest of the allied armies to force Mentz to surrender.

This enterprize was not undertaken till the month of August, by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under the command of Jourdan, when the passage of the river was effected at Dusseldorf. This town surrendered to the republican arms, the Austrians having retreated, and

joined another division which had taken a strong position on the Lahn, between the towns of Nassau and Diezbourg.

While the army of the Sambre and Meuse was pressing on the Austrian forces to the north of Mentz, the army of the Rhine and the Moselle effected the passage of the river opposite to Mannheim, of which city they immediately took possession. The acquisition of this place was of great importance to the French, as it cut off the communication between the right and left divisions of the Austrian army, or rendered it at least more incommodious and difficult. In consequence of the speedy surrender of this place which was necessary to the success of the French army, the capitulation was rendered favourable to the elector, whose fine city had been during some months under the cannon, as it were, of the republicans, who had obtained possession of the fort on the opposite side, as before related; by which means, they could have laid it in ashes whenever they pleased, though it must have been in violation of the treaty made at the surrender of that fortress.

The army commanded by Jourdan, after forcing the posts occupied by the Austrians on the Lahn, crossed the Mein, and the convention were informed that Mentz was completely invested. The Austrian army, though recovered from the fatigue and defeats of the last campaign, had yet so much the impression of terror on their minds, that the French had hitherto found no great obstacles to the achievement of the chief object of their wishes,—the investment of the fortress of Mentz. The Austrians were retiring spiritless and dejected, when an accident decided the fate

of this campaign in their favour. A division of the army under Pichegru had orders to take possession of a post in order to prevent the junction of Clairfait's army with Wurmsfer, who had been marching with a considerable force to the relief of Mannheim, supposing that he should arrive in sufficient time to prevent the surrender of that place to the French. The post was taken without much difficulty, for the Austrians retired on the approach of the assailants; but a part of the French cavalry having proceeded to pillage, the Austrians, who had hitherto acted on the defensive, advised by the peasantry of this disorder, returned to the charge, and surprized them. The infantry for some time stood the shock, but were at length obliged to give way; and the Austrians pursuing their first success, forced the whole of the division to fall back to Mannheim, and all the advantages of this expedition were totally lost.

Previous to this reverse, the French generals had discovered that the forces which they had under their command were not sufficient for all the great purposes they were to accomplish; since it was not only necessary to hold the Austrians in check, or continue to pursue them, but it required a very considerable force to carry on the siege of Mentz. The check given by the Austrians near Mannheim decided the French generals to abandon their pursuit. Jourdan also found his position no longer tenable. A division of the Austrian army, having violated the neutral territory between the Lahn and the Mein, had fallen on his rear, and taken a considerable part of his artillery. This violation of the neutral territory was

made not only in open defiance of existing treaties, but (it is said) with the knowledge and even by the advice of officers in the Prussian service. Prince Hohenloe had, at the commencement of the Prussian negotiation with France, endeavoured to prevent its further progress, by the surprize of Kaiserslautern, where the French lost three thousand men. But the Prussians making immediate reparation, the negotiations were renewed. This prince was at Frankfurt when the French passed the Rhine; and it is asserted that he encouraged the attack of Clairfait by the information he gave of the weakness and position of the French, who, not suspecting an attack from that quarter, had taken no care to guard against surprize. Jourdan raised the blockade of Mentz, and began his retreat. Clairfait having assembled the various detachments on the Neckar, pursued the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which had repassed the Mein, while Pichegru again crossed the Rhine at Mannheim to reinforce the army on the left, leaving a strong garrison in this place. The army under Jourdan, pursued by Clairfait, after various skirmishes, made good its retreat back to Dusseldorf, from whence it had first passed the Rhine; but the garrison of Mentz having been strongly reinforced, two divisions of the Austrian army crossed the river at different points, and attacked the remains of the French, who had been intrenched before that place, and who had, during so many months, wasted their strength in vain. The Austrians, after an obstinate resistance, drove them from all their posts, destroyed their works, and took possession of all the artillery,

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The Austrians having discontinued the pursuit of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, leaving sufficient forces on the Sieg, a river on the right side of the Rhine, which empties itself into that river opposite to Bonn, directed the greater part of their forces towards the Palatinate. They had gained possession of the country from Landau to the banks of the Moselle, when Jourdan assembling all the troops along the left side of the Rhine, and leaving a considerable force at Dusseldorf, advanced, and prevented the further progress of the Austrian arms in that quarter.

This terror spread as far as Luxembourg; the inhabitants of which place were ordered, as a measure of precaution, to provision themselves for twelve months; but the arrival of the French armies soon dispelled their fears, and checked the incursions of the Austrians. The town of Mannheim, where the French had left a very considerable garrison, was besieged with great vigour. This beautiful city, which the French had spared, fell a prey to the flames occasioned by the bombardment of the Austrian army, who thought the ruin of its fine edifices a just punishment of the elector for the readiness with which it had been delivered up to the French. Cut off from all expectation of success, as the Austrian army occupied the opposite bank, after the besiegers had completed their last parallel, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of eight thousand men.

The Palatinate now became the theatre of the war. The Austrians occupied all that part of the country which lies within the lines drawn from the Rhine through

Landau, to Deuxponts; and from thence to the country lying along the Moselle, as far as Treves. The French attacked with great impetuosity in order to regain their honour as well as the ground they had lost; but each step was vigorously disputed. They however succeeded so far as to reduce the boundary of the Austrian victories within narrower limits; and the campaign concluded by common consent of the hostile generals, who agreed to a suspension of arms for three months, which was ratified by the respective powers.

Thus finished a campaign, which in this quarter had been altogether unfortunate for the French. The army of Italy had continued for the most part on the defensive, having to contend with superior forces; and that of the Pyrenees, after peace was concluded with Spain, had been too much harassed to be employed immediately on any active distant service. The unfortunate issue of the expedition across the Rhine has been attributed to several causes; but it may be generally resolved into the relaxed and uncertain state of the French government at that period, and to the continued changes of the administration of the war department; since every member being elected monthly into this department of the committee of government, brought with him an opinion which very rarely coincided with that of the member who had vacated the office.

Had the French army, whilst in the height of victory, pursued its conquests when it drove the Austrians across the Rhine the preceding year, it is probable that the same success would have attended them, since they had so strong an ally in the terror which their

their arms had inspired. Or had this attempt been made in the early spring, after the reduction of Holland, when peace was concluded with Prussia, and before the Austrians had sufficient time to recruit their broken forces, it is likely that they could have made no effective resistance; and the only obstacle to the entire conquest of the left side of the Rhine would have been removed by the capture of the city of Mentz. But many causes contributed to the delay of the plan. The great revolutions which had taken place in Paris during the preceding summer, and the state of uncertainty in which the various parties floated, had too much diverted the attention of the government from the state of the armies, to domestic concerns.

Although the passage of the Rhine was the only mode of continuing the offensive operations of the war, and orders had been given for some months to put it into execution,—no preparation had been made till the season had half elapsed. The situation of the country was then such as rendered it a subject of great deliberation whether this important step should be undertaken at all; for at this period it was generally understood that the emigrants and the English were preparing to operate a powerful diversion by an invasion in Britany. The provinces in the west were excited to new hostilities in expectation of the arrival of these auxiliaries, so that the government was compelled to furnish new expedients to suppress the rebellion. The army of the north was weakened by drawing off twelve thousand men, and employing the provisions, artillery and horses destined for the army of the

Rhine, on this expedition, which was still more pressing.

The committees of government having no precise information of the number of the forces under convoy of the English fleet, had magnified it to the extent of their fears; and the spirit of the Chouannerie having risen to an alarming height on the occasion, it was judged most advisable to wait the event of this descent before the expedition on the Rhine should be attempted. In the mean time, Pichegru and Jourdan, the generals commanding in that quarter, were desired by the committee to answer a series of questions which were sent them, in order to determine the government what measures it ought to pursue in an enterprise of such importance, and which was likely to decide the fate of the war, and hasten the return of peace.

The question was also agitated whether the respectable situation in which the republic then stood, was not the period for the opening of a negotiation for a general peace. Holland was immediately under the influence of the republic: the Belgic provinces were about to be united to it: all the country on the left of the Rhine except Mentz, was in possession of the French: they had succeeded in detaching Prussia from the coalition, and were about to compel Spain to abandon it; their armies were every where victorious, and there was no possibility, holding their present stations, that they should meet with any reverse. The destruction of the emigrant army at Quiberon decided the question; all the difficulties were removed; but the delay had given time for the Austrians to make their preparations, which the French found, when too late,

late, they had improvidently omitted. The expedition of the English to Quiberon, which was so fatal to the emigrants, and so unfavourable to the allied powers, operated, as the event proved, as a powerful diversion of the French forces. But as the breaking up of the rebellion in the western provinces was a point more essential to the welfare of the republic, than the capture of Mentz, the only consolation the combined powers could derive from this signal defeat of their cause and that of the emigrants, was the great probability, that the measures which were taken to effect it, drew off the attention of the French government from the progress of the northern armies, and prevented the capture of Mentz, and the expulsion of the Austrians from the right, as well as the left side of the Rhine.

It has been justly a matter of surprize, that, considering the eminent advantages possessed by Great Britain, and considering the depressed and divided state of France, during the greater part of the war, the acquisitions of the former in the West-Indies have not been more extensive, and her triumphs more splendid. Great Britain engaged in the contest, not single handed with a rival nation, but seconded by all the powers of Europe; France has had in combination against her the five most powerful monarchies in the world,—the whole empire of Germany, the states of Italy, the Dutch republic, principalities and powers too numerous to detail, and the reputed force of which is almost beyond calculation. Great Britain, at the commencement of the war, possessed an invincible navy; France, soon after its commencement, saw the remains of her navy delivered by treachery into

the enemy's hands, and burned, and destroyed. The finances of Great Britain (if we may credit the representations of ministers) have been uniformly in the most flourishing state; those of France, "not on the verge, but in the gulph of bankruptcy." The foreign possessions of England have also been in a state of quiet and prosperity; the colonies of France, distracted by dissension, and wasted by all the horrors of civil war. Much might therefore have been expected from the exertions of Britain in that quarter; and but little has been effected.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the political speculatist is equally disappointed in the effects which might naturally be expected from the extraordinary measures adopted by the French, with respect to those colonies. The decree for the emancipation of the negroes, it might have been supposed, would have operated at once the most stupendous effects. However mankind may differ in their opinions respecting civil or political slavery, domestic slavery carries with it something revolting to every mind. The wretches who languished under the lash, and spun out a miserable existence under every form of oppression,—who laboured that others might rest, and sowed only that others might reap,—these, at least, might have been expected to join, without hesitation, the standard which proclaimed their personal independence; and, without adverting to political institutions, might be supposed ready to risk that existence which must be miserable, in the hope of regaining that, which to every generous mind, must be the only cordial of existence. In this respect, however, expectation is equally disappointed.

pointed. Matters have chiefly proceeded in their usual train; and neither has that success ensued, which, without some violent reaction, might have been looked for from the natural strength of Britain; nor has that reaction, which appeared so obvious and probable, as yet taken place.

We concluded our last review of affairs in the West-Indies with the reduction of the island of Guadeloupe by the republican forces, under Victor Hugues. Fort Matilda, however, resisted till the 10th of December, 1794; when, the French having received a reinforcement of three thousand men, it was judged prudent entirely to evacuate the fort and island. The British troops were brought away, with the loss of sixteen killed and seventy-five wounded.

On the 25th of the same month, (December) the fort of Tiburon, in St. Domingo, was attacked by three armed vessels from Aux Cayes. Having landed their artillery, they mounted one eighteen pounder, one of nine, two pieces of four, and one of two, and commenced a brisk cannonade, with the usual skill and dexterity of the French engineers. The King George, armed vessel, was blown up by the fire from the French battery; the guns on the lower battery of the fort were dismounted and silenced. The efforts of the French were then all directed to the fort itself, which, after a severe contest, was evacuated by the British forces on the 29th. The loss of the garrison, in killed and wounded, was considerable.

The situation of the Dutch island St. Eustatius, as well as the quantity of naval stores which was known to be deposited there, rendered it an object of considerable moment to each of the principal

parties in this naval war; and as Great Britain had decisively the dominion of the sea, it might have been expected that an early effort would have been made to secure the possession of it. But such was the supineness of the British ministry,—so enveloped did they appear in their enchanting dream of the conquest of France, to be achieved by means of the Quiberon expedition,—that no attention whatever was bestowed upon this object. In the beginning of April the island was summoned by a single schooner, with French and Batavian commissioners on board: but the governor refusing to deliver it up, the commissioners departed, in order to collect a sufficient force to effect its reduction; which promise they shortly after fulfilled, and St. Eustatius remains in the power of the French republic.

The success of the French at Guadeloupe appears to have inspired them, notwithstanding the inferiority of their force, with designs of a still more ambitious nature; and instead of contending only for the recovery of their own losses, they meditated no less than the entire subjection of the ceded islands. In the beginning of the year, emissaries, it appears, had been landed by the republicans in the islands St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Dominica. The French planters and the free people of colour in these islands were strongly solicited to take arms against the English government; and the French decree for the emancipation of the negro slaves was represented to that suffering people, as the only means of recovering that rank in society, from which they had been, without even the semblance of justice, degraded. Arms and military stores, it is also
be-

believed, were distributed among them; and in the beginning of March, a general insurrection, as if they had acted in concert, took place in all those colonies.

We have frequently had occasion to complain of the weak and injurious partiality of the London Gazette, which is almost entirely confined to the reporting of the supposed successes of the British arms. Could it once be considered by the public as a full and faithful record of facts, much misapprehension, and many censures on the government, would undoubtedly be removed. But from this source of intelligence, we have scarcely been able to collect any thing satisfactory; and we have been disappointed in our expectation of receiving from our private correspondence, that ample detail of the origin and progress of these transactions which we were promised. We can, however, pledge ourselves to our readers, that in our next volume they will find a most complete and authentic account of all the material events and revolutions which have taken place in the West-Indies, and the most satisfactory explanation of whatever may at present appear involved in mystery and obscurity in that quarter. In the mean time, we shall lay before them in a summary way, the general result of such intelligence as we have at present in our possession.

The insurrection in St. Lucia was from the first pretty general among the old French inhabitants, and the people of colour; they were soon joined by considerable bodies of the negro slaves; and the whole island, except the fort of Morne Fortunée, and the Carenage, was in a few days in the power of the insurgents. On the 20th of April, general Stewart, who com-

manded at St. Lucia, proceeded to attack the enemy's principal place of strength at Souffriere; in the course of his march, he fell into an ambuscade, but, after suffering considerably, was fortunate enough to disperse the assailants. On the 22d, he attacked the insurgents at Souffriere, but after a desperate conflict, was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, and several officers. After this defeat, the English forces were obliged to confine themselves chiefly in the fort; and in the month of July, the island was evacuated by the British.

The insurrection in Grenada was seconded by a small detachment of French troops, which was dispatched thither by Victor Hugues, from Guadaloupe. The island suffered very severely by the devastations of the insurgents and the invaders; the British forces were repulsed in several conflicts; but at length reinforcements being received from the other islands, the enemy was compelled to take refuge in the heights, and a temporary tranquillity was restored, though the island could not be said to be completely subjected to the dominion of Great Britain at the close of the year. To complete the misfortunes of the colonists, the insurrection was succeeded by another calamitous visitation,—the yellow fever, which swept off immense numbers of those who had escaped the ravages of the sword.

The plan for the reduction of Dominica appeared to have been concerted between Victor Hugues, and the French inhabitants. The insurrection here was aided also by a small detachment from Guadaloupe, who were joined by great numbers of negroes, and committed immense devastations. Such was the culpable conduct of ministry,

try, that there was only one company of regular troops at Dominica, and the island was saved entirely by the exertions of the English inhabitants, who attacked the enemy with great spirit, and obliged them to submit. Some very sanguinary, and, we fear, hasty executions of the French inhabitants followed, and above six hundred of them were banished and sent to England, by the mere act of the governor, on suspicion of disaffection.

In St. Vincent's, the Caribbs, who inhabited the interior and hilly parts of the island, and who had formerly experienced great injustice and cruelty from the English, were the principal insurgents. They resisted for a considerable time with great bravery, and repulsed the British troops in one or two serious conflicts. As the fate of St. Vincent's appeared to depend almost entirely on that of St. Lucia, the insurrection could scarcely be said to be completely suppressed at the conclusion of the year.

In these periods of general suffering, the island of Jamaica was not exempted from its share of disaster. On the 14th of June, a dreadful fire broke out at Montego Bay, and consumed an immense quantity of stores, and reduced to ashes the greater part of the town. This was succeeded by a calamity of a still more serious aspect,—a war with the Maroon Indians, who inhabited the mountainous parts of the country. If the facts stated in a debate in the house of commons on this subject may be relied on, great blame must attach to the British government, not only for the exciting of this war, but for the mode of conducting it. The Maroons were a free people, who, on the cession of the island by the Spaniards, refused to submit to the British dominion,

and their territory and privileges were both secured by a most solemn treaty. The war was said, in the debate to which we have alluded, to originate in the following manner, and *the statement was not controverted by ministers*. By the treaty between the British inhabitants and the Maroons, it was stipulated that none of the latter should be punished by the government of Jamaica, for any offence, but if any of them committed a crime, he should be given up to the laws and justice of his own nation, for trial and punishment. In the present case, one of the Maroons had committed a petty theft; and, in direct violation of the treaty, instead of being sent back to his own nation to be tried, he was condemned by the governor of Jamaica to be whipped: a punishment which these people consider as peculiarly ignominious. The man returned to his own nation with the marks of the whip on his back. Redress was demanded, and no redress was given. The nation, therefore, indignant at this flagrant violation of public faith, flew to arms; but instead of any conciliatory measures being employed, a war of *extermination* was proclaimed against them. It was not probable that an undisciplined people, amounting only to a few hundreds, should be able to maintain their ground against the regular force of the British government. But, not satisfied with vanquishing them in the field, the governor of Jamaica sent for bloodhounds from Cuba, to hunt down these wretched Indians. Thus, in the enlightened period of the eighteenth century, the British nation condescended to imitate that conduct, which, in the sixteenth, has “damned the Spaniards to everlasting fame.”

For the misconduct and miscarriages

riages of the ministry in the West Indies, the British nation received, towards the close of the year, a consolation in the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope, which was taken by a squadron under vice-admiral Elphinston, on the 16th of September. Of the value of this acquisition in a political or commercial view, we profess ourselves but incompetent judges; we have, however, heard it remarked by intelligent persons, that, even in the hands of the frugal Dutch, the expenditure of this colony exceeded the revenue; and, that while it continued a free port, Great Britain derived from it more solid advantages than the exclusive possession of it would be likely to afford, were there even a probability that, in the present circumstances of the French republic, she should be permitted to retain this conquest.

The early part of the naval campaign (if this common solecism may be allowed), we have already seen, was extremely unfavourable to the French republic; but before its conclusion, a circumstance occurred, which in some measure compensated for their previous losses. On the 7th of October, the British Mediterranean fleet, which originally consisted of upwards of sixty merchant ships homeward-bound, richly laden, and convoyed by three ships of the line and four frigates, were overtaken off cape St. Vincent's, by a French fleet, commanded by admiral Richery, which had sailed from Toulon a short time before, consisting of nine ships of the line and several frigates. On discovering the French fleet, the British commodore made the signal immediately to wear and stand from them. The French frigates were, however, previously dispatched to prevent the escape of the merchant

ships; and admiral Richery, by employing a press of sail, was enabled to cut off the retreat of one of the British ships of the line, the *Censeur*, of seventy-four guns, which had previously lost her main-top-mast. As, however, the attention of the French was chiefly directed to the capture of the convoy, the *Bedford* and *Formidable*, with the other ships of war, found means to escape, keeping up a smart fire from their stern chases from all the decks. The number of vessels belonging to this fleet taken by admiral Richery, as far as we have been able to ascertain from Lloyd's list, amounted to about thirty, exclusive of the *Censeur*. The list of incidental captures made about the same time amounts to nearly twenty. Admiral Richery carried his prizes into Cadiz.

About the same period eighteen of the homeward bound Jamaica ships were taken by two French squadrons, belonging to Rochefort. Three or four of the captured vessels were, however, recovered before they reached the port; but the value of those which were lost was very considerable. It would be a most desirable object, in estimating the consequences of the present war, if a complete list of the captures on both sides could be made out, with an estimate of their supposed value; but this, we fear, is impracticable. Common report states the losses of the English in the course of the war at upwards of 3000 vessels, while those of the French are said not to have exceeded 800.

The parliamentary proceedings of the year 1795 will present to the speculative politician the most complete view of the state of Europe at this period, which is any where to be found. It is evident, that

that by the alarming increase of the power of Russia,—by the infamous annihilation of the kingdom of Poland,—by the successes of the French,—the old balance of Europe is effectually destroyed. A new balance of power on the continent is created, and, in our opinion, upon a worse principle than the former, because the power is now vested in fewer hands. As it is, however, upon France and Prussia the statesman must rely for a counter-balance to the enormous and overwhelming power of Russia: for Austria can no longer be considered as of any weight in the scale. The title of emperor will probably, before long, be transferred to the house of Brandenburg; and in such a transfer, the Germanic body, and the protestant interest in particular, will perhaps find their best security. In the mean time, it is the obvious interest of Britain, to abstain most carefully from all continental broils,—to recruit her finances, which are certainly in no promising state,—and to extend her commerce, by forming, not offensive, but commercial alliances.

From the exhausted state of all the belligerent powers, it requires no degree of prophetic inspiration, to predict that a general peace cannot be far distant. In negotiating with France, our government will evince its wisdom by insisting less on territorial than commercial acquisitions. The advantages of the former are extremely dubious, those of the latter are certain; the profits of the former are partial, those of the latter general; the former will be tenaciously refused, the latter would be liberally granted: and assuredly there never was a period more favourable to the negotiating of an advanta-

geous treaty of commerce with France, than at this moment; her own manufactures are at a stand, and the trade of Holland is ruined. As, however, the influence of the minister is increased, though the people are impoverished, by every territorial acquisition, we can easily foresee that these will be the points most obstinately insisted on, and that the extension of our commerce will be proportionably neglected.

Whether the present ministers of Great Britain are adequate to the stations which they occupy, or not, is no longer a question of opinion, but a question of fact.—To the facts we must refer; and when these are duly weighed and considered, there can be but little difference of sentiment among thinking men. If the precipitate measures by which we were hurried into the war,—if the senseless alarms by which either they were deluded themselves, or deluded others,—if the obstinate rejection of all overtures of accommodation,—if the advantages we have lost, and the misfortunes we have sustained, be considered, it will not be very difficult to draw a fair conclusion; independent of the conduct of the war, which has been uniformly unfortunate; and that is at least a presumptive evidence that it has not been uniformly well-planned. It is a duty now incumbent on the people of this country, to examine the facts for themselves; it is a duty which they owe to the present generation, and to their posterity, not only to think, but to remonstrate. Those who tell them that the people are not to inquire into the conduct of the men who are entrusted with the management of their affairs, are those who wish only to betray them.

them. No honest, no truly great statesman, was ever averse to inquiry, since the more minutely his conduct is investigated, the greater will be his reputation.

For ourselves (unconnected with every party, as we are) our only wish is to see the administration of this country placed in the best and ablest hands, whoever they may be. The crisis is awful, but there is no necessity for despair. A man of genius, of knowledge, of liberal principles and extended views

(should such a one be found to direct the councils of this country) may yet restore the honour and consequence of Britain,—may extend her commerce even beyond its former limits,—and, by adopting a system of domestic œconomy instead of a system of influence and profusion, may yet place her finances on a respectable footing,—and without injuring the rich, may effectually alleviate the burthens of the poor.

PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1795.



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JANUARY.

6. **L**ETTERS by the Sugar Cane, lately arrived from Madras, were this day received at the India House. This ship left Madras July 27, and brings the following advices: Captain Doveton, with the two hostage princes, set off from Madras, on the 27th of February, arrived in Tippoo's camp at Devanelle, on the 29th of March, and were received with a salute of 21 guns. The next day he had an audience of Tippoo, who made use of the strongest expressions of friendship for the English government. While captain Doveton remained in his camp, he received every mark of attention and respect; and when he left Devanelle, a person of very high consequence accompanied him back to Madras.

Captain Doveton has given the following account of the reception of the young princes by their father: on their arrival at the camp, with their numerous suite, accompanied by captain Doveton, they proceeded on their visit to the sultan, who received them in a very superb pavilion, inclosed within a wall of a very extraordinary extent. He was seated at one extremity, and, on each side, at suitable distances, were placed, according to their several ranks, about forty or fifty of his principal attendants.

On their entrance into the pavi-

lion, the young princes sprung forward to the throne where their royal father sat, and prostrated themselves before it. And here the etiquette of Asiatic courts put nature completely to flight; for the father, instead of advancing to embrace his darling children, contented himself with coldly placing a hand on the neck of each; and, on the instant, the princes arose, and respectfully retired. It is a remarkable fact, that not a syllable was exchanged at this extraordinary interview.

Captain Doveton was next presented, and placed on the right hand of the sovereign, who conversed with him on European topics for more than an hour and a half. He was afterward regaled with betel, cloves, and a variety of Asiatic dainties, on a service of gold plate.

The sultan, during the interview, did not rise from his seat, which was a square cushion, covered with crimson velvet, slightly embroidered with gold. On his side was placed a sword, and some papers, and on them a gold snuff box, apparently of European manufacture.

Tippoo has a very majestic deportment, and is of the middle stature, with a countenance very expressive; his eye particularly animated and scrutinizing; his nose large, with oblique dilated nostrils; his mouth small, with thick lips, and an eminence toward the centre

of the upper lip, which projects, but is by no means unhandsome.

12. This day Mr. Martin, imprisoned on a charge of high treason, was taken from the Tower, to Mr. justice Lawrence's house, in Bedford-square, and there discharged from his imprisonment, but was thence escorted to his former lodging in the King's bench.

Portsmouth, Jan. 13. In pursuance of the sentence of a court-martial held on board his majesty's ship *Stately*, the hon. admiral Cornwallis president, the following men were this day executed on board the *Culloden*, for being the principals concerned in a mutiny on board that ship, viz. Francis Watts, Cornelius Sullivan, Jeremiah Curtain, John Johnson, and Joseph Collins. Three were hung on the starboard, and two on the larboard fore-yard-arm. All the chaplains of the fleet had orders to attend them. They behaved very penitently, and admitted the justice of their sentence; exhorting all the ship's company to take warning by their unhappy end, and never more to be concerned in mutiny or disobedience to their superior officers. David Hyman, Samuel Trigge, and James Morrish, who were condemned with the others, yesterday received his majesty's pardon, and were put on board three different ships.

Plymouth, Jan. 10. This day captains Clarke and Wells, of two *Riga* ships, who were captured Sept. 11, in the Bay, and carried to Brest by admiral Nielly's division, of six sail of the line and frigates, arrived here from Brest, last from Mavagissey. They bring the following accounts: Dec. 25, the *Republicaine* of 110 guns, in a gale of wind drove from her anchor in Brest water, and went on shore, and on the 10th instant was gone to pieces.

The hon. Mr. Wesley, brother of lord Mornington, who was at Quimper with lady Anne Fitzroy, and several other ladies, came to Brest, and passing for an American, with the above named captains, and captain Brokenshire of Mavagissey, concerted a plan for an escape, and purchased a boat of a Swedish captain, of 22 feet long, for 80 guineas. On the 10th, in number 14, they committed themselves to the waves, and at eight at night sailed from Brest with a tolerably fair wind. When about half-channel over, three of the crew, from the intensely severe weather, died; and one, whose limbs were frozen, attempting to hand the spritsail, fell overboard and was drowned, the sea then running very high. About five o'clock, on Sunday the 11th, they made the Deadman. Captain Brokenshire knew the appearance of the land, and requested to steer the boat for Mavagissey. By this time they were all so benumbed with cold, they could scarcely row; but the sight of their native land gave them heart, and they, with a cheerful *A hoy lads for Old England*, pulled hard, and got into Mavagissey Bay, at eleven o'clock at night, but so much exhausted, that the people of Mavagissey were obliged to help them out of the boat to a neighbouring inn, where every accommodation was afforded them that could be procured. The living, ten in number, were all put in warm beds, and the unfortunate victims to the severity of the weather were placed in a room till Monday morning, when they were, on the evening of the day, decently interred in Mavagissey churchyard, attended by lieutenant Rodd, the privates of the Royal Cornwall Militia, quartered there, the clergymen of the town, and nearly all the inhabitants.

Liverpool,

Liverpool, Jan. 18. About five this morning, a fire was discovered in the council-room of our exchange; and, although every assistance was obtained as soon as possible, the flames spread so rapidly, that they soon penetrated to the roof; and, in a short time the court-room, assembly-room, and all the interior of that elegant structure, were in flames so furious, that nothing could check them. The charter, town-records, papers, and books of the treasurers and loan officers, and the regalia, were all saved; and the building erecting on the north side of, and adjoining to, the exchange, was preserved entire. The rapidity of the fire was occasioned by the mode practised when the exchange was built, of coating each timber with turpentine or rosin, in order to preserve it, which, when caught by the fire, proceeded with such rapidity round the interior of the edifice as to baffle every exertion to get it under until the whole was nearly gutted. There was no person lost during the fire, which was completely extinguished before noon. The whole sum insured upon the building and furniture does not exceed 1500*l.* Upon an inspection of the ruins, the fire clearly appears to have been occasioned by a joist being placed too near the pipe or flue of one of the chimneys under the assembly-room.

19. At a meeting of the society of the Friends of the People, held at the Free Masons' Tavern on Saturday last, it was determined, in consequence of the danger of the country, to suspend, for the present, all proceedings on the subject of parliamentary reform.

20. Yesterday, about twelve o'clock, two vessels broke from their moorings a little below London-bridge. The tide then running up,

drove them against the bridge with such force, that one of them (a West-Indiaman with three masts) making the centre arch, carried away all her masts close by the board, knocked down two of the lamps on the top of the bridge, bent the lamp-iron in an astonishing manner, and, with a crash that made the whole fabric shake, passed through the arch with incredible velocity, and drifted up the river with the tide to Blackfriars-bridge, which she also went through, but without any farther accident; and continued her course till she came above Somerset Place, where she drove on shore, and with some difficulty was moored. The crew, perceiving their danger, took to the boat a few minutes before she reached London-bridge, which, in all probability, saved some of their lives. The other vessel, striking against the starlings of one of the smaller arches, was prevented from going through, but from the shock must have been considerably damaged. She remained there till the turn of the tide, when she was got off, and, with the assistance of some boats, was towed into a place of safety. This accident is supposed to have happened from the large pieces of ice brought up the river by the tide, cutting the cables by which the ships were moored.

21. Yesterday the lord mayor held a court of common-council, at which were present the recorder, 16 aldermen, the sheriffs, and 200 commoners. Mr. alderman Newman opened the business for which the court was called, and moved; 'That this court do present a dutiful and loyal address to the throne, expressive of its firm and ready attachment to his majesty and family, and of its veneration for, and anxious solicitude to preserve, our excellent constitution, as established

at the glorious revolution; and most humbly and earnestly to beseech his majesty, to employ every means he, in his wisdom, shall judge expedient, and consistent with the honour and dignity of the state, to terminate the present most destructive and calamitous war, that the blessings of peace may be restored to the country, which this court is persuaded is essential to its trade, commerce, and prosperity. Mr. deputy Brewer seconded the motion.

Mr. deputy Birch moved an amendment, by leaving out all the words after the words 'glorious revolution,' and substituting the following, viz, 'and to maintain it against all such attempts as have lately been made to subvert it, and to express our just confidence, grounded on his majesty's uniform and benevolent concern for the interests of his people, that his majesty will employ such means as shall be most proper to defend this country against its foreign and domestic enemies, and to restore to us the blessings of peace, whenever it can be done consistently with the honour and dignity of the state.'

Long debates ensued, which motion should be adopted, when at length the deputy carried his amendment on a division, 143 against 47. A committee was then appointed to draw up an address, which being done, after some few objections being made, was agreed to. *See Public Papers.*

24. On Tuesday evening, about a quarter past nine, the prince of Orange arrived at Colchester from Harwich, where he had landed that afternoon. He came from Scheveling in an open boat, with only three men and a boy to navigate her. He has been at the White Hart Inn since his arrival, but to-morrow he takes up his residence at the house of

Isaac Boggis, esq. of that town, lately prepared for the reception of the princess of Wales.

The hereditary prince of Orange likewise arrived at Colchester on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately set off for Yarmouth to meet his royal mother, his consort the hereditary princess, and her infant son, who had landed there on Monday. They all safely arrived at Colchester, on Wednesday evening, at twelve o'clock.

On Friday, about a quarter before twelve, the mayor, aldermen, assistants, and common-council of Colchester, attended by some of the principal inhabitants, waited on the stadtholder, with a consolatory address, expressive of their concern at the calamitous events which had forced him, for the present, to quit his dominions; their hope that Providence would soon put an end to the usurpations of an ambitious enemy; and their assurance, that in this country he would find that sympathy and attention which characterize the nation. The company were received in the most gracious manner by his serene highness. The address was read by Francis Smythies, esq. town-clerk.

While at Colchester, the stadtholder, the hereditary prince, and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, frequently spent their time in walking about the town, and seemed highly sensible of the marked attention and respect paid to them by all ranks. They ordered articles of clothing, of every description, to be made up for them by the different tradesmen. Prince William George Frederic, the stadtholder's second son, his daughter the princess Louisa Wilhelmina Frederica, and count Bentinck, were also at Colchester.

25. On Friday a common hall was held for the purpose of taking
into

into consideration the propriety of petitioning the house of commons to promote the object of a speedy peace. The hall was uncommonly crowded, and the motion for an application to parliament for peace was introduced by Mr. Hodgson, chymist, in Cow-cross, and seconded by Mr. Waithman, linen-draper, in Bridge-street, Blackfriars. The motion was opposed by alderman Le Mesurier, alderman Newnham, &c. and was supported by alderman Combe, alderman Pickett, and others. The meeting was extremely clamorous whenever any gentleman rose to speak against the motion; but the conduct of the lord mayor cannot be sufficiently praised: addressing the assembly, he said he would not put the question, unless it was fairly discussed, and begged that each party might be heard; by this means order was restored for a short time, but the question being very generally called for, it was carried for a speedy peace by a vast majority.

Alderman Anderson undertook to carry the petition to parliament.

A counter-petition, by way of protest, was afterward agreed to, and ordered to lie at the London Tavern for signatures.

St. James's, Jan. 29. His majesty having been pleased to appoint Thursday the 29th of January for the ceremony of the public entry and public audience of his excellency Yussuf Adjiah Effendi, ambassador from the Sublime Porte, the earl of Jersey, (the conducting earl appointed by his majesty) and sir Clement Cottrell Dormer, knt. master of the ceremonies, proceeded in one of his majesty's coaches, with six horses, attended by six gentlemen of the privy chamber in others of the royal coaches, to the royal college at Chelsea, the place

whence his majesty had thought fit that the procession should begin, where field-marshal sir George Howard, K. B. the governor, not only allotted the grand apartment for the use of the ambassador, on this occasion, and provided an elegant cold collation for his entertainment, but, in farther compliment to the ambassador, repaired to the college early in the morning, to be ready to receive the ambassador in person. About ten o'clock, the ambassador and his suite arrived at the royal college at Chelsea, in his excellency's own coaches, where the royal standard was displayed, and his excellency was received with all military honours. Alighting from his carriage, his excellency was met by William Bulkeley, esq. major of the royal college, and others the military officers belonging to the establishment, and conducted to the grand apartment, where field-marshal sir George Howard, K. B. the governor, made a short speech to his excellency suitable to the occasion. At a quarter after ten o'clock the conducting earl and the master of the ceremonies arrived at the college, when the earl of Jersey made his majesty's compliment to the ambassador, and the company sat down to breakfast; and about eleven the procession to St. James's began in the following order:

Six of the knight marshal's men, on horseback, to clear the way.

The master of the ceremonies' coach, with six horses.

The conducting earl's coach, with six horses, in which went the marshal of the ceremonies.

One of the ambassador's ecuyers, on horseback, followed by some fine Turkish horses, brought over by the ambassador as a present to his majesty from the grand seignior, very

(A 4) richly

richly caparisoned, and led by Turkish grooms.

A state coach of his majesty, in which went the ambassador, the conducting earl, the master of the ceremonies, and signior Persianni, first interpreter to the Ottoman embassy: eight of the ambassador's footmen walking, four on each side the carriage.

A leading coach of his majesty, with six horses, in which went Mahmoud Raif Effendi, secretary to the embassy, bearing the ambassador's letter of credence, in a rich bag; and Mr. Lufighan, his majesty's interpreter: four of the ambassador's footmen, walking, two on each side of the carriage.

A leading coach of her majesty, with six horses, in which went three of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, appointed to attend the audience.

A leading coach of his royal highness the prince of Wales, with six horses, in which went the three other gentlemen of the privy chamber.

A leading coach of his royal highness the duke of York, with six horses.

A leading coach of his royal highness the duke of Clarence, with six horses.

A leading coach of his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, with six horses.

The ambassador's coach with six horses, in which went three of the principal persons belonging to his excellency's suite.

Several coaches of the nobility, each drawn by six horses, closed the procession.

In this order the procession moved on from Chelsea college to the gate of St. James's Park, adjoining to the Queen's House, and proceeded up Constitution-hill, along Pic-

cadilly and St. James's-street, to the palace, where his excellency arrived at half past twelve, and, alighting at the palace-gate, was received by Hugh Boscawen, esq. the knight marshal, (having his baton of office in his hand) and the marshal of the ceremonies.

The foot guards on duty were drawn up in the court yard, and their officers saluted the ambassador as he passed on to the little council chamber; where notice being given by one of his majesty's gentlemen ushers that his majesty was ready, the procession moved forward to the audience in the great council chamber (where, on each side, were ranged the band of gentlemen pensioners, the gentlemen of the privy chamber going before the conducting earl, and the principal persons of the ambassador's suite before his excellency, the conducting earl being on the ambassador's right hand, and the master of the ceremonies on the left. His excellency was received at the door of the guard-chamber, in the absence of the earl of Aylesford, captain of the yeomen of the guard, by James Roberts, esq. lieutenant of the yeomen of the guards, who conducted the ambassador to the door of the privy chamber, where his excellency was received by viscount Falmouth, captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, who conducted his excellency to the door of the great council-chamber.

At the door of the great council-chamber, his excellency was received by the marquis of Salisbury, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, who taking the right hand of the ambassador, and the earl of Jersey, with sir Clement Cottrell Dörner, taking the left, his excellency, dressed in his habit of ceremony, and wearing the turban
called

called *Chorassani* (which is only worn by the ministers of the Sublime Porte), was conducted up to the throne, making three profound reverences, which his majesty was pleased to return in the usual manner.

The ambassador then made a short speech to his majesty, which was interpreted to his majesty by signor Persiani; and his majesty was pleased to answer the same in English, his majesty's answer being interpreted in the Turkish language, by Mr. Lusignan, his majesty's interpreter.

The ambassador, in the course of his harangue to his majesty, took from the secretary of the embassy, his letter of credence, and kissing the same, presented it to his majesty, who immediately delivered it to lord Grenville; and, after his majesty's reply to the ambassador, he presented to his majesty the secretary of the embassy, and the principal persons of his suite, all of whom were received most graciously by his majesty.

The ambassador then retired, making again three reverences to his majesty as he withdrew from the audience, and was re-conducted with the same ceremony to the little council-chamber, to rest himself till her majesty was ready to receive him; of which notice being given by one of her majesty's gentlemen ushers, the ambassador proceeded to the queen's apartments, and was received at the door of her majesty's guard-chamber, by William Price, esq. her majesty's vice-chamberlain; and at the door of the room of audience, by the earl of Morton, lord chamberlain to her majesty, and so conducted up to her majesty by the earl of Moron, William Price, esq. and sir Clement Cottrell Dormer.

The ambassador, after this audi-

ence, of the queen, went to the drawing-room, to pay his court to their majesties; and, having previously desired that the royal coaches might not be kept waiting to carry him back to his own house, returned home after the drawing-room, in his own coach.

The following presents were delivered at St. James's by the ambassador:—To the king, a pair of pistols, the stocks and barrels solid gold; three Arabian horses, with gold bridles, the saddles trimmed with gold; and a gold dagger, with a belt ornamented with pearls and diamonds.—To the queen and princesses, a chest of silks, embroidered with gold; a plume of feathers for the head-dress, supported by a band of solid gold, and the top of the feathers ensigned with diamonds.—To the prince of Wales, duke of Portland, and lord Grenville, chests of silks.

Bath, Jan. 30. On Thursday morning the lady of the rev. Mr. Wilby, of Boston, in Lincolnshire, lodging on the south parade in Bath, reading a newspaper as she stood near the chimney, suddenly perceived her clothes were on fire. She pulled both the handles of the bell with such violence that the wires broke. Unfortunately, her servant being out, the summons was not answered. She then had the presence of mind to fall on the carpet, and endeavoured to roll herself up in it, but it was nailed to the floor. As the last expedient, she rushed in flames out of the room, and ran down stairs, where, alarmed by her shrieks, assistance was given her, but too late; she died on Sunday night.

31 The precise value of the St. Jago Spanish register ship, retaken in April 1793, from the French, which the lords of appeal adjudged to the captors, on Thursday evening last,

is 935,000l. The persons interested in this decision are rear-admiral Gell, who commanded the squadron, and the officers and crews of the *St. George*, of 98 guns, *Egmont*, *Edgar*, and *Ganges*, of 74, and *Phaeton* frigate, of 38 guns, which last conveyed her late to Portsmouth.

F E B R U A R Y.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 3. A letter from rear-admiral Bligh, late captain of his majesty's ship the *Alexander*, to Mr. Stephens, was received at this office, the 30th of last month.

On board the Marat, at Brest,
SIR, Nov. 23, 1794.

The arrival of the *Canada* must long since have informed their lordships of my misfortune, in losing his majesty's ship *Alexander*; late under my command, having been taken by a squadron of French ships of war, consisting of five of 74 guns, three large frigates, and an armed brig, commanded by rear-admiral Neilly; farther particulars and details I herewith transmit you, for their lordships' information.

We discovered this squadron on our weather-bow, about half past two o'clock, or near three in the morning, on the 6th instant, being then in latitude 48 degrees, 25 min. north, 7 deg. 53 min. west, the wind then at west, and we steering north-east; on which I immediately hauled our wind, with the larboard-tacks on board, and without signal, the *Canada* being close to us. We passed the strange ships a little before four o'clock (the nearest at about half a mile distant) but could not discover what they were. Shortly after we bore more

up, let the reefs out of the top-sails, and set steering-sails.

About five o'clock, perceiving, by my night-glass, the strange ships to stand after us, we crowded all the sail we could possibly set, as did the *Canada*, and hauled more to the eastward. About day-break the *Canada* passed us, and steering more to the northward than we did, brought her on her larboard-bow. Two ships of the line and two frigates pursued her; and three of the line and one frigate chased the *Alexander*. About half past seven o'clock, the French ships hoisted English colours. About a quarter past eight o'clock, we hoisted our colours; upon which the French ships hauled down the English, and hoisted theirs; and drawing up within gun shot, we began firing our stern-chaces at them, and received their bow-chaces.

About nine o'clock, or shortly after, observing the ships in pursuit of the *Canada*, drawing up with her, and firing at each other their bow and stern-chaces, I made the *Canada*'s signal to form a-head for our mutual support, being determined to defend the ships to the last extremity; which signal she instantly answered, and endeavoured to put it in execution by steering toward us; but the ships in chase of her, seeing her intentions, hauled more to starboard to cut her off; and which obliged her to steer the course she had done before. We continued firing our stern chaces at the ships pursuing us till near eleven o'clock, when three ships of the line came up, and brought us to close action, which we sustained for upward of two hours, when the ship was become a complete wreck, the main-yard, spanker-boom, and three top-gallant-

lant-yards were shot away, all the lower masts shot through in many places, and expected every minute to go over the side; all the other masts and yards were also wounded, more or less, nearly the whole of the standing and running rigging cut to pieces, the sails torn into ribbands, and her hull much shattered, and making a great deal of water, with difficulty she floated into Brest: at this time the ships that had chased the Canada, had quitted her, and were coming fast up to us, the shot of one of them at the time passing over us. Thus situated, and cut off from all resources, I judged it adviseable to consult my officers, and accordingly assembled them all on the quarter deck; when, upon surveying and examining the state of the ship, (engaged as I have already described) they deemed any farther resistance would be ineffectual, as every possible exertion had already been used in vain to save her, and therefore they were unanimously of opinion, that to resign her would be the means of saving the lives of a number of brave men. Then, and not till then, (painful to relate) I ordered the colours to be struck: a measure which, on a full investigation, I hope and trust their lordships will not disapprove. Hitherto I have not been able to collect an exact list of the killed and wounded, as many of the former were thrown overboard during the action, and when taken possession of, the people were divided, and sent on board different ships, but I do not believe they exceed forty, or thereabout. No officer above the rank of boatswain's mate was killed. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, of the marines, messrs. Burns, boatswain, and McCurdy, pilot, were wounded, but are in a fair way of doing well. The cool, steady, and gallant be-

haviour of all my officers and ship's company, marines as well as seamen, throughout the whole of the action, merits the highest applauses; and I should feel myself deficient in my duty, as well as in what I owe to those brave men, were I to omit requesting you will be pleased to recommend them in the strongest manner to their lordships' favour and protection: particularly lieutenants Godench, Epworth, Carter, West, and Daracort; major Tench, lieutenants Fitzgerald and Brown of the marines; Mr. Robinson the master, together with the warrant and petty officers, whose bravery and good conduct I shall ever hold in the highest estimation. I have hitherto been treated with great kindness and humanity, and have not a doubt but that I shall meet with the same treatment during my captivity. I am, with great respect, &c.

R. R. BLIGH.

Sierra-Leone-House, Feb. 9. On the 28th of September, a French squadron, consisting of the Experiment of 50 guns, and four smaller vessels, approached the town of Sierra Leone, under English colours, and drew up before it in such a manner as to command every street and alley in it, when they hoisted their own colours, and commenced a heavy cannonade. The inhabitants, unable to resist so formidable a force, immediately struck their flag; but two of the frigates continued their fire for nearly two hours after, raking every street with grape-shot. The French then landed, and began to plunder such houses as remained standing, and were preparing to involve the whole town in one blaze, when several of the free American blacks returned into it, to solicit the preservation of their dwellings. The French commander granted

granted their request, observing that his vengeance should be confined to the British settlers, and then ordered the church, the company's warehouses, and the houses of every English person to be set on fire.

After this, one of the frigates proceeded up the river to the island of Banca, which they attacked for two days without success, the garrison of the fort making a resolute defence; on the third day, a second frigate arrived, when the inhabitants having withdrawn the whole of the property from the town, the garrison of the fort retired, leaving their flags standing, which for an hour imposed upon the enemy, and allowed time for the retreat of our men.

The French continued at Sierra Leone till the 23d of October, during which time they wooded and watered, but never proceeded into the country, nor injured the plantations. They took with them, or destroyed, eleven vessels belonging to the company, ten of them from London, and proceeded down the coast, with intent to serve in like manner all the British, Dutch, and Portuguese settlements: the isle of Bourbon was their place of destination.

On their departure, the settlers, who had lived in the woods, and under tents, &c. returned to the town, and had commenced repairing the damage it had sustained.

On our part only two men were killed and five wounded.

10. Yesterday, James Roach, book-seller, was called up to receive the judgment of the court of King's-bench, for having published an infamous pamphlet, entitled Harris' list of Covent-garden Ladies. Mr. justice Ashurst observed, that an offence of greater enormity could

hardly be committed. A care of the growing morals of the present generation ought to be uppermost in every man's heart. The only circumstance of mitigation in the present case was, that the defendant had the decency to let judgment go by default. It had been stated that he was a married man, and had a wife and six children. That circumstance ought to have been considered by him before he committed this offence. The court ordered that the defendant should be imprisoned in Newgate, for the space of twelve calendar months, and that at the expiration of that period, he should give security for his good behaviour, for three years.

Hull, Feb. 10. This day a cormorant was killed in the neighbourhood of Beverley: out of which, on its being opened, was taken, entire, a salmon-trout, 17 inches in length, and one pound and a half in weight, which the bird had swallowed.

12. On the 7th instant, in the court of King's-bench, Mr. Erskine moved for judgment against the earl of Abingdon, for a libel (of which he had been found guilty the preceding term) against Mr. Thomas Sermon, who had been his lordship's attorney; which libel was contained in a speech delivered by his lordship in the house of peers, on the last day of the last sessions of parliament, and afterward published by him in a newspaper. On this occasion, his lordship desired, that an affidavit made by Samuel Estwick, M. P. for Westbury, and which contained an account of sundry transactions between Mr. Sermon and his lordship, might be read. This was read accordingly; but the court considered it as highly aggravating the offence. His lordship

lordship also, in his defence, addressed the court, in terms greatly reflecting on the bar and on the profession in general. In short, his lordship's defence appeared to the court to be so extremely improper and ill-advised, that the consideration of the sentence was postponed till the last day of the term.

Being brought up again this day, his lordship made a handsome apology for the reflections which, on a former day, he had been supposed to utter against the profession; declaring, moreover, that "he venerated the law, venerated its judgments, and had the highest respect for the profession."

Mr. justice Ashurst then pronounced the sentence of the court in these words:

"Willoughby earl of Abingdon, you have been convicted on an information filed against you for printing and publishing a libel, highly reflecting on the character of Thomas Sermon, gentleman.

"I shall not recapitulate the particulars of this libel: it was detailed more at large when your lordship was last in court. It is sufficient in general to say, that it certainly highly calumniates Mr. Sermon in his professional character of an attorney and solicitor. This is considered in the eye of the law as an offence of a very serious nature. Every man, and especially those whose livelihood depends on their character, have a right to the care and protection of the law, and ought to be defended against the shafts of calumny; and in this respect the law knows no difference between the peer and the peasant. It would be highly criminal in those who preside in courts of justice, if they were ca-

pable of making any discrimination.

"It was a wise provision in the law to make this an indictable offence, for the sake of preserving the public peace of the kingdom. The party whose character is so reflected upon, may be naturally supposed to be a little irritable; and were it not that the law is ready to step in for the defence of every man whose character has been invividiously attacked, the party injured would otherwise be apt to take vengeance into his own hand, which would lead to frequent breaches of the peace, and disturb the order of society.

"This crime likewise is as unmeaning as it is unjust, for it cannot possibly be attended with any good effects, either to society in general, or to the party publishing the libel. If any man has injured you, the law is open. The law will give you redress; and if you bring a bad man to punishment, you do a meritorious act to society; for crimes ought not to go unpunished, and the end of punishment is to reform others. But a publication in a newspaper can never be attended with any good effects, though it may be attended with very bad ones, and which it is the intention of the law to prevent.

"The calumny in this libel, I am sorry to say, has been circulated with a great degree of industry. We endeavoured (as far as we could with propriety do it) to intimate to your lordship, if you were inclined to make an apology, it would not have been unbecoming you. It were much to be wished, that those who have been your advisers had shewn as much friendship for your lordship, in this instance,

stance, and as much care for your interests, as we have done. But I am sorry to say, if they call themselves your friends, who persuaded you to make the affidavit which was read the last time you were in court, it was the most ill-judged advice that could possibly have been given you; for it was a direct repetition of the slander contained in the libel now before us, and an insult on the justice of this court, such as precludes all power in the court to pass a lenient judgment. The honour and dignity of justice must be supported, and those who are entrusted with the administration of the laws must shew that they are no respecters of persons.

"The court has taken all circumstances into their consideration; and this court doth order and adjudge, that you pay a fine to the king of 100*l.* that you be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of the King's Bench for three calendar months, and that you find security for your good behaviour for one year, yourself in 200*l.* and your two sureties in 100*l.* each, and that you be imprisoned until such fine be paid, and such sureties found as aforesaid."

Sierra-Leone-House, Feb. 13. On Wednesday, captain Telford arrived with dispatches from the colony of Sierra Leone, dated the 28th of November. The French Squadron (See page 11) remained about 15 days in the river. They captured and pillaged the factory at Bance Island. When they were on the point of departing, they put on shore about 120 British sailors, most of them extremely sick, who had been taken from different ships captured on the coast; and having destroyed or carried off all the com-

pany's stores and provisions, except a supply of about three weeks for the sailors left on shore, they set sail to the southward.

The distresses of the colony were extremely great on the eve of their departure, the season being at that time remarkably sickly, and all the medicines having been carried away or destroyed. Of the sailors who were landed, about 80 perished for want of proper accommodation, as well as medicine and sustenance. The Nova Scotia settlers, however, suffered little: though many of the company's servants suffered much in their health from ill treatment and exposure, only two or three of them have died. The governor and council mention that their distresses had much abated a few weeks after the departure of the French Squadron: that a vessel also had arrived from England, which had furnished them with many necessary articles, and that a sufficient supply of rice was then in the colony: that the health of the company's servants was improving, and that at the time when they were stripped of their arms and ammunition, and every other necessary, no want of order had prevailed. They were in full expectation, that if the company should send them out the proper supplies, the colony would recover this misfortune. The Nova Scotia settlers being all on the land, which proved more fruitful than was expected, they were able to support themselves, and they had a quantity of stock on their farms.

The French Squadron appears to have been piloted and assisted by some American slave-traders.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 14. - Dispatches from vice-admiral Caldwell, dated January 13, contain the following

following particulars of a memorable engagement between his majesty's frigate *La Blanche*, and the French frigate *La Pique* of 38 guns:

Jan. 4, 1795. At day-light saw a frigate at anchor outside of the harbour of Point-à-Petre. At 7 A. M. she got under way, and kept working under her top-sails, backing her mizen-top-sail at times to keep company with a schooner. We ran toward her until nearly within gun-shot of Fort Fleur d'Épée, then tacked, hove to, and filled occasionally. Finding the French frigate not inclined to come out from the batteries, we made sail to board a schooner coming down along Grand Terre. At 11 A. M. fired a gun, and brought her to; she proved an American from Bourdeaux, and appearing suspicious, detained the master, and took her in tow. At this time the battery of Grozier fired two guns at us, and the frigate fired several, and hoisted her colours. None of the shot reached us. Finding her still not inclined to come out, we made sail toward Marigalante, under top-sails and courses.

Monday, at 4 P. M. we tacked and hove to, took out the American crew, and sent a petty officer and men into her. Saw the frigate still under Grand Terre. At 6 P. M. wore ship, and stood toward Dominique, with the schooner in tow. At half past 8 P. M. saw the frigate about two leagues astern, east of the schooner; tacked, and made sail. At a quarter past 12 A. M. passed under her lee on the starboard tack, she on the larboard tack, and exchanged broadsides. At half past 12 A. M. tacked and came up with her fast. When within musket-shot, she wore with an intention to rake us; we wore

at the same time, and engaged her nearly aboard. At 1 A. M. put our helm a starboard, and run across her stern, and lashed her bowsprit to our capstern; kept firing our quarter-deck guns, and other guns that would bear into her, and musketry, which she returned from her tops/ and from her quarter-deck guns, run in amid ship fore and aft. At this time our main, and mizen masts went overboard, and they attempted to board us, but were repulsed. At a quarter past 2 A. M. she dropped astern (at this time captain Faulknor fell). We got a hawser up, and made her well fast with her bowsprit, abreast of our starboard quarter; the marines keeping a constant fire of musketry into her. Finding the carpenters could not make the ports large enough, we blew out as much of the upper transom beam as would admit the two aftermost guns on the main deck to be run out, and fired into her bows. At 2 A. M. all her masts were shot away. In this situation we towed her before the wind, engaging till a quarter past five, when she called out, that 'She had struck!' The second lieutenant and ten men then swam on board, and took possession of *La Pique*, of - 26 - 12 pounders, French.

8 - 9 ditto, ditto.

4 - 32 carronades, brads, with a number of brads swivels on her gunwale. At the time of action we had away in prizes two master's mates, and twelve men. They had 76 killed, 110 wounded, and 30 lost with the masts. Their complement at the beginning of the action was upward of 400 men. Our loss, including captain Faulknor, is eight killed, and 21 wounded.—They came out on purpose to fight us.

Captain

Captain Faulknor was shot through the heart by a Frenchman, from the bowsprit of *La Pique*.—Captain Faulknor having previously himself lashed the bowsprit of *La Pique* to the capstern with his own hands.

First lieutenant Watkins gallantly fought the ship after captain Faulknor fell; and lieutenant David Milne was second lieutenant.

Killed: captain Robert Faulknor; Mr. William Bolton, midshipman; five seamen, and one marine.

Wounded: Mr. Charles Herbert, midshipman; Isaac Hutchinson, quarter-master; Philip Griffiths, ditto; William Fletcher, armourer; George Dice, serjeant of marines; twelve seamen and four marines.

15. A letter from Philadelphia, dated Dec. 27, says, 'About eight o'clock last evening the German Lutheran church, (corner of Fourth-street and Cherry alley) was discovered to be on fire, and after burning near four hours, this immense and elegant building was entirely consumed. No houses being immediately contiguous to it, the citizens, by the greatest exertions of industry and activity were enabled to stop the further ravages of the destructive element. This church was one of the most splendid in the Union, and was supposed to be worth 15,000l.'

Penrith, Feb. 13. As the son of Mr. Bousstead, of Great Salkeld, was shepherding upon Great Salkeld common, he had the misfortune to fall, and break his leg. He was then three miles from home, no person within call, and evening approaching. At a moment, when

distraction was most likely to overcome the powers of reason and reflection, he folded one of his gloves in his handkerchief, which he tied round the neck of the dog, and ordered him home. The dogs, which are trained to an attendance on the flock, are known to be under admirable subjection to the commands of their masters. The animal set off; and arriving at the house, scratched at the door for admittance. The young man's parents were alarmed at his appearance, and more especially when they took off and unfolded the handkerchief. Concluding, beyond a doubt, that some accident had befallen their son, they instantly went in search of him. The dog needed no invitation. Apparently sensible that the chief part of his duty was yet to be performed, he led the way, and conducted the anxious parents directly to the spot where their son lay! Happily this was effected before night came on; the young man was brought home; and, the necessary aid being procured, he is in a fair way of recovery.

19. Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, James George Lisle, otherwise Semple, was tried for stealing, on the 18th of November last, one yard of sprig muslin, three yards of calico and one linen shirt, the property of Thomas Wattleworth.

John Todd, shopman to Mr. Wattleworth, proved that the prisoner came to his master's shop, as being recommended by a Mrs. Cunningham, whom he styled his sister, and said he wanted a yard of muslin and three yards of calico to match a pattern he held in his hand; he also said he had just arrived from the continent, and wanted

wanted some shirts, adding, he wished to take one as a pattern to shew his sister; he described himself to be lieutenant-colonel Lisle, and represented his sister to reside at Egham-green; upon these representations the witness let him have the property; the muslin was debited to Mrs. Cunningham, but the shirt was entrusted to him on his own account, under a promise of returning it next morning; the prisoner never returned or was seen again by the witness, till the 6th of January last at Bow-street.

Mr. Wattleworth confirmed the substance of the evidence of Mr. Todd, and added that diligent enquiry had been made at Egham, for Mrs. Cunningham, but no such person could be found, though a woman of that name formerly resided there.

Mr. justice Buller observed, that there was no case of felony made out against the prisoner, as to the muslin and calico, since those articles were parted from on the credit of a Mrs. Cunningham, to whom they were debited; but with respect to the shirt, it was in evidence that he had obtained it on his own account under a promise of returning it. If, therefore, he intended to convert it to his own use, it amounted to a felony.

The jury, after some deliberation, found the prisoner guilty of obtaining goods by false pretences.

The learned judge said this was an erroneous verdict, as the prisoner was not tried for a fraud but a felony.

The jury then found the prisoner guilty of stealing the shirt only. He was ordered to be transported for seven years.

20. The committee for conducting the subscription for the relief of wounded seamen, and of the fami-

lies of those who fell in the service of their country, have carried the aid of this benevolent institution to a considerable extent. They administer to the support of all naval sufferers, from the officer downward; making provision also for the relatives of the slain, in proportion to their various necessities, always providing by trust, that their widows may not suffer by indiscreet alienations. The books of this excellent institution are a correct alphabetical register of the ships of the British navy, in which are classed the name and distinction of the person relieved, the sum or sums so applied, the action in which he suffered, together with a certified statement of every wound he received; the whole forming a mournful journal of our seamen's sufferings, combined with the pleasing recital of the active and liberal exertions made for their succour. This fund has fortunately been found adequate also to the purpose of paying an honorary tribute to those gallant commanders who have severely suffered in the service; for the committee have laudably voted a pair of elegant goblets, value five hundred guineas, to rear-admiral sir George Bowyer, and rear-admiral sir Thomas Pasley, each of whom lost a leg in support of the British flag on the memorable 1st of June. The country is thus indebted to a body of private gentlemen, for this great aid to the public service, and the benevolent lustre which it reflects on the national character.

24. Accounts from all parts of the kingdom contain the most disastrous recitals of the vast damages done by the late great and sudden thaw. Bridges carried away, the roads impassable, carriages lost, and

hundreds of acres drowned, particularly in the fenny countries, are so numerous, that it is impossible, within our limits, to give the reader any idea of them.

28. The Board of Agriculture, in consideration of the probable scarcity of wheat, have agreed to propose a premium of one thousand pounds to the person who shall grow the largest breadth of potatoes, on lands never applied to the culture of that plant before; and have liberally excluded the members of their own board from becoming candidates for this valuable prize.

M A R C H.

2. This day came on to be tried at Guildhall, before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an action for false imprisonment, brought by Mr. James Croome, auctioneer, against Paul le Mesurier, esq. late lord-mayor.

Mr. Erskine opened the case for the plaintiff. Among other observations he stated, that the law had wisely provided, on the one hand, for the liberty of the subject, and, on the other, for the dignity and security of magistrates. It frequently happened, that the subject brought before the magistrate involved a question of law, and that gentlemen who were called to the exercise of that office, might frequently find themselves involved in difficulties from defect in their education. The constitution did not forget that circumstance; and, therefore, if, from any informality, where the mind was not at all biased, the liberty of the subject were invaded by any mistake of the first magistrate of the city of London, he had an opportunity of tendering amends, by leaving it to a jury to

say, whether he had tendered a sufficient compensation for the trespass or the mistake he had committed.

The late lord-mayor, who was the defendant in this action, came there on the plea of not guilty, without having tendered any thing. He conceived it would have been more becoming the dignity of the chief magistrate of the city, before he came there, to tender an amends, the extent of which, the jury, on their oaths, would have decided.

Mr. Croome, he understood, some days before this imprisonment, published a hand-bill, in these words: 'A meeting will be held at Founders'-hall, Lothbury, on Friday the 22d of August 1794, at five in the afternoon, to take into consideration the appealing against the London Militia Act.'

That act was not universally approved. Whether it were a good or a bad measure, he knew not; and the jury had no jurisdiction over the question. It was sufficient for him to say, that it was the privilege of every subject of this country, to convene any of the inhabitants of the place in which he lived, proceeding in a manner that was decent and proper, to appeal against any act where the law gave an appeal, or if those who chose to assemble, conceived it a real grievance. If persons assembled in a tumultuous manner, the law would arrest them. If they were guilty of a breach of the peace, the law would punish them. Magistrates had an opportunity, by the rules of law, to interfere.

In consequence of that advertisement, the late lord-mayor sent one of his city-marshals to the house of the plaintiff, to desire him to come to the mansion-house. Mr. Croome received the officer with propriety,

propriety, and told him, he would wait upon his lordship. When he appeared the lord-mayor asked him, whether he knew any thing about the hand-bill that had been stated, and other hand-bills, which were then produced. Mr. Croome answered, that he had directed the hand-bills (convoking the meeting at Founders'-hall) to be printed. He could not tell who the persons were that might assemble. There was no violence—no riot. His lordship was pleased to say, 'If you cannot tell me who those people are, where they live, and who printed the hand-bills, I'll give you a night's lodging in the comptrol.' The plaintiff said, 'I have neither offended your lordship, nor violated the laws. Have not the citizens of London a right to meet when and where they please, to consider what is proper for them?'—'That,' replied the lord-mayor, 'is the question;' and, accordingly, he determined the question himself, and without even a warrant, upon which the plaintiff could have been brought up on a habeas corpus, neglecting all the forms of law, as well as violating its substance, he sends this citizen to the common gaol, where he remained a whole night; after which he was again brought before his lordship, and discharged.

The examination of the witnesses commenced; in the course of which it appeared, that this meeting took place about the time that there were dangerous riots in the city respecting the crimps and kidnappers; and that three very inflammatory hand-bills were circulated at the meeting at Founders'-hall, and produced at the examination of Mr. Croome before the lord-mayor.

Mr. Mingay rose in behalf of Mr. Le Mesurier, and reprobated

the conduct of Mr. Croome in the most severe terms. 'The duties of a magistrate,' he said, 'were not very easy to be executed, even in the most peaceable times, and they were infinitely more difficult when the opinions of men were much agitated. The liberty of the subject ought to be the object of all; but if the lord-mayor had not done what he did, he would have been unworthy of the station he held. Suppose he had left Mr. Croome, and other such people, loose, to hold the meeting at Founders'-hall, could any man say what might have been the consequence? If the people had once been assembled for one purpose, might not their minds be easily inflamed, and prepared by such hand-bills as had been read, for a very different purpose? A mob was much more easily collected than dispersed. The lord-mayor, recollecting that only two days before most serious riots had taken place in Shoe-lane and Holborn, conceived it his bounden duty, as the first magistrate, to whom the peace of the city was entrusted, to prevent, if possible, any more such meetings. His learned friend, who had opened this case, had no idea of the three very inflammatory hand-bills which had been read. Though he was the zealous advocate of freedom, he was no advocate of licentiousness. What had these hand-bills to do with the militia act? He did not say that they had not a right to assemble, to petition parliament against any supposed grievance; but this was all a pretext. He thought the lord-mayor, instead of deserving censure for what he had done, deserved praise. He attended to the importance of his duty at the moment: he meant to act fairly and honourably, and to do that

which was to be of service to the public. He submitted to the jury, that the lord-mayor was entitled to their verdict; but if he could not have their verdict in strictness of law, he was certain they would think the smallest coin in the kingdom would answer the justice of the case.

Lord Kenyon said, 'I think there is not here a defence, in point of law, to entitle the defendant to your verdict. The commitment of the party ought to have been by a written warrant, and not by a parole order; and, therefore, you must give your verdict for the plaintiff. But it is for you, by your verdict, to declare to the public your opinion of this cause: though not strictly legal, yet, perhaps, you may see the propriety of the conduct of the magistrate on that occasion. The history of this country affords many instances where a party, who, though he has not acted strictly conformably to law, may not only not deserve punishment, but may have merit with the public. On many occasions, the ministers of this country have ordered things to be done for which they have received the applause of all the world, and yet, not being strictly conformable to law, parliament has passed an act of indemnity.

'If you think the defendant, when he imprisoned the plaintiff, was wantonly sporting with the liberty of a fellow-subject, you will shew your indignation by the damages you give; but if you think, that, though he transgressed the strict line of the law, he was only anxious to preserve the public peace in difficult times, and was doing all he could for the benefit of the public, you will mark your opinion, perhaps, by giving the

plaintiff the lowest coin in the kingdom.'

Verdict for the plaintiff—Damages ONE FARTHING, which carries costs.

5. Richard Brothers, whose prophecies have lately made much noise, was taken into custody yesterday morning at his lodgings in Paddington-street, under virtue of a warrant from the duke of Portland, grounded on the 15th of Elizabeth, wherein he stands charged with unlawfully, maliciously, and wickedly writing, printing, and publishing various fantastical prophecies, with intent to create dissensions and other disturbances within this realm, and other of the king's dominions, contrary to the statute, &c.

Messrs. Higgins and Ross, two of the secretary of state's messengers, with Rivet, and another of the Bow-street officers, were the persons who put the warrant in execution. On informing Brothers of their business, he insisted on seeing their authority, which being shewn, he desired them to make his compliments to the duke of Portland, and inform his grace that he certainly should not wait on him; nor was it without some force that they could get possession of his papers. When he got to the street door, being at last convinced he must submit, he declared he would not go into the coach unless obliged, as then his prophecy would be fulfilled; and when seated in the coach, he exclaimed with great energy, 'Now my prophecy is fulfilled;' after which he was silent and submissive.

He was conveyed to the secretary of state's office, but did not undergo any examination, the presence of the lord chancellor being thought necessary. He continued in

in the custody of Mr. Rofs at his house in Crown-street.

This extraordinary person calls himself the nephew of God, the man who is to be revealed to the Jews as their prince and deliverer, and he prophesies the destruction of all sovereigns, and of the naval power of Great Britain, by the year 1798, &c.

7. Mr. Brothers was yesterday brought up before the privy-council, and underwent a long examination. He comported himself with great dignity and coolness, persisting in the divinity of his legation; and maintaining, that he held an immediate communication with God, as asserted in his writings. When the interrogatories were ended, he was sent back under the care of Mr. Rofs.

27. A commission was held this day at the King's-arms, in Palace-yard, Westminster, to ascertain the state of mind of Mr. Brothers, the pretended prophet; when the jury, after hearing the opinions of two physicians appointed by the privy-council to attend him, found him a lunatic, and gave their verdict accordingly.

A P R I L.

5. This morning, between one and two o'clock, a very desperate attempt was made to rescue Isdwell Isdwell, a Jew, who stood charged, with some others, with being concerned in a late forgery of stamps, and who, in a scuffle, lost his life in the following manner: Isdwell, who was confined in New-Prison, Clerkenwell, persuaded two of the turnkeys, that an aunt of his, who was very rich, then lay at the point of death, and that he had been informed, that, could she see him before she died, she would give him

a thousand pounds; and therefore, if they would let him out and accompany him to the place, he would give them fifty guineas each for their trouble; and that the matter might be effected without the knowledge of the keeper of the prison, or any other person, they having the keys of it at night, and the time required being very short. To this proposal the turnkeys agreed; and accordingly, about one o'clock in the morning, the gates were opened, and Isdwell, with his irons on, was conducted in a hackney coach by one of them, armed with a blunderbuss, to the place directed, which was in Artillery-lane, Bishopsgate-street, where they gained immediate admittance on ringing a bell; and, on enquiring for the sick lady, were ushered up one pair of stairs. Isdwell went into the room first, on which several fellows rushed forth and attempted to keep the turnkey out, but not succeeding in that respect, they put the candles out, wrested the blunderbuss out of his hands, and discharged it at him. At this instant, it was supposed, Isdwell was endeavouring to make his escape out of the door, as he received the principal part of the contents of the blunderbuss in his back, and fell dead; the turnkey also fell, one of the slugs having grazed the upper part of his head; and the villains, by some means finding their mistake, though in the dark, beat him in so shocking a manner with the butt end of the blunderbuss, while he lay on the ground, as to break it to pieces, fracture his skull in two places, and bruise him dreadfully about the body. The noise which the affair occasioned, brought a number of watchmen and patrolles to the house, who secured ten persons therein, mostly Jews,

There is every reason to suppose that they would have completely murdered the turnkey, had not timely assistance been afforded.

Admiralty-office, April 6. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this evening received from vice-admiral Hotham, commander of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

Britannia, at Sea, March 16.

SIR,

You will be pleased to inform their lordships, that on the 8th instant, being then in Leghorn road, I received an express from Genoa, that the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line and three frigates, were seen two days before off the Isle of Marguerite; which intelligence corresponding with a signal made from the Mozelle, then in the offing, for a fleet in the north-west quarter, I immediately caused the Squadron to be unmoored, and at day-break the following morning we put to sea with a strong breeze from the E.N.E.

The Mozelle previously returned to me, with the information, that the fleet she had seen were steering to the southward, and supposed to be the enemy; in consequence of which I shaped my course for Corsica, lest their destination should be against that island, and dispatched the Tarleton brig to St. Fiorenzo, with orders for the Berwick to join me with all possible expedition off Cape Corse; but, in the course of the night, she returned to me with the unwelcome intelligence of that ship's having been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

To trespass as little as possible upon their lordships' time, I shall not enter into a detail of our proceedings until the two squadrons got sight of each other, and the

prospect opened of forcing the enemy to action, every movement which was made being directed to that object, and that alone.

Although the French ships were seen by our advanced frigates daily, yet the two squadrons did not get sight of each other until the 12th, when that of the enemy was discovered to windward.

Observing them in the morning following still in that direction, without any apparent intention of coming down, the signal was made for a general chase, in the course of which, the weather being squally, and blowing very fresh, we discovered one of their line of battle-ships to be without her topmasts, which afforded to captain Freemantle of the *Inconstant* frigate (who was then far advanced on the chase), an opportunity of shewing a good proof of British enterprise, by his attacking, raking, and harassing her, until the coming up of the *Agamemnon*, when he was most ably seconded by captain Nelson, who did her so much damage as to disable her from putting herself again to rights: but they were at this time so far detached from our own fleet, that they were obliged to quit her, as other ships of the enemy were coming up to her assistance, by one of which she was soon afterward taken in tow.

Finding that our heavy ships did not gain on the enemy during the chase, I made the signal for the Squadron to form upon the larboard line of bearing, in which order we continued for the night.

At day-light the next morning (the 14th) being six or seven leagues to the south-west of Genoa, we observed the enemy's disabled ship, with the one that had her in tow, to be so far to leeward, and separated

rated from their own Squadron, as to afford a probable chance of our cutting them off. The opportunity was not lost; all sail was made to effect that purpose, which reduced the enemy to the alternative of abandoning those ships, or coming to battle.

Although the latter did not appear to be their choice, they yet came down (on the contrary tack to which we were) with the view of supporting them: but the Captain and Bedford, whose signals were made to attack the enemy's disabled ship and her companion, were so far advanced, and so closely supported by the other ships of our van, as to cut them off effectually from any assistance that could be given them; the conflict ended in the enemy's abandoning them, and firing upon our line as they passed with a light air of wind.

The two ships that fell proved to be the *Ca-ira* (formerly the *Couronne*) of 80 guns, and the *Censeur* of 74.

Our van ships suffered so much by this attack, particularly the *Illustrious* and *Courageux*, (having each lost their main and mizen masts,) that it became impossible for any thing further to be effected.

I have, however, good reason to hope, from the enemy's steering to the westward, after having passed our fleet, that whatever might have been their design, their intentions are for the present frustrated.

The French fleet were loaded with troops; the *Ca-ira* having thirteen hundred men on board, and the *Censeur* one thousand, of whom, by their obstinate defence, they lost in killed and wounded between three and four hundred men.

The efforts of our Squadron to second my wishes for an immediate and effectual attack upon the enemy,

were so spirited and unanimous, that I feel peculiar satisfaction in offering to their lordships my cordial commendation of all ranks collectively. It is difficult to specify particular desert, where emulation was common to all, and zeal for his majesty's service the general description of the fleet.

It is, however, an act of justice to express the sense I entertain of the services of captain Holloway, of the *Britannia*: during a long friendship with that officer, I have had repeated proofs of his personal and professional talents; and on this recent demand for experience and information, his zeal afforded me the most beneficial and satisfactory assistance.

Herewith I transmit a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships of the Squadron, and have to lament the loss of captain Littlejohn, of the *Berwick*, (who, I understand, from some of her men that were retaken in the *Ca-ira*), was unfortunately killed the morning of the ship's being captured; by which misfortune his majesty has lost a most valuable and experienced officer, and I have only to add that he has left a widow and four small children. I am, &c.

W. HOTHAM.

P. S. Inclosed, are lists of the ships that composed the two Squadrons of the 14th inst.

I am now on the way with the prizes to St. Fiorenzo, but doubt much whether it will be possible to get them in, as they are dismantled, greatly shattered, and very leaky, particularly the *Ca-ira*.

TOTAL KILLED.

Mr. Colman, midshipman, of the *Courageux*, and 74 seamen or marines.

(B 4)

TOTAL

TOTAL WOUNDED.

Lieut. Honeyman of the St. George; lieut. Hawker of the Windsor Castle; Mr. Hunter, master, and lieut. Rathbone, of the Captain; Mr. Moore, midshipman, of the Illustrious; Mr. Blackburn, master of the Courageux; lieut. Miles, of the Bedford; Mr. Wilton, master of the Agamemnon; and 272 seamen or marines.

ORDER of BATTLE,

March 14, 1795.

Van squadron under the commander in the second post.

Starboard or weather division.—
Vice admiral Goodall.

Ships	Commanders	Gu.	Men
Captain	Capt. Reeve	74	590
Bedford	Capt. Gould	74	590
Tancredi	{ Capt. le chevalier Caraccioli }	74	600

Princess Royal	{ Capt. Purvis }	90	760
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Agamemnon Capt. Nelson 64 491
Lowestoff repeating frigate.—
Tarleton, Palade, Poulette, and
Minerva frigates.

Centre squadron, under the commander in chief.

Vice-adm. Hotham.—Rear-adm.
Linzee.

Illustrious	Capt. Frederick	74	590
Courageux	Capt. Montgomery	74	640
Britannia	Capt. Holloway	100	859
Egmont	Capt. Sutton	74	590
Windsor Castle	Capt. Gore	90	755

Inconstant, Meleager, to repeat signals.

Rear squadron, under the commander in the third post.

Larboard or lee division.—Vice adm. sir H. Parker.

Diadem	Capt. Tyler	64	491
St. George	Capt. Foley	90	760

Terrible Capt. Campbell 74 590
Fortitude Capt. Young 74 590
Rouulus, repeating frigate.—
Fox cutter.

W. HOTHAM.

Names of the ships which composed the French fleet, March 14, 1795.

Names.	Gu.	Time of men. acti.
Le Sans Culotte	120	1200 2000
La Victoire (late Languedoc)	80	950 1300
Le Tonnant	80	950 1300
Le Guerrier	74	730 1000
Le Conquerant	74	730 1000
Le Mercure	74	730 1000
Le Barras	74	730 1000
Le Genereux	74	730 1000
L'Heureux	74	730 1000
Le Duquesne	74	730 1000
Le Timoleon (late Commerce de Bourdeaux)	74	730 1000
Le Ca-ira (taken)	80	950 1000
Le Censeur (taken)	74	930 1000
L'Alcide	74	930 1000
Le Souverain	74	930 1000
La Vestale	32	250 250
La Minerve	40	300 300
La Themise	40	300 300
L'Alceste	32	250 250
Scout	18	120 120
Le Hazard	20	120 120

W. HOTHAM.

6. Yesterday, the princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick arrived in town. Her serene highness had embarked at Cuxhaven, on board the Jupiter, of 50 guns, captain Lechmere, on the afternoon of Saturday, March 28. Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and lord Malmesbury, embarked in the same ship; major Hesselop, colonel Richardson, and Mr. Ross, in the Phaeton frigate, captain Stopford. On Sunday morning, at eight o'clock, the ships weighed anchor from

from Cuxhaven, with a fair wind at E.N.E., which continued till Wednesday, when a thick fog came on. They were then only six leagues from Yarmouth, but as it was dangerous to draw nearer the coast, the ships dropped anchor, and fired fog guns every hour. In this situation they lay through the whole of Thursday. The princess had hitherto been extremely well, had walked the quarter deck every day, and was uncommonly cheerful; but, what with the fog, and the motion of the vessel at anchor, she became a little incommoded. The morning, on Friday, was uncommonly fine; and, at four o'clock, the *Jupiter* made the signal to get under weigh. The fleet went under an easy sail, came off Harwich about noon, and passed through the Swin, to enter the Thames. About two, a very thick fog came on, which obliged the commodore to drop anchor. At four, the fog dispersed, and the signal being made to unmoor, the fleet again got under weigh, and about six o'clock dropped anchor at the Nore; being saluted from the Sandwich guard-ship stationed off there.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning, the 4th of April, the ships got under weigh, the tide serving, and about noon the *Jupiter* anchored off Gravesend. The princess slept on board that night.

On Sunday morning, as soon as the tide served, her serene highness, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, lord Malmesbury, and commodore Payne, disembarked from the *Jupiter*, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and, after twelve o'clock, landed at Greenwich hospital. The princess was received, on her landing, by sir

Hugh Palliser, the governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the governor's house, where she took tea and coffee. Lady Jersey did not arrive at the governor's till an hour after the princess had landed: and soon after, they both retired into an adjoining room, and the dress of the princess was changed, from a muslin gown and blue satin petticoat, with a black beaver hat, and blue and black feathers, for a white satin gown, and very elegant turban cap of satin, trimmed with crape, and ornamented with white feathers, which were brought from town by lady Jersey.

A little after two o'clock, her serene highness left the governor's house, and got into one of the king's coaches, drawn by six horses. In this coach were also Mrs. Harcourt and lady Jersey. Another of his majesty's coaches and six preceded it, in which were Mrs. Harvey Aston, lord Malmesbury, lord Clermont, and colonel Greville. In a third coach with four horses, were two women servants, whom the princess brought from Germany, and are her only German attendants from thence. The princess' carriage was escorted on each side by a party of the prince of Wales' own regiment of light dragoons. Beside this escort, the road was lined at small distances by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were stationed from Greenwich all the way to the horse guards. In her way through the crowds of people that lined the whole way, her serene highness bowed and smiled in a most affable manner.

Before three o'clock, her serene highness alighted at St. James', and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception, which look into Cleveland-row.

After

After a short time, the princess appeared at the windows, which were thrown up, that the people might have a sight of her. They huzzaed her, and she courtseyed; and this continued some minutes, until the prince arrived from Carlton-house. His royal highness, on entering the palace, appeared extremely agitated. He was introduced to the princess by lord Malmesbury, and immediately saluted her. Mrs. Harcourt had, in the mean time, gone to the queen's house, to announce the princess' arrival.

The head-dress of the princess, was the same as that in which she is painted in the picture sent by the duke of Brunswick to the prince; and his royal highness was dressed in a full suit of the hussar uniform of his regiment, the same as the dress of his picture, painted by Cosway, and sent to the princess.

A little before five, the prince and princess sat down to dinner. At the same table were lady Jersey, Mrs. Harvey Aston, Mrs. Harcourt, lord Malmesbury, lord Clermont, colonel Greville, and major Heslop.

The people continuing to huzza before the palace, his royal highness, after dinner, appeared at the window, and thanked them for this mark of their attention; but he hoped that they would excuse her appearance then, as it might give her cold. This completely satisfied the crowd, who gave the prince three cheers, and dispersed.

About eight, the king, queen, and all the princesses, the duke and duchess of York, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, prince William, and the princess Sophia, were introduced to her

serene highness; and it was eleven o'clock before they retired. The princess was then left under the care of Mrs. Harvey Aston, who slept in the royal apartments.

St. James', April 8, 1795. This evening the solemnity of the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with her highness the princess Caroline of Brunswick was performed in the chapel royal by the archbishop of Canterbury. The processions, to and from the chapel, were in the following order.

The Procession of the BRIDE.

Drums and Trumpets.

Kettle Drums.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Master of the Ceremonies.

The Bride's Gentleman Usher between the two Senior Heralds.

His Majesty's Vice Chamberlain.

His Majesty's Lord Chamberlain.

The BRIDE,

In her nuptial habit, with a coronet, led by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, her train borne by four unmarried daughters of dukes and earls, viz.

Lady Mary Osborne,

Lady Charl. Spencer,

Lady Caroline Villiers,

Lady Charlotte Legge:

And her highness was attended by the ladies of her household.

On entering the chapel, her highness was conducted to the seat prepared for her, near her majesty's chair of state. The master of the ceremonies, with the gentleman usher, retired to the places assigned them.

The lord chamberlain and vice chamberlain, with a herald, returned to attend the bridegroom; the senior herald remaining in the chapel, to conduct the several persons to their respective places.

The

THE BRIDEGROOM'S PROCESSION,
In the same order as that of the bride,
with the addition of the officers
of his royal highness' household.

**HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE
OF WALES,**

In his collar of the order of the
Garter, supported by two un-
married dukes, viz.

Duke of Bedford. Duke of Rox-
burgh:

And his royal highness being con-
ducted to his seat in the chapel,
the lord chamberlain, vice cham-
berlain, and two heralds, returned
to attend his majesty.

THEIR MAJESTIES' PROCESSION.

Drums and Trumpets as before.

Knight Marshal.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Treasurer of the Household.

Master of the Horse.

Two married Dukes, viz.

Duke of Leeds. Duke of Beau-
fort.

Lord Steward of the Household.

Provincial Kings of Arms.

Serjeants at arms	{	Lord Pri-	{	Serjeants at arms.
		vy seal		
		Lord Pres.		
		of the		
		Council		

Archbishop of York.

Lord High Chancellor.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Garter Principal King at Arms,
with his Sceptre, between two Gen-
tlemen Ushers.

The Earl Marshal, with his Staff.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL, viz.

Prince William.

**HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF
GLOUCESTER.**

**HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF
YORK.**

Sword of State, borne by the Duke
of Portland, between the Lord
Chamberlain and Vice Chamber-
lain of the Household.

HIS MAJESTY,

In the Collar of the Order of the
Garter.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	{	Colonel	{	Capt. of
		of the		the band
		Life		of gentle-
		Guards in		men pen-
		waiting		sioners.

The Lord of the Bedchamber in
Waiting.

Master of the Robes.

Groom of the Bedchamber.

Vice Chamberlain to the Queen.

HER MAJESTY,

between the Queen's Lord Cham-
berlain, and the Queen's Master of
the Horse.

Their Royal Highnesses, The Prin-
cesses Royal,

Princess Augusta Sophia,

Princess Elizabeth,

Princess Mary,

Princess Sophia,

Princess Amelia,

Her Royal Highness the Duchess
of York,

Princess Sophia of Gloucester,
supported severally by their Gentle-
men Ushers.

The Ladies of her Majesty's Bed-
chamber.

Maids of Honour.

Women of her Majesty's Bed-
chamber.

Upon entering the chapel, the
several persons in the procession
were conducted to the places ap-
pointed for them. Their Majesties
went to their chairs on the haut-
pas, the bridegroom and the bride to
their seats, and the rest of the royal
family to those prepared for them.

At the conclusion of the mar-
riage service their Majesties retired
to their chairs of state under the
canopy, while the anthem was per-
forming. The procession after-
ward returned in the following or-
der:

Drums and Trumpets, as before.

Master

Master of the Ceremonies.

The Princess' Gentleman Usher,
between two Heralds.

Officers of the Prince's Household.

His Royal Highness the Prince of

Wales leading the Bride,
and supported by two married dukes,
viz.

Duke of Beaufort. Duke of Leeds.

The Ladies of her Royal Highness'
Household.

The king was attended by the great officers, in the same manner in which his majesty went to the chapel; and her majesty and the princesses in the order before mentioned.

The procession, at the return, filed off in the privy chamber. Their majesties, the bridegroom and bride, with the rest of the royal family, and the great officers, proceeded into the levee chamber, where the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities; after which the procession continued into the lesser drawing-room; and their majesties, with the bridegroom and bride, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber; where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, paid their compliments on the occasion.

The evening concluded with very splendid illuminations, and other public demonstrations of joy, throughout London and Westminster.

10. David Downie, condemned for high treason at Edinburgh, but recommended to mercy by the jury, has received his majesty's pardon, on condition of being imprisoned for a year, and afterward banishing himself from Great Britain for life. *See Vol. XV. p. (54).*

17. *Shrewsbury, April 17.* At our

town sessions on Monday last, Mahomet Benally, for seditious words, damning the British king, and being in England contrary to the alien act, was sentenced to 14 days imprisonment in the house of correction to hard labour and solitary confinement; and at the expiration of that time to be delivered over to such person as his majesty shall think proper to direct.

21. Yesterday, William Tilley, George Hardwick, James Hayden, John Henley, John Delancy, William Handland, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, and John Philips, were tried at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Isdwell. Isdwell, by maliciously levelling and firing a blunderbuss at John Day, for the purpose of effecting the escape of the said Isdwell, he being committed on a charge for a capital offence.—The trial lasted from eleven o'clock yesterday morning till past one this morning. The jury were out about a quarter of an hour, and then returned a verdict of—Not Guilty.

They were all detained to take their trial for a conspiracy, to rescue the deceased out of the hands of justice. *See p. (21.)*

25. This day the lords met in their own house at twelve. The peeresses' gallery in Westminster Hall was filled before one. The commons, with the speaker, came into their seats at half an hour after one. The stadtholder, with his lady and family, were received into the queen's apartment. The Turkish ambassador and his retinue sat in their seats. All the ambassadors from the several courts of Europe were present. At half past one, the procession of the lords moved to Westminster-hall.

The managers having taken their places, proclamation for silence was then

then made, and Mr. Hastings called to the bar.

Mr. Hastings came to the bar, attended by the usher of the black rod; and having made his obeisance to the court, was ordered to withdraw.

Lord Chancellor. — The lords have ordered the following questions be put to your lordships. [Here followed the 16 articles.]

First, “Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty or not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged by the commons in the first article of charge?” [the charge of Cheyt Sing.]

Lord Chancellor to the junior Baron — “How say you, my lord Douglas, is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors contained in this charge in the impeachment, or not guilty?”

Baron Douglas (earl of Morton) rose, and placing his right hand on his left breast, said, “Not guilty, upon mine honour.”

The same question was then put to the following noble lords, who gave the verdict annexed to their names in the same form:

Lord Fife — Not guilty.

Lord Somers — Not guilty.

Lord Rawdon — Not guilty.

Lord Walsingham — Not guilty.

Lord Thurlow — Not guilty.

Lord Hawke — Not guilty.

Lord Boston — Not guilty.

Lord Sandys — Not guilty.

Lord Middleton — Not guilty.

Bishop of Rochester — Not guilty.

Bishop of Bangor — Not guilty.

Lord Viscount Sidney — Not guilty.

Lord Viscount Falmouth — Not guilty.

Earl of Caernarvon — Guilty.

Earl of Dorchester — Not guilty.

Earl of Beverley — Not guilty.

Earl of Radnor — Guilty.

Earl Fitzwilliam — Guilty.

Earl of Warwick — Not guilty.

Earl of Coventry — Not guilty.

Earl of Suffolk — Guilty.

Marq. Townshend — Not guilty.

D. of Bridgewater — Not guilty.

Duke of Leeds — Not guilty.

Duke of Norfolk — Guilty.

Earl of Mansfield — Not guilty.

Archbishop of York — Not guilty.

Lord Loughborough, Guilty.

Thus, on the first question, twenty-three peers pronounced Mr. Hastings Not guilty. Six pronounced him Guilty.

The other questions were then put in the same form; and the verdicts upon all the questions, when the numbers were summed up, appeared thus—

Charge.	Not G.	G.
1. Cheyt Sing	-	23 6
2. Begums	-	23 6
3. Presents in 1772, 1773,		
1774	-	28 0
4. Presents from Sadanund	24	4
5. Ditto from Killaram	24	3
6. Presents from Nundoolol	24	3
7. Ditto from the Vizier	24	3
8. Ditto from Rajah Nob-		
kissen	-	22 5
9. Opium Contract (Sulli-		
van's)	-	22 5
10. Ditto	-	27 0
11. Bullock Contract	-	24 3
12. Ditto	-	24 3
13. Allowance to Sir Eyre		
Coote	-	23 4
14. Appointment of Mr.		
Auriol to be Agent		
for Supplies	-	23 4
15. Ditto of Mr. Belli	-	24 3
16. General Question	-	24 2

This last question was — “Is Warren Hastings, esq. Guilty, or Not guilty, of the high crimes and misdemeanors, or any of them, charged upon

upon him by the residue of the impeachment of the commons?"

The noble lords voted in the following manner:

Lords Douglas, Fife, Somers, Rawdon, Thurlow, Hawke, Boston, Sandys, and Middleton; bishops of Rochester and Bangor; lord viscounts Sidney and Falmouth; earls of Dorchester, Beverley, Warwick, and Coventry; marquis Townshend; dukes of Bridgewater and Leeds; archbishop of York—*Not guilty* on all the questions.

Earl of Mansfield—*Not guilty* on all, except the 8th, on that *guilty*.

Lord Walsingham—*Not guilty* on all, except the 9th.

Earl of Caernarvon, earl Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor—*Guilty* on all, except questions 3 and 10.

Earl of Radnor—*Guilty* on the 1st, 2d, 8th, 9th, 13th and 14th, *Not guilty* on all the rest.

Earl of Suffolk—*Guilty* on the 1st, 2d and 4th; *Not guilty* on the 3d. Retired.

Duke of Norfolk—*Guilty* on the 1st and 2d. Retired.

The number of bishops who entered in the procession was nine; of these, three gave their votes: the others waved their privilege on this occasion. The peers who were managers, also declined voting.

These of their lordships who did not vote, stood near the throne unrobed.

Mr. Cowper, the clerk, having collected the votes, gave the numbers to the lord chancellor. His lordship said—"My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons, Warren Hastings, esq, has been acquitted of the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors, which have been preferred against him, by a large

majority of the peers.—Call in Mr. Hastings."

Sir Francis Molyneux went from his seat to conduct Mr. Hastings to the bar.

Lord Chancellor.—"Mr. Hastings, the house of lords, after a very minute investigation, have acquitted you of all the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors, preferred against you by the commons, and every article thereof; and you and your bail are discharged, upon your paying your fees."

Mr. Hastings bowed very respectfully, and retired.

Thus has ended this impeachment, which, for length of time, has exceeded any trial in the history of the world, having lasted seven years and three months.

Dublin, April 30. On the 23d instant, the rev. William Jackson appeared at the bar of the court of King's bench, to take his trial for high treason. The indictment charged him with two species of treason, namely, compassing the king's death, and adhering to his enemies, and stated 14 overt acts.

The attorney-general opened the prosecution on the part of the crown, and proceeded to substantiate the charges laid in the indictment; for which purpose he called

Mr. Cockayne, an attorney of London, who deposed, that he had been for years the law-agent and intimate friend of Mr. Jackson, who, a few years ago, went to France (as the witness understood, to transact some private business for Mr. Pitt) where he resided a considerable time. Soon after his return, Mr. Cockayne said he called on him, and told him, in confidence, that he had formed a design of going to Ireland to found the people, for the purpose of procuring a supply of provisions, &c.

&c. for the French, and requested him (the witness) to accompany him. Having accepted the invitation, he immediately waited on Mr. Pitt, and discovered to him the whole of Mr. Jackson's plans. The minister thanked him for the information, and hinted, that as the matter was to become a subject of legal investigation, it would be necessary for him to substantiate the allegations; but this Mr. Cockayne wished to decline, on the principle that, if the prisoner should be convicted of high treason, he should lose by it 300l. in which sum he was then indebted to him. This objection was soon removed by Mr. Pitt agreeing to pay him the money, provided he would prosecute to conviction; and the witness accompanied Mr. Jackson to Ireland for the purpose of making himself acquainted with his proceedings. Shortly after their arrival in Dublin; where they lived together, the prisoner expressed a wish to be introduced to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, who was then confined in Newgate, and, at length, through the interference of a friend, he obtained an interview, at which Mr. Cockayne was present. In the course of conversation, the prisoner delivered two papers to Mr. Rowan, for the purpose of convincing him that he was a person in whom he might confide. From that time an intimacy took place between them; the witness always accompanied Mr. Jackson in his visits to Mr. Rowan, and constantly took a part in their conversation. They agreed, he said, that a person should be sent to France to procure a force to make a descent on Ireland, and counsellor Wolfe Tone was mentioned as a fit person for that purpose, who at first appeared to ac-

quiesce, but afterward declined the office. Dr. Reynolds was then proposed by Mr. Rowan, but objected to by the prisoner, as he did not understand the French language. It was, however, at length agreed, that the doctor should undertake the embassy; but in a short time he also refused to enter on the business. On this it was agreed that Mr. Jackson should write several letters, which were directed for a Mr. Stone, of the firm of Lawrence and co. London. These contained inclosures for houses at Hamburg and Amsterdam; and some of them, to the French agents, described the situation of Ireland at the time, invited an invasion, and pointed out the proper places to land. These letters having been sent to the post-office, the witness went to the secretary, and informed him of the subject of them, on which they were detained. The plot, matured thus far, having been discovered, the prisoner was taken into custody.

Such is the substance of the examination and cross-examination of Mr. Cockayne, which, together with the documentary proofs alluded to, were the only evidence adduced. He appeared very much agitated and confused throughout the whole of the investigation.

Mr. Curran and Mr. Ponsonby exerted their well-known abilities in behalf of the prisoner. The former treated the conduct of Mr. Cockayne as extremely suspicious; and suggested to the jury, that his evidence was entitled to very little credit.

The prime serjeant replied; and lord chief justice Clonmel delivered a very impartial charge to the jury, who retired at forty-five minutes after three in the morning, and at half

half past four brought in a verdict of Guilty, but recommended the prisoner to mercy.

The chief justice enquired of the jury, if they had any doubts on their minds that led them to such recommendation?—The foreman answered immediately, ‘No, my lord.’

The judges Clonmel, Boyd, and Chamberlain, consulted for a few minutes. The chief justice then addressed the jury, ‘Gentlemen, you have acquitted yourselves with honour, and a conscientious regard for justice. It is more than a century since this land has been cursed with such a crime, and we trust your verdict will operate in preventing a repetition of it. Your recommendation shall be laid before government.’

Mr. Jackson heard the verdict with much apparent composure, and was remanded to prison.

This day, at eleven in the morning, Mr. Jackson was brought up to the court of King’s-bench, where an arrest of judgment was to be argued by his counsel.

A few minutes after Mr. Ponsonby had commenced a most ingenious plea, the prisoner, who was standing in the dock, was seized with violent emotions, such as the drawing up of his shoulders, frothing at the mouth, &c. and shortly afterward fell down, and expired on the spot.

The next day, the coroner’s inquest sat on the body, when Mr. Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, deposed, That he had seen Mr. Jackson at a late hour on Wednesday night, when he was apparently well, and between nine and ten the following morning, when his appearance was much altered. No person was with him during the night but an old woman who had

attended him during his confinement. Mrs. Jackson (his wife) breakfasted with him in the morning. He complained of sickness in the stomach, which he accounted for by his having taken tea for his breakfast, which he said always disagreed with him. He informed the witness that he rose at three o’clock, from mistaking the time, and fearing to delay the court. The witness accompanied him in a carriage from Newgate to the Four Courts. He vomited several times, and a frothy fluid issued from his mouth, which he removed with his handkerchief. He expressed great uneasiness at the curiosity of the populace to see him in the carriage.

Surgeons Hume and Adrien having opened the body in the presence of the jury, and inspected the interior coats of the stomach, were next examined: they deposed, that an inflammation of the stomach, occasioned by the irritation of some acrid matter, was the cause of his death.

Counsellor Powell, who attended on the part of the heir at law, stated to the jury two points for their consideration:—First, whether it had been fully ascertained that Mr. Jackson has been poisoned? In his opinion it had not; but if the jury held a contrary opinion, they were then to determine how, or by whom the poison had been administered? He had heard it rumoured, that Mr. Jackson intended to give information of high crimes and misdemeanors against persons in the city of Dublin; such persons might be suspected of administering the poison (if it was administered) for their own safety; but there was not the least cause of suspicion, that a man of his fortitude would be guilty of an act of suicide.

The

The jury withdrew, and after a short deliberation returned the following verdict: 'We find that the rev. William Jackson, died on the 30th of April, of some acrid and mortal substance taken into his stomach, but how or by whom administered, is to us unknown.'

On the 2d of May, his remains were carried from the undertaker's, in May-lane, in a hearse, accompanied by twelve coaches, to the cemetery of St. Michan's, and there decently interred.

By the death of Mr. Jackson before sentence was pronounced, his property, which it was said amounted to about 200l. a year, will be preserved to his family, and not escheat to the crown, as it would otherwise have done.

M A Y.

4. At eleven o'clock on Friday morning, at Spithead, a fire broke out on board the *Boyne*, of 98 guns, which continued with irresistible violence till five o'clock, when the magazine blew up. It was discovered in the after-part of the ship, and is supposed to have proceeded either from a live cartridge from the muskets of the soldiers, who were exercising with small arms on the windward side of the ship, having lodged in the captain's or admiral's cabin, and caught something combustible, or from the funnel of the admiral's cabin having been on fire, and communicated to the deck.

The flames burst through the poop before the fire was discovered. Fortunately, the greatest part of the powder had been sent on shore three days ago, and, upon the first alarm, the cock was turned upon the grand magazine. The fore and aft hanging magazines contained

but little powder; the former exploded with very little effect.

When the fire broke out, there was a fresh breeze at S.W. and it being tide of ebb, the ships were riding with their sterns to the wind. Within half an hour after the commencement of the fire, the tops and all the rigging were in a blaze.

About twelve the tide turned, and the position of the ships became changed, but it was then too late to make any attempt, or even for boats to get near her. Previously to this, however, from the number of boats that went instantly to their assistance, most of the crew were saved.

On mustering the men taken into the different ships, it appeared there were only fourteen missing, of whom eleven are supposed to have perished: all the officers and warrant officers were saved.

All her guns were loaded, and as they became heated, went off, the shot falling among the shipping; some of them even reached the shore.

On board the *Queen Charlotte*, two men were killed, and one wounded, by the shot from the guns of the *Boyne*, as they went off in succession.

It was upward of two hours from the first discharge till all the guns had gone off. About two her cables were burnt, and she went adrift, the fire blazing through every port-hole. The sight, though at noon day, was awfully grand. The ships to leeward of her having got under weigh to get clear of her, ran down to St. Helen's, and she drifted slowly to the eastward, her mizen-masts and top-masts having fallen down before she began to drift.

About five o'clock the wreck was drifted by the tide farther on

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the

the spot, opposite South Sea Castle, when the magazine blew up with a very great explosion.

This noble ship, which was only five years old, was completely manned and victualled; there were also a number of women and children on board, many of whom must have perished. The men jumped overboard, and were mostly taken up by boats belonging to the fleet, which had all been manned on the first alarm, and ordered to render every assistance.

5. Mr. Brothers (*see p. 20.*) was yesterday removed from the house of the king's messenger, in Crown-street, Westminster, and placed under the care of Dr. Simmons, physician to St. Luke's hospital, at Fishier-house, Islington.

Admiralty-office, May 9.

Extract of a Letter from Captain James Cotes, late of his Majesty's ship *Thames*, dated Gisors, April 9, 1795.

Thursday, October 24, 1793, lat. 47 2 N. long. 7 22 W. standing upon a wind to the southward the wind at W. S. W. at half past nine o'clock, A. M. saw a sail bearing south; she hoisted a blue flag at the fore-top-mast-head, as a signal to a brig that accompanied her, and then bore away before the wind. It came on very thick; upon its clearing up, at a quarter past ten o'clock, we perceived she had hauled her wind, and made sail for us; cleared ship; at half past ten o'clock she fired a gun to windward, and hoisted French national colours. We were soon close, passing on contrary tacks; she fired her bow guns, and then a broadside, when she wore, and an action commenced, which continued until twenty minutes past two, P. M. when the ship (which proved to be a French frigate) hauled off to the south-

ward, making all the sail she could; but unfortunately leaving us in a condition unable to follow her.

All our masts and bowsprit were shot through in a number of places, all our stays entirely shot away, all the main rigging shot away, and was hanging by the ratlines, except two shrouds on one side, and three on the other; but, on examination, the eyes of these were shot away above the top. The main-top-mast rigging was still more damaged, and the mast shot through in three places. The main top-sail-yard was shot away in the slings by a double-headed shot, and the yard-arms came down before the main yard, the lifts, braces, &c. being all shot away; the slings, both iron and rope, beside the geers of the main-yard, were shot away; the yard hung by the trusses, about a third mast down; the main sail was cut to pieces, particularly the leech ropes. The fore mast had received nearly the same damage as the main mast, with this difference, that the slings of the fore-yard were not all cut away, so that the yard remained aloft; the fore-top-mast rigging, except one shroud on one side, and two on the other, was all shot away, with all the stays, back-stays, lifts, braces, tyes, haulyards, &c. the bowsprit shot through in several places, all the bob-stays and bowsprit shrouds were cut by shot and langrage; the jib-stay and haulyards were cut away the first broadside. The mizen-mast was so wounded, and the rigging so cut to pieces, that I was obliged to lower the gaff after the action, to prevent the masts going over the side; the fore part of the top was entirely shot away. I cannot pretend to enumerate the shot that was received in the hull; most part of the gangways were shot away, the main-deck

deck before the main-mast was torn up from the waterway to the hatchways, the bits were shot away and unshipped, six shot between wind and water on the starboard, and three on the larboard side; in short, when the enemy made sail, the ship was perfectly unmanageable, two guns on the main-deck and one on the quarter-deck were dismounted, almost all the tackle and breechings were carried away; in this situation I was obliged to put before the wind, to prevent the masts going over the side, as it began to freshen from the W.S.W.

While we were thus employed, three sail (large frigates) appeared, making all the sail they could, under English colours; it was impossible for me to alter our position, not being able to haul upon a wind, all our after-sail being shot away, and the runners being carried forward, were crossed to serve both as stays and shrouds, and the ships had separated to prevent any such manœuvre. Fearing they might be enemies, as I thought they were, I called the remaining officers together, and asked them, whether if they should prove enemies, it would answer any purpose engaging in the situation we were in; they were all of opinion that to engage with such a superiority of force could answer no other end than the destruction of the remaining crew, and that we were cut off from all possibility of an escape; in this situation were we when the headmost passed us at a considerable distance (still under English colours) as if to reconnoitre our disabled state; shortly after she wore, and came under our stern, and gave us a broadside. Perceiving it was his intention to engage us in that manner, seeing us entirely deprived of the means of altering our course, I judged it necessary to bring to,

and inform him, as the ship had already engaged, we were incapable of further resistance, and consequently had yielded to their superior force. He desired us to send our boat; I told him it was impossible, as they were all unfit to be put in the water, and if they were, we were unable to hoist them out; he, in consequence, sent his on board of us, during which time the dispatches, together with all papers and letters that were on board, were sunk.

Thus, sir, has fallen into the hands of the enemy his majesty's ship *Thames* under my command; but I trust a court-martial will convince their lordships and the country at large, that, although the misfortune has taken place, it was not until every exertion was found to be of no further avail.

The ship, after some of her crew was sent on board the *Carmagnole*, was taken in tow by her, and we anchored in Brest-road the day following.

Enclosed I forward a list of the killed and wounded for their lordships' information.

Nine seamen, 1 marine, killed; and the second lieutenant, master, master's mate, quarter gunner, a midshipman, thirteen seamen, and five marines, wounded.

11. Rear-admiral Bligh, major Tench, of the marines, and two midshipmen, late of the *Alexander* man of war, arrived at Plymouth yesterday, from France, by consent of the committee of public safety: they left Brest on the 5th instant, and took passage in a Danish ship.

16. On Tuesday, April 28, a court-martial was held on board the *Glory* of 98 guns, in Portsmouth harbour, on captain Anthony James Pye Molloy, of the *Cæsar* of 74 guns, upon the charge of his not having brought up his

ship, and exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the engagements which took place on the 29th of May and 1st of June 1794; and for not crossing the enemy's line.

The following were the members that constituted the court.

ADMIRALS:

Jos. Peyton, president,
Sir Richard King,
Charles Buckner,
John Colpoys.

CAPTAINS:

Alexander Greene,
Francis Parry,
Andrew Mitchell,
Christopher Parker,
Cha. Morris Gould,
C. Edm. Nugent,
Sir Eras. Gower,
Right hon. lord C. Fitzgerald,
J. Rich. Dacres.

JUDGE ADVOCATE:

Moses Greatham, esq.

PROSECUTOR:

Sir Roger Curtis.

The examination of the witnesses to prove the charges, and of the witnesses in his favour, extended this trial to sixteen days, and on Friday, May 15, the court being met for the last time, the judge-advocate, after some preliminary formalities, read a paper, which stated the purpose for which the court-martial was called, the circumstance which caused it, the names of the members, and the charges which they had to try. The first charge was, that captain Molloy, of his Majesty's ship *Cæsar*, did not, on the 29th of May 1794, cross the enemy's line, in obedience to the signal of the admiral; the second, that on the 1st of June he had not used his utmost endeavours to close with and defeat the enemy.

THE SENTENCE.

The court having heard the evidence on the part of the prosecu-

tion, and that on behalf of captain Molloy, and having duly weighed and considered the same, were of opinion—

‘That the said charges have been made good against the said captain Anthony James Pye Molloy. But having found that, on the said 29th of May and 1st of June, as well as on many former occasions, captain Molloy's courage had always been unimpeachable—the court were of opinion, that captain Molloy, then commanding the *Cæsar*, should be dismissed from his majesty's said ship the *Cæsar*; and ordered that he be accordingly forthwith dismissed.

Lewes, April 18. Yesterday morning, soon after the justices went into court to open the quarter-sessions, the constable of Newhaven arrived express, and delivered to lord Sheffield, the chairman, a paper, which gave an account that the Oxfordshire militia had quitted their barracks at Blatchington, near Seaford, and, notwithstanding the endeavours of their officers, had taken their arms and marched with bayonets fixed: That, on Thursday evening, they, in a very disorderly manner, entered the town of Seaford, and seized all the flour and provisions they could meet with: That the next morning (Friday) they marched in the same manner, in number about 500, to Newhaven, and to the tide mill near that town, where they found a very large quantity of flour: That they seized the horses of the farmers, and of the artillery, with which they were carrying it away: That they also seized a vessel in the river, laden with flour and corn, on which they placed a guard of twenty men.—Lord Sheffield wrote a note from the bench, requiring general Ainslie, who was then in this town, to send a sufficient force to repress these disorders; and in the afternoon

noon his lordship, accompanied by the high sheriff, went to Newhaven, which he found in possession of about sixty of the militia, who were then all drunk and very riotous; the rest of them had retired to their barracks at Blatchington with some of their officers who had followed them, declaring, however, that they should return in the morning, destroy the mill, and march to Lewes and Brighthelmstone. Lord Sheffield assembled the principal people at the inn in Newhaven, and put the battery and ammunition under the charge of lieutenant Cook of the navy, and his seamen, and also an ordnance vessel, which lay in the river, laden with arms and ammunition, and which the mutineers intended to seize. He desired the inhabitants to take possession of the mill, and to defend it with such arms as they could collect, and promised very speedy assistance. He returned at night to Lewes, and reported to the general what he had observed, and had done, and recommended vigorous measures. This morning, very early, the horse artillery, quartered in this town, with some cannon, and also the horse artillery at Brighthelmstone, with colonel Leigh's light dragoons, marched to Newhaven, and made prisoners of the rioters who were there. From two pieces of cannon which were placed on the hill on the Seaford side, two shot were fired over a large body who were marching from the barracks to relieve those at Newhaven. They immediately fled, but were soon surrounded, and taken prisoners by the light horse. All is now quiet, and it is mentioned with much pleasure, that not a single countryman joined the militia, and only one non-com-

missioned officer was observed among them. See p. (38), (40).

22. Yesterday, Solomon Isdwell was tried at the Old Bailey, upon the charge of having forged and uttered certain papers, purporting to be 6s. stamps, with the intent of defrauding the revenue produced by the stamps. Moses, who was the principal witness, and had been admitted an evidence, gave a long account of the whole transaction, in which he stated, that a press had been procured by the prisoner and his brother, who was shot in Artillery-lane; that he had seen the prisoner in the act of stamping them, and that he, the witness, sent them down to a Mr. Wolfe, at Portsmouth, pretending they were part of the stock of a stationer who had failed.

To corroborate this man's testimony, several witnesses were called and examined, as to the press being in possession of the Isdwells; the bills were produced, which had been transmitted up by Wolfe for payment, and which were indorsed by Isdwell; and the stamps produced were sworn to be forged.

The trial lasted from half past three till nearly as much after eleven, when the jury went out for more than an hour and a half, and then returned their verdict—Guilty. See p. (21), (28).

23. Yesterday Maria Theresa Phipoe was capitally indicted, at the Old Bailey, for putting in fear, and violently and feloniously taking from John Courtoy a promissory note, value 2000l.

This very extraordinary case appeared to be as follows: Mr. Courtoy being at Mrs. Phipoe's house in Hans Town, Brompton, the latter, with the assistance of her servant, Mary Browne (who was

the principal evidence against her) fastened Mr. Courtoy to the back of a chair, and extorted from him a note of 2000l. by threatening and attempting to cut his throat. After he had signed and given the note, she again attempted to kill him in the same manner, having first offered him his choice to die by arsenic, the pistol, or the knife; and he escaped with great difficulty, three or four of his fingers being cut in the struggle.

The indictment was founded on the statute of 2d George II. which enacts, that if any person shall steal or obtain by force or violence any exchequer order, promissory note, &c. such an offence shall be deemed felony without benefit of clergy.

Mr. Courtoy was then called, and the note being produced, he was asked, whether it was the same he gave to the prisoner? to which he answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Fielding, as counsel for the prisoner, objected to the admissibility of the evidence of Mr. Courtoy. He contended, that he stood in the light of an interested witness, inasmuch as his evidence went to invalidate the note, which upon the face of it appeared to be the legal property of the prisoner.

After the counsel for the prosecution were heard on the other side, the court were of opinion, that Mr. Courtoy ought not to be examined.

Mary Brown, the servant of Mrs. Phipoe, gave an account of the transaction as above, as did the other witnesses.

The Jury, without leaving the box, pronounced the prisoner—*Guilty—Death.*

The prisoner's counsel moved an arrest of judgment, upon the ground that the offence did not come within the meaning of the statute, the note not being in any legal sense

the property of the prosecutor, at the time it was alleged to have been forcibly taken from him by the prisoner.

James Lyons, who remained on commitment for having forged receipts in the three per cent. consol. to the amount of 1440l. with intent to defraud the governor and co. of the bank of England, was brought up for judgment. Mr. justice Grose informed the prisoner, that it was the opinion of the judges, that the crime which he was guilty of was not that stated in the indictment. The judges were therefore agreed, that judgment should be given against the crown.

Mr. Lyons addressed the court by saying, that an action was brought against him in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict of 5000l. given, which happened in consequence of his papers being detained; he therefore begged that the court would order them to be returned.

Mr. justice Grose informed him, that his application must be to the court of King's Bench.—Ordered back into custody.—*See Vol. XV. page (5).*

Oxford, May 23. On Wednesday night, Cliefden House, the noble seat of the countess of Orkney, at Taploe, near Maidenhead, in Buckinghamshire, and formerly the residence of his royal highness the prince of Wales, caught fire by the carelessness of a servant turning down a bed.—The flames were so rapid, that very few articles of value were saved, the whole of that stately edifice being entirely reduced to ashes.

Lewes, May 29. The business of the special session of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, holden before Mr. justice Buller and Mr. justice Lawrence, ended this day. The
commissions

commissions were opened on Wednesday evening, and the court adjourned until Thursday morning, when the grand jury was sworn, and, having found a bill against John Sykes and William Sanfom, two privates in the Oxfordshire regiment of militia, for stealing flour and other articles to the amount of 300l. and upward, from the premises of Messrs. Barton and Catt, near Newhaven, on the 17th of April last, they were put on their trial, and found guilty.

The court then adjourned until this day, when they proceeded to try John Etherington and Henry Brook, two labourers who had joined the soldiers, who were both convicted; but their counsel having taken an objection to the indictment in point of law, the case was left for the opinion of the twelve judges, and they were ordered to remain in gaol until the next assizes.

William Avery and William Midwinter were the two prisoners remaining; and an affidavit being read of the absence of two material witnesses against them, and that every endeavour had been used to procure their attendance without effect, the trial of the prisoners was put off until the next assizes.

J U N E.

Lewes, June 1. Last Wednesday the thirteen Oxford militiamen, who were lately tried (for a mutiny at Newhaven) by a general court-martial at Brighton, were taken from the house of correction in this town, and conducted in two artillery wagons, under a strong guard of the Lancashire fencibles, to Brighton, where two of them are to be shot. Three were condemned, but one has been since pardoned, on condition of being transported to Botany Bay. Four were liberated on Fri-

day. Of the remaining six, five were to receive 1000, and one 500 lashes. See p. (36), (40).

4. Tuesday a general court was held at the East India house, to determine by ballot the following question, carried at the last court, viz. 'That this court do recommend, that the court of directors should apply to Warren Hastings, esq. for a statement of the legal expences incurred by him in making his defence; and that, after having ascertained the same, by a full and satisfactory investigation, they do discharge the amount thereof, not exceeding the sum of 71,080l.'

The ballot commenced at eleven o'clock, and continued till six in the afternoon, when, on casting up the votes, the numbers were: For the question 544—Against it 244—Majority 300.

And yesterday a general court was held, for determining by ballot the following question: 'That it is the opinion of this court, that in consideration of the long, faithful, and important services of Warren Hastings, esq. and to mark the grateful sense entertained by this company of the extensive benefits which they have received from those services, a grant of an annuity of 5000l. from the 1st of January 1795, to issue from the territorial revenues during the term of the company's present exclusive trade, to Warren Hastings, esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns, be prepared by the court of directors, and submitted to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for their approval and confirmation, pursuant to the act of parliament.'

On casting up the votes, the numbers were, for the question 508—Against it 220—Majority 288.

6. This day, in the court of
(C 4) king's

king's bench, the cause of the king v. Ramsay and Wilson, the defendants, who had been convicted of putting a pregnant woman into an open boat at Woolwich, were brought from the king's bench prison into court to receive judgment. Mr. Mingay, their counsel, stated, that they had paid to the parish of Clerkenwell (in the workhouse of which the woman was brought to bed) the sum of 500*l.* for the costs of the prosecution, and the expences of maintaining the pauper's child, which, together with their own costs, would fix them with an expence of upwards of 700*l.* Mr. justice Ashhurst then pronounced sentence. He said that the court, taking into consideration the general good character of the defendants, the money they had already paid, and were liable to pay, and the imprisonment they had suffered from the last term to the present, ordered that they pay a fine to the king of 1*s.* and be discharged.

Lord Kenyon said, he hoped this prosecution would become a warning to all parish officers in the kingdom, to conduct themselves with humanity and integrity.

Copenhagen, June 9. On the 6th inst. between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the dock-yard of this city, which soon communicated across the canal to the houses in the town, and shortly after to one of the principal churches. The fire, driven with violence from these different places, continued to rage with great fury for 48 hours, but was at length stopped, in consequence of the houses immediately in the line of its direction having been pulled down. It is computed that one-fourth part of the city has been consumed by this calamity, rendered the more dreadful from the circumstance of

the quarter which has been burned having been the most populous. Every possible attention has been shown on the part of government, for the relief of the sufferers; and the number of lives lost is supposed not to be considerable. The royal family was in the country; the prince royal, however, immediately came to town, and passed the whole night in the streets, giving orders, and encouraging the firemen and others who were employed, and even affording his personal assistance, at the imminent hazard of his life.—*London Gaz.*

Bath, June 10. Yesterday a dreadful act of desperation was committed in this city by John White, a young man about nineteen, who got up in the morning, procured a brace of pistols, which he loaded, and with coolness and deliberation walked into the school-room of Maria Bally, in Corn-street, an amiable young lady, to whom he was affectionately attached, and, after a short conversation, presented one of the pistols to her head, and shot her instantly dead. The noise of the pistol, and the smoke, greatly terrified the children in the school, and their cries alarming the neighbours, he was taken coming out of the door.—The mayor shortly after summoned a jury, and a verdict of *wilful murder* was brought in against him.

Brightelmstone, June 13. The two foldiers of the Oxfordshire militia were shot this morning, about a quarter past eight. One of them knelt down upon one coffin, and one upon the other, and they both instantly fell dead; though, lest there might be any remains of life, a fire-lock was let off close to the head of each immediately after. The scene was most awful and impressive. It was in a valley about a mile distant from the camp, where all the troops, cavalry,

cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were drawn up in two lines, and after three men out of the six who had been sentenced to be flogged, had received their punishment, in a very exemplary manner, the three others were pardoned. The men capitally convicted were then marched up between the two lines of the army, accompanied by a clergyman, and escorted by pickets from the different regiments of horse and foot; and at the upper end of the line, after a short time spent with the clergyman, they were shot by a party of the Oxfordshire militia, who had been very active in the late riots, but had been pardoned. The men appeared very resigned, and the party who shot them were very much affected afterward. Indeed, several of the men of the regiment seemed greatly agitated and concerned. The awful ceremony was concluded by the marching of all the regiments round the bodies of the soldiers as they lay on the ground.

Horsham, June 14. This day Sykes and Sansom, the two Oxfordshire militiamen, sentenced to be hung at the late special assizes at Lewes, for stealing flour at Blatchington, were executed here. They appeared penitent, and desired the spectators to take warning by their untimely fate. *See p. (36), (38).*

Salisbury, June 22. The intense cold which set in on Thursday night, there is great reason to apprehend, will materially check the progress of vegetation; and from the information already come to hand, we fear very much mischief has been done among the flocks just shorn of their wool, and deprived of that warm clothing which, from the unseasonable severity of the weather, was then so peculiarly necessary. At Broadchalk, near 200 sheep perished, about the half of

which were the property of one farmer; and 120 at Downton, 60 of which belonged to Mr. William Mouland; 150 were killed at Steeple Langford, the greater part of which suffered from the hail storm; Mr. Hufel, near Shaftsbury, lost 300; Mr. Westcoat, of Bishopdown, lost 32; Mr. Swayner, of Bulford, 29; Mr. Turner, of Ansty, 40; 60 were lost in Coombe and its neighbourhood; 100 at Place Farm, Swallowcliff; and a great many at Codford, and on almost all the farms around the plain. In short, it is computed that one-fourth of our flocks are destroyed by this sudden and unexpected calamity. [*The same cause produced the same fatal effects in many other parts of the kingdom.*]

Cork, June 20. On Thursday last a case of importance to bankrupts was decided in our court. A merchant, who failed two years ago in Bristol, and had obtained a certificate in England, under the bankrupt laws, came over to Ireland, and was here arrested a few days back for a debt contracted previously to his failure in England. It was decided by the court, that certificates obtained in England protect the bankrupt in Ireland, and *vice versa*, that certificates obtained in Ireland protect in England.

Admiralty-Office, June 27. Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, were yesterday received at this office.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral Cornwallis, to Evan Nepean, esq.

Royal Sovereign, at Sea, June 19,
1795.

I have the honour of acquainting you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 16th in the morning, standing in with the land, near the Penmarks, I sent the Phaeton

Phaeton a-head to look out for any of the enemy's ships upon the coast. I stood after her with the rest of the ships *. At ten she made a signal for seeing a fleet a-head, and afterward that they were of superior force. Upon her bringing to, I made the signal to haul to the wind upon the starboard tack. At this time I could not see the hulls of the strange sails. Thirty were counted, and some of them had all their sail out upon a wind, being directed to leeward of us. I stood upon the starboard tack with all our sail, keeping the ships collected. Upon enquiring by signal the enemy's force, captain Stopford answered, thirteen line of battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter; in all thirty sail. Near half of them tacked in shore in the afternoon; the wind fell very much, and came round to the northward, off the land, and of course brought those ships of the enemy (which had tacked) to windward, and the others laid up for us. They were seen in the morning before it was day light, upon both quarters of the squadron.

At nine in the morning, one of the front line of battle ships began to fire upon the Mars. Their frigates were ranged up a-breast of us to windward, except one, which kept to leeward, and ran up upon the larboard quarter of the Mars, then yawed and fired, which was frequently repeated. This was the only frigate that attempted any thing. The line of battle ships came up in succession, and a teasing fire, with intervals, was kept up during the whole day. In the evening they made a shew of a more serious attack upon the Mars,

(which had gotten a little to leeward) and obliged me to bear up for her support. This was their last effort, if any thing they did can deserve that appellation. Several shot were fired for two hours after, but they appeared to be drawing off, and before sun-set their whole fleet had tacked and were standing from us.

The Mars and Triumph being the sternmost ships, were of course more exposed to the enemy's fire: and I cannot too much commend the spirited conduct of sir Charles Cotton and sir Erasmus Gower, the captains of those ships. Lord Charles Fitzgerald also, in the Brunswick, kept up a very good fire from the after guns, but that ship was the whole time obliged to carry every sail. The Bellerophon being nearly under the same circumstances, I was glad to keep in some measure as a reserve, having reason at first to suppose there would be full occasion for the utmost exertion of us all, and being rather a head of me was not able to fire much. I considered that ship as a treasure in store, having heard of her former achievements, and observing the spirit manifested by all on board when she passed me, joined to the activity and zeal shewed by lord Cranstoun during the cruise. I am also much indebted to captain Whitby for his activity and unremitting diligence on board the Royal Sovereign. The frigates shewed the greatest attention and alertness. I kept the Pallas near me to repeat signals, which captain Curzon performed very much to my satisfaction. Indeed, I shall ever feel the impression which the good conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, marines, and soldiers

* Mars, Triumph, Brunswick, Bellerophon, Phaeton, and Pallas.

in the squadron has made on my mind; and it was the greatest pleasure I ever received to see the spirit manifested by the men, who, instead of being cast down at seeing thirty sail of the enemy's ships attacking our little squadron, were in the highest spirits imaginable.

I do not mean the Royal Sovereign alone: the same spirit was shewn in all the ships as they came near me; and although (circumstanced as we were) we had no great reason to complain of the conduct of the enemy, yet our men could not help repeatedly expressing their contempt of them. Could common prudence have allowed me to let loose their valour, I hardly know what might not have been accomplished by such men.

Little damage has been received by the ships in general, except the sterns having been very much shook by firing the guns. The Mars reports twelve men wounded, but none killed; the mainmast fore and fore-top sail yard wounded; and her rigging and sails cut a good deal. The Triumph has shifted and repaired some of her sails, but any damage she has received is so trifling, at least in her captain's eye, that sir Erasmus Gower has not thought it worth reporting; indeed, the cool and firm conduct of that ship was such, that it appeared to me the enemy's ships dared not to come near her.

It has blown hard from the north-east since I parted from the French fleet.

I take the first opportunity of sending this by the Phaeton, lest, upon hearing that the French fleet are at sea, their lordships may be under apprehensions for the safety of these ships.

Copy of a Letter from the hon. captain Cochrane, of his ma-

jefty's ship Thetis, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the Admiralty, dated Halifax Harbour, May, 28, 1795.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that in consequence of orders from rear-admiral Murray to cruize off the Chesapeak, to intercept the three French store-ships then lying in Hampton roads and ready for sea, I proceeded on the 2d instant, with his majesty's ship Hussar, and on the 17th instant at day-break, Cape Henry bearing E. by S. distant twenty leagues, we discovered five sail of ships standing to the N.W. with their larboard tacks on board. We soon perceived that they were ships of force; two of them appeared to carry from 28 to 30 guns on their main decks, one of which had lower deck ports; the three others from 20 to 24 guns.

On observing us standing toward them, they formed a line of battle a-head, and waited to receive us. At nine, A. M. I made the Hussar's signal to prepare to engage the second ship of the enemy's van, intending, in the Thetis, to attack the centre ship, which appeared the largest, with the two others that formed their rear.

At half-past ten, the five French ships hoisted their colours, the second ship from the van carrying a broad pendant. By this time we had got within half musquet shot, when the firing commenced on the side of the enemy; which was soon afterward returned by his majesty's ships.

Before eleven we had closed with the enemy, and the Hussar had compelled the commodore and his second a-head to quit the line, and make sail to the E.S.E.

The fire of both ships then fell on

on the centre ship and those in the rear. At a quarter before twelve, the three ships struck their colours; the two in the rear attempted, notwithstanding, to make off, one of which was soon brought to by the *Hussar*.—Within an hour after the largest ship struck, her main and fore masts went over her side. On taking possession we found her to be *La Prevoyante*, pierced for 26 guns on the main deck, with four other ports, which can be cut out at pleasure, and ten ports below: she had only 24 mounted, part of which they shifted over during the action.

The ship that the *Hussar* had taken possession of is called *La Raïson*, carrying 18 guns, but pierced for 24, which, with the other three, had escaped from Guadeloupe on the 25th ult. and were bound to one of the American ports to take in a cargo of provisions and naval stores for France. I am sorry to say, that we had eight of our best men killed, and nine others wounded, some of them badly; the *Hussar* has been more fortunate, having only two wounded.

From the fire of the three rear ships being principally directed at the *Thetis*, our rigging and sails were almost cut to pieces, our lower masts and yards shot through, which, with the other damages we received, prevented me from pursuing the enemy, and taking possession of those that had struck. The damages sustained by the *Hussar* appeared to me in proportion to ours: these considerations, joined to the information I had received, which I here enclose, made it necessary that I should not risk the separation of the two ships, which must have been the case,

had either of us followed the enemy.

I cannot say too much in praise of capt. Beresford, for his conduct in leading into action, and while engaged. He speaks in the highest terms of the behaviour of his officers and ship's company.

It is a duty I owe to those under my immediate command, to say, that one soul seemed to animate the whole, despising the apparent superiority of the enemy before we closed to feel their pulse.

Allow me, in a particular manner, to point out the merits of Mr. Larmour, my first lieutenant, to whom I am much indebted for the assistance he afforded me during the action. His behaviour on this, as well as every other occasion, justly entitles him to every praise in my power to bestow, and I hope he may be found deserving of their lordships' protection: lieutenant Ravot, who was stationed on the main-deck, conducted the fire of the guns under his command much to my satisfaction.

To Mr. Mackie, the master, I shall ever feel obliged for the assistance he gave me during the action. The carronades on the quarter-deck were very ably served by lieutenant Crebbin, and the marines under his command.

La Prevoyante is a very fine ship, about 143 feet long, but not so broad as the *Thetis*; she can carry with ease 40 guns; is only two years old.

La Raïson is also a very fine ship, and is coppered; and I trust they will both answer for his majesty's service. Being employed in taking on board the prisoners, and repairing our damages during the night, it was my intention to proceed at day-light after the enemy,

in

in^d company with the Hussar, leaving the prizes under the charge of lieutenant Saville; of the Prince Edward cutter, who joined soon after the action, and used every endeavour to arrive up while engaged; but a fresh breeze of wind springing up early in the morning, enabled them to get out of sight before day-break.

I therefore proceeded with the Hussar and the prizes to this port, in order to obtain the necessary repairs. I am, &c.

A. F. COCHRANE.

Admiralty-office, June 27. The following dispatch was this morning received from admiral lord Bridport, K. B.

Royal George, at Sea, June 24.
SIR,

It is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's squadron under my command attacked the enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, attended with eleven frigates, and some smaller cruisers, on the 23d inst, close in with Port L'Orient. The ships which struck are the Alexander, Le Formidable, and Le Tigre, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land, I have every reason to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line of battle ships, would have been taken or destroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this service, I am to state, that at the dawn of day on the 22d instant, the Nymph and Astræa, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. I soon perceived that there was no intent on to meet me in battle; consequently I made the signal for four of the best sailing

ships, the Sans Pareil, Orion, Russell, and Colossus, and soon afterwards for the whole fleet, to chase, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning on the 23d inst. the head-moost ships, the irresistible, Orion, Queen Charlotte, Russell, Colossus, and Sans Pareil, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before six o'clock, the action began, and continued till near nine. When the ships struck, the British Squadron was near to some batteries and in the face of a strong naval port, which will manifest to the public the zeal, intrepidity, and skill, of the admirals, captains, and all other officers, seamen and soldiers, employed upon this service; and they are fully entitled to my warmest acknowledgements.

I beg also to be allowed to mark my approbation, in a particular manner, of captain Domett's conduct, serving under my flag, for his manly spirit, and for the assistance I received from his active and attentive mind. I feel likewise great satisfaction in doing justice to the meritorious conduct of all the officers of every class, as well as to the bravery of the seamen and soldiers in the Royal George, upon this event, and upon former occasions.

I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

Hull, June 27. Capt. Frank of this port, and capt. Williamson, have just published the following attestation:

The underwritten, who were eyewitnesses of the great and good character they beg leave to speak of, think it their indispensable duty to make known to the public some of the noble and humane acts of
 lady

lady Anne Fitzroy, late a prisoner of war at Quimper in France, who perhaps suffered more insult and bad usage from some of the deluded French republicans, than any of her rank ever did before. Regardless of her own distresses, she made it her sole business to alleviate those of her fellow-prisoners and countrymen. With her own hands and the assistance of Mrs. Carrett, another amiable character, and her female domestic, she made shirts and caps for all those in need; purchased some hundreds of jackets and trousers, and distributed them among her unfortunate countrymen, who were ready to perish for want of clothing. Every day also she had a great quantity of veal and soup dressed for the numerous sick, to whom their inhuman enemies would grant nothing but their miserable common allowance, and often would not even let that be carried into the prison, which her well-timed charity had liberally provided. In short, her unparalleled goodness saved the lives of hundreds of her distressed countrymen, who will be ever bound to pray for, and admire with astonishment her unexampled benevolence.

JAMES FRANK,

JAMES WILLIAMSON.

29. Yesterday morning earl Fitzwilliam, attended by lord George Cavendish, and Mr. Beresford, attended by sir George Montgomery, met in a field near Tyburn turnpike. Just as the principals had taken their ground at twelve paces distance, a magistrate with peace officers came up and prevented any further proceeding.

J U L Y.

1. Yesterday Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, George Hardwick,

James Haydon, John Henley, John Delaney, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, John Philips, and Charles Crofwell, were severally indicted for felony, in aiding and abetting Isdwell Isdwell in an attempt to escape from the New Prison, Clerkenwell.

The first witness on the part of the prosecution was Mr. Newport, head-keeper of the gaol, who proved the warrant of commitment against Isdwell. Roberts, his deputy, concurred in the same point, and also said that he knew not of the plan designed between Isdwell and his turnkeys, one of whom (Day) on his examination, said, that being induced by the promise of a large sum, he went with Isdwell to Artillery-lane, to see, as Isdwell said, a sick aunt, who wished to see him. When they arrived there, three of the prisoners, James Haydon, John Henley, and William Heanlon, seized him, and wrested from him a blunderbuss, which was fired off in the dark, by which Isdwell was killed, and he himself wounded.

Bernard Solomon, the next witness, said, he lived servant with Mrs. Isdwell; that he often went with messages to Isdwell; that he had been sent to Gosport for Jonathan Jones, who was Mrs. Isdwell's uncle; that Jones came to town, and took lodgings for her in Artillery-lane.—On Good Friday, the day on the evening of which Isdwell was killed, he observed that Mrs. Isdwell had set out her bedroom with a number of phials and other apparatus, so as to give the room the appearance of a sick person being there: he saw Jacobs, Hardwick, Haydon, and Philips, in the house previously to the accident: he opened the door when Isdwell and Day came, and some time after he heard the report of a blunderbuss;

blunderbuss; after which he surrendered himself to the people, who came into the house in consequence of the alarm.

Many other witnesses corroborated this evidence, and also identified the persons of the remaining prisoners.

The prisoners brought many respectable people, who gave them very good characters.

When the judge had summed up the evidence, the jury, after having retired for a short time, brought in their verdict, Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, and John Delany—Not guilty; George Hardwick, James Haydon, John Henley, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, John Philips, and Charles Crowsell—Guilty. *See p.* (21), (28), (37).

Edinburgh, July 1. On Monday, the high court of justiciary met, and proceeded to the trial of sir Archibald Gordon Kinloch, bart. on the charge of having murdered sir Francis Kinloch, of Gilmerton, bart. his brother, by firing a pistol, which took effect and caused his death.

After the indictment was read over, the pannel was asked the usual question—guilty or not guilty? to which he answered ‘not guilty.’

Mr. Hume stated to the court, that the nature of the defence which was to be offered for the pannel was, that although it should be proved he was the unfortunate instrument of the unhappy deed charged against him, yet, that at the time it was committed, he was in the most lamentable state of a deranged mind, so as to be totally insensible of what was done, and even afterward did not retain the smallest recollection of what had happened. Mr. Hume further stated, that while in the West In-

dies, the pannel had been seized with a fever, from which time he never was considered as possessing a sound mind, but was subject to melancholy and fits of jealousy; and this had such an effect upon him as to make him attempt to take away his own life.

The court pronounced an interlocutor finding the libel relevant, but allowing the pannel a proof of all facts and circumstances tending to exculpate or alleviate his guilt.

The pannel was at times considerably agitated, but upon the whole behaved with much composure.

The court then adjourned to this day, when the evidence being closed, and counsel heard, the jury, after having retired, brought in a special verdict, unanimously finding that the prisoner killed his brother sir Francis Kinloch, in the way and manner mentioned in the indictment; but also finding that the prisoner was at the same time insane, and deprived of reason.—The court deferred the consideration of the verdict.

15. John Lewis, a fifer, belonging to the 3d regiment of guards, accompanied by a lad, went on Sunday night to the King’s-arms, at Charing-cross, to drink: but the licence having been taken away, they were informed by the persons of the house, that they could have no liquor; when the fifer behaved in the most riotous manner, assaulted several persons in the house, and on being turned into the street, raised a mob about the door, whom he told that his companion had just been crimped, and was with three others chained down in a cellar, whence they would be conveyed away by a secret door that communicated with the Thames.

Under this idea the mob proceeded

ceeded to outrages which the appearance of a constable, who went and searched the house, and told them how ill founded their suspicions were, could not quell, and which ultimately terminated in the destruction of the inside of the house, and all the furniture, which was thrown into the street, and either destroyed or carried off.

To corroborate this account, the evidence of the young man who first went into the house with the sifer was taken on oath, and which exactly corresponded.

The sifer was taken into custody by some persons who were witnesses of his conduct. He was committed for examination.

On Monday night, a mob again collected at Charing-cross, when, after making every one pull off their hats as they passed, they proceeded to Mr. Pitt's, in Downing-street, and broke several windows of his house; but the guards being immediately called out, and appearing in sight, very soon dispersed them.

The mob afterward went over Westminster-bridge, and paraded to St. George's Fields, where they attacked the Royal George public-house, near the Obelisk, and threw all the furniture of it into the road, and there burnt it. They gutted another recruiting house in Lambeth-road, and afterward made a bonfire of the furniture. This was mistaken by many to be houses on fire.

There were some of the mob who kept watch on the outside of the houses, to give notice of the arrival of the military, who did not come till after the furniture of these two houses were consumed. The mob compelled the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood to put up lights.

And last night, in the neighbourhood of Charing-cross, a numerous crowd, chiefly composed of boys under twenty years of age, was collected, which however, on information of some military movements going forward at the Horse-guards, hastily withdrew in great part, as if by a signal given, to St. George's-fields, where they proceeded to demolish the remaining furniture of the Royal George, of which they made a large fire near the Obelisk.—This was about nine o'clock; the horse guards were soon with them, and drove them from their work of depredation, but not from the spot; they continued shouting and insulting the soldiers by various gestures for some time: among the most conspicuous were a number of intoxicated women of the lowest class in society, who kept forcing on the young men, till at length the guards, provoked to more violent measures, spurred their horses smartly into the midst of them, in consequence of which several were severely wounded; meanwhile the civil power was occupied in apprehending some of the most active of those who had been detected in destroying the goods of the house; these were immediately dispatched under a strong guard to a distant place of security.

After this the tumult considerably subsided: the soldiers, however, remained under arms till after day-light, when all seemed to be quiet; but, in a few hours, another multitude was drawn together, and it was thought necessary again to assemble the military on the spot, who paraded in considerable force, both horse and foot; and detachments were also dispatched to other parts of the town threatened with riots. Happily the soldiers were not

not driven to the necessity of firing.

17. On Wednesday, at Hertford assizes, a singular cause was tried, wherein a soldier of the East York regiment of militia was plaintiff, and an officer in that corps defendant; the action was brought for an assault, by the defendant striking the plaintiff a blow with his cane while in the ranks. The chief baron, in summing up, strongly stated the necessity of moderate coercion in all military corps; on which the jury, without hesitation, found a verdict for the defendant.

18. Yesterday came on, at the assizes at Chelmsford, the trial of Miss Ann Broadrick, for the murder of George Errington, esq. by shooting him with a pistol, at his house in Grays Thurrock. Some years ago, Mr. Errington had been divorced from his first wife, and not long after, had formed a connexion with Miss Broadrick, who lived with him a considerable time; but, on marrying a second wife, Mr. Errington dismissed her, and settled upon her an annuity, which, however, does not appear to have been punctually paid. By the evidence of George Bailey, one of the servants of the deceased, it appeared, that Miss Broadrick came into the kitchen, on the 13th of May last, and asked if Mr. Errington was at home. He answered in the affirmative, and having informed his master of the circumstance, he was directed to show the lady up stairs into the drawing-room where he was. This being done, and he having gone down stairs, in the space of a minute, he heard the report of a pistol, the shrieks of his mistress, and his master cry out and groan. On entering the room, he beheld

his master all over blood, and leaning with his left hand on his right breast, who exclaimed, 'Oh, God, I am shot! I am murdered!' Mrs. Errington instantly ordered him to take that woman into custody, for that she had murdered her husband. On this, Miss Broadrick threw a pistol out of her left hand on the carpet, and *laughed*, crying out, 'Here take me, hang me, and do what you will with me: I don't care now.' He related various other particulars; and his testimony was fully corroborated by other witnesses.

The defence set up was *insanity*: her brother-in-law deposed, that her mother, his wife, and another sister, had been all insane; and several other witnesses swore to such strange circumstances in the conduct of the prisoner, as evidently manifested a deranged mind. Lord chief baron Macdonald, in his charge to the jury, dwelt upon this plea; observing, in particular, that her *laughing* in the midst of an act of horror, bore a strong appearance of mental derangement: and that this, indeed, had been made a test of madness in the finest-wrought theatrical representations.—The jury consulted in their box, about two minutes, and then brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty*, to the general satisfaction of the court. The prisoner was then ordered to be taken care of for the present, till some arrangement could be formed, to secure her, as a lunatic, for the rest of her life.

Edinburgh, July 15. This day, the court of judiciary met, to consider the verdict returned by the jury, in the case of sir Archibald Kinloch, bart. when their lordships adjudged him to be confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh during all the days of his life; or, at least, un-

til any friend, or other person, shall become caution to secure and confine him in sure custody during all the days of his life, under the penalty of 10,000l.

27. On Friday last came on, at the assizes for the county of York, before sir Souldern Lawrence, and sir Giles Rooke, and a special jury, the trial of Henry Yorke, alias Red-head.

At the last assizes, two bills of indictment were found against him; one for a conspiracy, and the other for seditious words spoken, and a libel printed, entitled, 'Proceedings of a Meeting on Castle-hill, Sheffield, April 7, 1794.'

He was tried on the latter indictment only. He made a speech of two hours, wherein he endeavoured to confute every charge brought against him, and called a number of witnesses on his part. These witnesses were examined by his counsel, as he pleaded his own cause.

At twelve at night the judge finished summing up the evidence, and the jury, after a short consultation, found the prisoner *Guilt*.

29. Letters from Vienna state the unfortunate death of the archduke Leopold, palatine of Hungary, and brother to the emperor, on Friday, the 10th inst. On that day, the emperor and his brother amused themselves at the Imperial palace at Luxembourg, near Vienna, with preparing fireworks, assisted by a page and an Hungarian chasseur. The emperor had been some time superintending this business, when finding the room warm, he walked out for the benefit of the air. The archduke wished to try the effect of a rocket at one of the

windows, but it rebounded back again, and set fire to the powder and other fireworks which were there. Every one ran to lend all possible assistance as soon as the explosion was heard, but all efforts were in vain. The archduke expired, after suffering fifteen hours of excruciating pain.

AUGUST.

Admiralty-office, August 4. A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was yesterday received from admiral Hotham, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

Britannia, Myrtillo Bay, June 30, 1795.
SIR,

It is with peculiar satisfaction I transmit to you, for their lordships' information, the enclosed letter, which I received this evening by the Fox cutter, from capt. Towry, of his majesty's ship the Dido, giving an account of a most gallant and spirited action which took place on the 24th inst. between that frigate, in company with the Lowestoffe, cap. Middleton, on their way to reconnoitre off the Hieres Island; and two French frigates named in the margin*, the termination of which contest by the capture of La Minerve, when the great superiority of the enemy's force is considered, reflects the highest honour on the captains, officers, and crews of the Dido and Lowestoffe.

I am, &c.

WM. HOTHAM.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Dido, Port Mahon, June 27, 1795.

SIR,

I this day dispatch the Fox cutter to communicate to you, that, in the execution of your instructions of

* La Minerve, l'Artemise.

the 21st instant, with his majesty's ship *Lowestoffe* under my orders, being, at day-light of the 24th, in latitude 41 deg. 8 min. and longitude 5 deg. 30 min. E. we discovered and chased two French frigates; after some manœuvring they stood towards us, and at a quarter before nine, A. M. the *Dido*, leading down, commenced a close action with the headmost of the enemy's ships, which falling twice on board, was at an early period much disabled from the loss of her bowsprit, foremast, and main-top-mast; our mizen mast being shot away, fore and main top sails perfectly useless, we no longer kept to, at which time the *Lowestoffe* opened a well directed fire; the enemy's second frigate then passing, and exchanging the opposite broadsides, his majesty's ships were kept on the same tack till she went about, when fearing she might stand to the assistance of the dismasted ship, the *Lowestoffe* was sent in chase; the French frigate escaped by superior sailing, leaving her friend to be raked in a very judicious manner, on the return of the *Lowestoffe*, to whose fire she surrendered about noon. The *Dido* having cleared the wreck of the mizen mast, and bent new topsails, joined in securing the prize, *La Minerve*, a new ship of 42 guns, eighteen-pounders, on the main deck, and 330 men, a remarkable fast sailer, Her companion we learnt to be *l'Artemise*, of 30 guns.

Having given a detail of the action, it becomes as much my duty as it is my inclination to acknowledge the very able support of his majesty's ship *Lowestoffe*, and to testify, that by captain Middleton's good conduct, the business of the day was, in a great measure, brought to a fortunate issue. I must at the

same time pay the just tribute of my warmest gratitude to the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command; and it is with deep regret I add, that lieutenant Buckol, (first of the *Dido*) a most active officer, is among the wounded, I fear severely, though he never quitted the deck; Mr. Douglas, the boatswain, a deserving man, is killed. Captain Middleton's report of the conduct of the officers and people of the *Lowestoffe* is also highly flattering.

I have the honour to enclose a list of the killed and wounded.— Having received information from the prisoners that the French fleet were actually at sea, the state of the ships obliged me to run for this port, where I propose fitting jury-masts in the prize, and proceeding to Ajaccio. Circumstances are, I hope, sufficiently strong to plead my excuse for not fully executing your former orders. I remain, with respect,

Your's, &c.

G. H. TOWRY.

Admiral Horham.

P. S. We cannot exactly estimate the loss in the French ship, but imagine it to be about 20. *L'Artemise* was also much hulled.

List of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships *Dido* and *Lowestoffe*.

DIDO.

Mr. Cuthbert Douglas, boatswain; and 5 seamen killed.

Mr. Richard Buckol, first lieutenant; Richard Willan, clerk; John Henly, quarter-master; James Gregory, boatswain's mate; and 11 seamen, wounded.

LOWESTOFFE.

3 Seamen wounded.

12. The Russian fleet, according to the recent treaty with the czarina,
(D 2) is

is just arrived in the Downs. It consists of the following ships:

Permete		Vice ad. C. Honigkoff,
Aphistapher	74	Capt. Chev. Sanarin.
Eleanor	74	Rear-ad. Chev. Mackaroff, Cap. chev. Baranoff.
Peter	74	Rear-ad. Chev. Tate,
Gleb	74	Capt. Bardukoff
Retvezan	66	Capt. Chev. Thefiger
No. 84	66	Chev. Chickennoff
Pimer	66	Barretoff
Joanna	66	Chev. Colokoloff
Mickonnor	66	Chev. Sarechhoff
Parmene	66	Prince Trobetzkoi
Groff Orloff	66	Chev. Phon Krufe
Philip	66	Chev. Bachmanof
Venus	44	Chev. Smerenoy
Riga	44	Bodelko
Raphael	44	Backdoff
Revel	44	Treskene
Archipelago	44	Clockachuff
Cronstadt	44	Phon Moller
Michael	44	Chernavin
		Brow

17. On Thursday evening, and Friday morning there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which, it is feared, has done considerable damage in the country. At Woolwich, a house was set on fire by one of the flashes, and the flames communicating to an adjacent dwelling, both were consumed.—Two horses belonging to the Shrewsbury mail coach were struck dead on the road while going at full speed. At Dover, a cart and four horses belonging to Mr. Coleman, of the Priory, were carrying a load of dung, when a violent flash and clap of thunder killed all the horses, with Andrew Greaves, the driver. At Burghfield, near Reading, two horses belonging to farmer Appleton, were killed, as they were grazing in a field, and a fine large oak, in the park of John Blagrave, esq. of Calcot, was split asunder, and the bark stripped entirely off. In the parish of Worthe, near Lewes, five sheep, belonging to Mr. Brooker, were killed by the lightning,

and the mill at Copthorne, in that parish, was shivered to pieces. At Wymondham common, in Norfolk, a cow, with some sheep, and geese, were killed. A cottage was burnt down at Wood Dalling, and a barn at Wroxham.—A child was killed at Grimstone, near Swaffham. A hay-stack was fired at Wendling; and two barns, a stable, and out-house adjoining, were burnt at Northwold. A girl about 18 years of age, who was on a visit at some relations at Moulsoe, near Newport Pagnell, being greatly alarmed, arose from bed with the rest of the family, and standing near the chimney-piece, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. She expired without a groan, and what is very extraordinary, there was not the least mark of violence to be discovered about her. Some of the other persons who were with her, were scorched, but received very little injury.

Weymouth, Aug. 18. Their majesties and their royal highnesses the princesses, set out from Windfor yesterday morning, at a quarter before five o'clock, and arrived at Gloucester-lodge, at a quarter past five the same evening, in perfect health.

Bridgewater, Aug. 20. On Tuesday came on, at our assizes, the trial of William White, for the murder of Miss Maria Bally, a young school-mistress, of Bath, (to whom he had for some time paid his addresses, which, in the sequel, she had forbidden) by shooting her with a pistol, in the presence of her scholars.—After the witnesses for the crown had been examined, he was asked if he had any thing to say in his defence: he replied, that he left his case entirely to the counsel, who called three witnesses to prove the insanity

insanity of the prisoner, but their evidence went merely to a dejection of spirits he had manifested previously to the murder.

The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict—Guilty.—The judge then, in a most solemn manner, proceeded to pass sentence.

White was composed during the greater part of the trial, and heard the sentence with resignation, bowing submissively to the court, and particularly to the prosecutor. He then shook hands with the witnesses that had appeared against him, saying they had spoken nothing but what was truth.

He was taken from the prison about half an hour after ten o'clock on Thursday morning; the cart in about ten minutes arrived at the place of execution. He spent half an hour in fervent prayer with the county chaplain and another minister. He afterwards addressed the numerous spectators in a clear connected speech of full twenty minutes, in which he quoted many passages from Dr. Young's Night Thoughts, and cautioned the younger part of his hearers to be careful how they formed connexions, and when formed, not to trifle with each other's feelings.—When the clergyman left the cart he remained composed, and met his fate with becoming fortitude.

The body, after receiving some incisions from the surgeon, was delivered to the friends of the deceased. See p. 40.

S E P T E M B E R.

3. Dispatches have within these few days been received from the colony of Sierra Leone, dated the 13th of July, which state, that the affairs of the company begin to reflect a very favourable aspect. A

factory established in the Rio Pongos, is likely to become the means of a lucrative trade, when the ravages of the French shall be no more apprehended. The settlers were in exceedingly good health, and in a disposition that promised a continuance of good order. Mr. Watt, a valuable officer, to whose industry the expedition last year into the interior part of Africa was made, died in the month of June last. A violent explosion occurred in the colony a short time before these advices came away, by the blowing up of a powder magazine; but no particular damage was done, except the breaking of the windows, and the death of the keeper, a spark from whose pipe is said to have produced the accident.

8. A monument of exquisite workmanship has been erected at Chichester, by public subscription, to the memory of Collins the poet, who was a native of that city, and died in a house adjoining to the cloisters. He is represented as just recovered from a wild fit of phrenzy, to which he was unhappily subject, and in a calm and reclining posture seeking refuge from his misfortunes in the divine consolations of the gospel, while his lyre, and one of the first of his poems, lie neglected on the ground. Above, are two figures of Love and Pity, entwined in each other's arms.

The whole was executed by Flaxman; under all, is the following epitaph by Mr. Hayley:

Ye who the merits of the dead revere,
Who hold misfortune sacred, genius dear,
Regard this tomb, where Collins' hapless
name

Solicits kindness with a double claim.
Tho' nature gave him, and though science
taught

The fire of fancy, and the reach of thought,
Severely doom'd to penury's extreme,
He pass'd, in madd'ning pain, life's feverish
dream;

(D 2)

White

While rays of genius only serv'd to shew
The thickening horror, and exalt his
woe—

Ye walls that echo'd to his frantic moan,
Guard the due records of this grateful
stone;

Strangers to him, enamour'd of his lays,
This fond memorial to his talents raise;
For th's the ashes of a bard require,
Who touch'd the tenderest notes of pity's
lyre!

Who join'd pure faith to strong poetic
powers,

Who, in reviewing Reason's lucid hours,
Bought on one book his troubled mind to
rest,

And rightly deem'd the Book of God the
best.

12. They write from Philadelphia, by the Camilla, lately arrived from thence, that on the 22d of July arrived in that city 28 black people from Jamaica, who had been emancipated there by the order of Mr. Barclay, of Red Lion-square. They were immediately taken under the care of the committee of the Abolition Society, selected for the express purpose of attending to the improvement, &c. of free blacks, who cheerfully undertook the charge, and had placed many of them as servants in respectable families. Those under age were to be placed out to learn some useful trade.

18. Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, Sarah Crawford and Ann Maywood, were convicted of stealing corn out of the field of Mr. William Jones, a farmer. The defence set up was, that they had gleaned it. However, not only that fact did not appear, but the learned judge took the opportunity of declaring the law on the subject, that glean- ing was not a custom of strict right, but merely to be permitted or not, at the will of the owner of the ground.

19. The beautiful church of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, through the

carelessness of some workmen employed in finishing the interior of the new cupola, was on Thursday afternoon reduced to ashes.

Between two and three o'clock a column of fire was seen to burst forth from the cupola, which soon communicated with the roof, the timber work of which was very complex; the flames, with inconceivable rapidity, communicated to the body of the building, and the lead upon the roof poured off in a flood with the velocity of a cata- ract.

Soon after three o'clock, the beams which sustained the immense roof of the church, began to fall in, not at once, but deliberately: all attempts to check the flames were deemed in vain, therefore every effort was directed toward the neigh- bouring buildings, which were with great difficulty preserved from tak- ing fire, so intense was the heat from the church, which was now wrapt in an immense pyramid of flame, rising to three times the height of the building: the heat was felt to the end of Russel-street, and was scarcely to be supported so near as within fifty yards of it. By six o'clock the whole interior was in ruins.

The communion plate was saved; but every other article pertaining to the sacred edifice, including the valuable and celebrated organ, the clock, &c. was devoured by the unconquerable fury of the destruc- tive element.

The outer walls yet stand, and the pillars and pediment of the por- tico fronting Covent-Garden, but the whole appears so damaged, that it is supposed impossible that they can be repaired on the original plan of the architect.

The church had lately experi-
enced

enced a very expensive renovation of all its parts; it had also been decorated within side in a style of uncommon magnificence.

Potsdam, Sept. 4. A terrible fire has just reduced to ashes the church of St. Nicholas, situate in the Palace-square, together with the surrounding houses, toward which the wind directed the flames. The fire broke out yesterday at four in the afternoon, in the tower, (the repair of which was completing,) through the negligence of a workman who was melting lead. The flames, fed by a high wind, consumed, in the space of an hour, this very lofty tower; the fall of which communicated the fire to the church and the adjacent houses.

The atmosphere being inflamed by this immense mass of fire, it became very difficult and hazardous to make any efforts to extinguish the flames. His majesty directed the operations in person. At eleven at night, the fire was still burning, and there remained nothing of the beautiful church except the masonry and façade.

There has also been a dreadful fire at Stettin, the capital of Prussian Pomerania, which has reduced a great number of houses to ashes.

Berlin, Sept. 8. His majesty has broke upon the spot M. Freytag, the burgomaster of police, at Potsdam, on account of the fire engines and other implements for extinguishing fire having been found totally useless at the late conflagration. A reform in the college of the magistracy at Potsdam, is also spoken of. Two people are said to have perished in the fire. The sufferers have received a plentiful support from the king; the damage occasioned by the fire amounts to 100,000 thalers. It originated from a plumber's melting lead upon the

steeple, in order to solder the cupola.

20. Several of the workmen, who had been employed in repairing Covent-Garden church, were examined before William Kinnard, esq. at the public office, Bow-street, respecting the cause of the fire; when, from what transpired, there is every reason to think it originated from a charcoal fire made in an iron ladle in the cupola, for the plumbers (who were doing some repairs there) to heat their metal and irons; to effect which they were obliged to use a bellows, which causing a number of sparks to fly, it is conjectured that some must have fallen among the timbers of that part of the building, as the men were positive that they brought the ladle, in which the fire had been made, and the ashes in it, down with them, when they left work.

21. This day was capitally convicted, at the Old Bailey, John Lewis, for feloniously, riotously, and tumultuously assembling, with divers other persons, to the number of 12 or more, at Charing-Cross, and beginning to pull down and demolish the dwelling house of William Hoslip, there situate; three were convicted of felony, and four acquitted. Lewis was recommended to mercy, on account of his former good character; but as the jury could give no other reason, the court refused to forward the recommendation to his majesty.

24. The Discovery sloop of war, captain Vancouver, arrived at Limerick on the 13th inst. in company with the homeward bound East India fleet, having completely effected the object of her expedition, and made some important discoveries on the north-west coast of America. She sailed from England with 150 men on board, and such was

the attention of the officers to their health, that only one died in the course of a very fatiguing voyage of four years. They speak in the highest terms of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, from whom they experienced every possible civility and attention.

Lord Camelford, after he left his majesty's ship *Discovery*, in the South Seas, on his return to Europe, fell in with the *Resistance* of 44 guns, captain Edward Pakenham, in the Indian Seas, and immediately entered on board her, where his lordship was serving as a lieutenant, when the last advices left that ship, with the strictest attention to his professional duties.

25. The corporation of the Trinity-house in London, have now caused a vessel, fitted for a floating light, to be placed near the Goodwin-sands, about one mile NE from the North-sand-head, between the North and South Forelands; on which vessel three distinct lights are exhibited, to distinguish them from the North and South Foreland lights, and which will be constantly attended, and kept burning from sun-setting to sun-rising, for the benefit of navigation; a large bell is also fixed on board, which will be rung in hazy or thick weather, to warn ships of the danger as they approach the said sand, when the lights may not be seen.

26. The following act of generosity merits publication: an old man, upward of sixty years of age, reduced from a state of affluence through misfortunes, was several months confined in a prison at Dover Castle, and would probably have remained there for life, or until an act of grace had taken place, for a debt of 10l. 2s. This being made known to the non-commis-

sioned officers and privates of the Royal Lancashire regiment lying there, they opened a subscription, and, much to the credit of the regiment, there was not one individual who did not contribute cheerfully his proportion to the sum, which enabled them to pay his debts, to open to him the prison gates, and restore to him the enjoyment of his liberty. This sum, so generously collected, and paid by this noble body of men, amounted to 17l. 17s. 6d. including the attorney's charges, &c.

29. This day William Curtis, esq. was elected lord mayor of London, for the year ensuing.

O C T O B E R.

1. On Saturday afternoon, the new iron bridge over the river Team, at Stamford, Worcestershire, suddenly gave way, completely across the centre of the arch, and the whole of this elegant structure was instantly immersed in the flood! In the fall, the arches were all disjointed, and some of them which struck against the abutments, were shivered into many pieces. At the moment of the crash, which was instantaneous, a man and boy were upon the bridge. The former, with great presence of mind, leaped into the river, and swam safe to shore; and it is a circumstance truly surprising, that, though the boy went down with the fragments, he was also extricated unhurt.

The bridge had been made passable, and only wanted the finishing of the side-rails towards its completion; but no carriages had yet passed over it. The people employed, had not left their work above an hour, and were at an adjoining public-house, receiving their wages, when the alarm was given.

The span of this bridge was about

bout ninety feet; and the misfortune is generally imputed to the slightness of the iron work, which was several tons lighter than the celebrated bridge at Colebrook Dale. The mason work remains, uninjured.

Windsor, Oct. 3. This morning, their majesties, and their royal highnesses the princesses, set out from Weymouth, at a quarter before five o'clock, and arrived here at six o'clock this evening, in perfect health.

9. Yesterday, a court of common council was held at Guildhall, London, when the thanks of the court were unanimously voted to lord Bridport, and the officers, and sailors, of his majesty's fleet, under the command of his lordship, for the glorious victory obtained over the French fleet, off the coast of France, on the 23d of June last: also, the freedom of the city of London, in a gold box, of the value of 100 guineas, was ordered by the court to be presented to his lordship, as a testimony of the high estimation they have for his lordship's gallant conduct on that memorable day.

Admiralty-Office, October 20.

His Majesty's ship *Fortitude*, October 12, 1795, Cape Finisterre, by account, bearing East, about 16 or 17 leagues.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, I left Gibraltar Bay the 24th of September, taking the first spirt of an easterly wind after my letter written their lordships of the 21st of the same month, when the wind was westerly.

In coming through the gut in the night his majesty's ships *Argo* and *Juno*, with some of the ships, parted company, and, I conclude, by steering more to the northward than

myself with the other men of war and body of the convoy, it being near dusk in the evening before many got out of Gibraltar Bay, though the *Fortitude* was under weigh with the much greater part by ten A. M. but, on the whole, their separation has turned out a most fortunate circumstance; for, with great regret, I am to inform their lordships, that on the 7th instant, Cape St. Vincent, by account, bearing S. 83 E. 48 leagues, the wind N. by W. standing on the larboard tack, I discovered nine sail of the enemy's ships, six of the line, two of which I judged to be of 80 guns, and three large frigates, who directly gave chase to his majesty's ships under my command and convoy, under a press of sail. I made every possible disposition for the better security of the convoy by divers signals, and which, had many of them been punctually obeyed, a much greater number would have escaped. I then formed the line, with the *Bedford*, *Censeur*, and *Fortitude*, determined, if possible, to give them battle, and save as many of the convoy as I possibly could.

Just as the ships under my command had formed, the *Censeur* rolled away her fore-topmast; by which, having only a frigate's mainmast, she was rendered useless. The van line of battle ship of the enemy then but long gun shot off, and the rest coming fast up, I judged it proper, with the general opinion of my officers, which coincided with that of captain Montgomery of the *Bedford*, to bear up, keeping very near together for our mutual support, and cutting down every part of the stern for the chase guns. I ordered the *Lutine* frigate directly to take the *Censeur* in tow, but, from the very heavy fire from the enemy's

enemy's van-ship, it could not be effected:

Captain Gore, who commanded her, though in the disabled state his ship was in, not half manned, (and but very little powder) made the most gallant defence; but, being overpowered at last, by two sail more of the enemy's line coming up, I had the mortification to see him strike his colours about half past two o'clock.

The Bedford and Fortitude kept up their mutual fire from their stern chases from all the decks; and about one hour afterwards the enemy hauled their wind on different tacks, to fire on the convoy as they came up with them. The three frigates from the first employed themselves on that service.

When I first made the enemy's force to be of such magnitude as to leave no hopes of saving the convoy, I dispersed them by signal, and I believe many escaped: at least fifteen sail I am sure did. For further particulars, I must refer their lordships to captain Turner, the bearer of these dispatches, who with captain Haggert of the Lutine, I must beg leave to recommend to their lordships as very deserving officers.

Had the enemy come to close action with the Bedford and myself, I am well assured every effort would have been used by captain Montgomery, his officers and ship's company, (and more fully so from the handsome support he gave me while the firing continued,) for his majesty's service and our mutual support.

My officers and ship's company behaved with that coolness that generally attends British seamen in such cases, and I am sure would

have fought the ship to the last moment, had the enemy come up. I flatter myself every thing was done, first to save the convoy, and afterwards his majesty's ships; and I hope and trust my conduct in this unfortunate business will meet his majesty's and their lordships' approbation.

I am, &c.

T. TAYLOR.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Peter Parker, Bart, dated Royal William, at Spithead, October 17, 1795, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that his majesty's ships and sloop named in the margin * are arrived at Spithead. I have given captain Taylor, of the Fortitude, leave to go to town to give their lordships such particulars of the late action with the enemy as they may be desirous of knowing.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Burges, to Evan Nepean, Esq, dated Argo, off the Needles, October 17, 1795.

SIR,

You will please to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty of the arrival of his majesty's ship Argo, under my command, together with the Juno, Lord A. Beauclerk, and thirty-two sail of the convoy, which left Gibraltar Bay on Thursday, the 24th of Sept. under the Fortitude.

Dublin, Oct. 20. Sometime in the course of last month, the appearances of a gold mine were discovered in the mountains of the county of Wicklow. Considerable quantities of gold having been

* Fortitude, Bedford, Lutine, Tisiphone sloop.

found in a stream and adjacent bog, the country people were all in search of it, and were so successful, that the place obtained the name of Little Peru. This mine, otherwise called Crogham Mountain, was taken possession of on Thursday last, on behalf of his majesty. Major Browne, of the royal engineers attended by Mr. Coates, port surveyor of Wicklow, marched two companies of the Kildare militia from the barrack of Arklow, toward the place where the gold is got; but, with great judgment and propriety, on consulting with that active and spirited magistrate, Thomas King, esq. it was judged proper to send a constable before them to read a proclamation, and advise the crowd to disperse and leave the ground. In an hour afterward the major, accompanied by Mr. King, Mr. Hayes, sub-sheriff (who readily attended) and Mr. Coates, marched the army (about sixty-eight men rank and file) to the place, where the crowd immediately, without riot or resistance, dispersed.

Downing-street, Oct. 28. The ratification of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America, signed on the 19th of November last, was this day exchanged by lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, with William Allen Dias, esq. chargé d'affaires from the United States.

29. This day, his majesty, accompanied by the earl of Westmorland and lord Onslow, went in the usual state to the house of peers, amid an astonishing concourse of people. As the procession moved from St. James', several persons expressed their loyalty; but the great

majority vociferated "No war, no war, give us peace and bread!" In Parliament-street, in particular, the mob still more grossly insulted his majesty; and, near the ordnance-office, in St. Margaret-street, one of the coach windows was perforated by a round stone, or bullet, which happily did no other damage.

On his majesty's return, he experienced the like very outrageous and atrocious treatment; and the mob becoming more riotous, the earl of Harrington ordered the troops to patrol the park. Some time after the king had alighted at St. James', he set off privately, in his family coach, for the queen's palace; but the mob finding this out, pursued the carriage, stopped it before it could leave the mall, and attempted to force open the door. The king perceiving his danger, called to the footmen, who beckoned to the guards. The horse immediately galloped up to the carriage, rescued his majesty, and escorted him safely to the queen's palace.

His majesty, at this alarming moment, supported himself with manly fortitude; but when he arrived at the queen's palace, he was evidently under an impression of terror, from the apprehension that the queen might be informed of his danger.

The mob, finding their purposes frustrated, wreaked their fury on the state coach, on its return from St. James' to the Mews, by breaking the windows, and demolishing the figures placed on the top of the carriage.

Three or four persons were apprehended on suspicion of having thrown stones, &c. at the king, and one of them was charged with having called out "No king," and other

other such expressions. They were all examined at the duke of Portland's office.

31. This day, both houses of parliament presented a joint address to his majesty, on the subject of the late daring outrages against his royal person. The same day, a proclamation was issued, in pursuance of the joint address, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the authors, actors, and abettors, concerned in the said outrages.

NOVEMBER.

4. This day, was issued a proclamation against seditious meetings.—*See Public Papers.*

6. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, presented an address to his majesty, on the subject of the late outrage against his royal person.—*See Public Papers.*

7. Yesterday morning, about one o'clock, there was one of the most tremendous storms ever known in this country. It did considerable mischief in the metropolis and its environs, by murthering and even blowing down houses, as well as by blowing down trees, walls, paling, &c. At Wolsingham-place, near Walcot-place, Lambeth, the gable end of a house fell upon another adjoining, belonging to Mr. Wood, whose two daughters were lying in one bed, in the upper room, and an elderly lady, a maid servant, and a child, were in the other bed. One of the sisters (who was to have been married the Sunday after) was killed; but the rest happily escaped.

8. An action for criminal conversation has been tried before the court of king's-bench, in which Mr. Houlditch, a coach-maker, in

Long-acre, was plaintiff, and Mr. Goodhew, distiller, at Deptford, was defendant. The jury brought in the verdict,—*Guilty.*—Damages 1000*l.*

Another action of criminal conversation was also tried, in which one Manners, was plaintiff, and Dr. Pitcairne, defendant. There was no evidence produced of the fact of criminal conversation; and it was proved, on behalf of the defendant, that a letter had been written to him by the plaintiff, charging him with the offence, and threatening, that if he did not appoint a place near the Royal-exchange, and either come, or send some one to endeavour to make it up, he would bring an action against him. He said, the law was peculiarly severe upon physicians, that the trial would get into the newspapers, and that nobody would ever employ such, for fear of their wives and daughters. The counsel for the plaintiff would proceed no farther in the cause after this letter had been read. Lord Kenyon said, that a gross conspiracy had been formed against the defendant; and the jury immediately delivered in the verdict—*Not Guilty.*

10. Yesterday, Mr. Aitken, book-seller, convicted by default of publishing a certain scandalous and immoral book, called, Harris' List of Covent-garden Ladies, was brought up to receive judgment in the court of king's-bench, when Mr. justice Ashhurst addressed the prisoner, and expatiated on the great enormity of the publication of which he had been convicted; a publication of the strongest tendency to corrupt the morals of the youth of this kingdom. It was such an outrageous attack on all law, morals, and religion, as loudly called for a very exemplary punishment. The sentence of the court, there-

therefore was, that the prisoner should pay a fine of 200*l.* to the king; to be imprisoned till the fine is paid, and afterward to find sufficient security for his good behaviour for three years; himself in 250*l.* and his securities in 100*l.* each.

11. This day, were executed before Newgate, Erick Hanson Falk, convicted in September sessions of forgery; and John Lewis, convicted, at the same time, for exciting a riot at Charing-cross. See page (55).

12. Accounts from all parts of the country are full of the mischief occasioned by the tremendous storm, or hurricane, on Thursday night and Friday morning last.—From Essex we learn, that a stack of chimnies belonging to Waltham Vicarage House, near Chelmsford, the residence of the rev. Dr. Waller, archdeacon of Essex, and vicar of Kensington, was blown down and fell into the room where the archdeacon was asleep, who was so much bruised by their falling upon him, that he died soon after. A large orchard, at Mr. Porter's, of Braxted, near Witham, was almost entirely eradicated, having only two trees left. The rev. Mr. Walford, at Boreham, has upward of sixty large trees blown down in one wood, exclusive of many others in various parts of his estate, and numbers shattered to pieces. The coachman of T. Summer, esq. of Southchurch, in riding into the pond to wash his horse's legs, was blown off, and unfortunately drowned. The kitchen chimney of the Grove at Witham, the residence of Thomas Kynaston, esq. was blown down, and fell through the roof into the maid-servant's chamber, who happily escaped without injury. At Faulkborne Hall, the

seat of John Bullock, esq. M. P. for the county, upward of one hundred capital trees were blown up, and many others shattered to pieces.—From Birmingham we learn, that a stack of chimnies of a house in Lionel-street, falling upon the adjoining one, the roof fell in, and carrying the floor of the attic story with it, killed a woman and her daughter, Mary and Lucy Kane, who were in one bed in the second floor; but two girls, who slept in the attic story, received no injury.

13. Yesterday, in consequence of a public meeting in the fields behind Copenhagen House having been called by the London Corresponding Society, an immense concourse of persons assembled there about twelve o'clock. Five rostra or tribunes being raised in different parts of the fields, Mr. Ashley, the secretary, informed the multitude, that at each a member of the society would offer to their consideration three petitions: 1. To the king; 2. To the house of lords; 3. To the house of commons; which he entreated them to hear and receive with a decorum that should refute the misrepresentations of their enemies.

At two o'clock, the rostra were entirely filled, and not less than an hundred thousand persons surrounded them. The petitions were signed, and the multitude dispersed with perfect peace and good order.

14. The London Gazette contains the following order: "At the council chamber, Whitehall, the 12th of November, 1795, present the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

It is this day ordered by their lordships, That his grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury do prepare the form of a prayer and thank-

thanksgiving to Almighty God for his late merciful preservation of the king's majesty from the daring attempts against his royal person, as he passed to the parliament house, on Thursday, the 29th day of October last. Such prayer to be used at morning and evening service after the general thanksgiving, in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, on the first Sunday after the ministers of such churches and chapels respectively shall receive the same, and to be continued for fourteen days afterwards.

And it is hereby further ordered, That his majesty's printer do forthwith print a competent number of copies of the said form of prayer and thanksgiving, that the same may be forthwith sent round, and read in the several churches of England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

STEPH. COTTRELL."

15. On Friday, Edward Collins was finally examined before Mr. Bond, for high treason, he standing charged with having wickedly and feloniously thrown a stone into his majesty's carriage, his majesty being therein at the time, traitorously compassing and imagining the death of the king. He was fully committed to take his trial at the Old Bailev.

Kidd Wake was also fully committed for trial, charged with a high misdemeanor in having indecently and disloyally hissed and hooted his majesty, on his way to and from his parliament.

16. This day, there was a meeting of the electors of Westminster (in pursuance of a public notice signed by Mr. Fox) to consider of a petition to the house of commons against the two bills now pending

in that house, for the better security of his majesty's person, and the suppressing of seditious assemblies. The meeting was attended by the duke of Bedford, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, who severally inveighed against the bills as utterly subversive of the liberties of the people. On the other side appeared lords Hood and Belgrave, Mr. Jenkinson, &c. The two former were the only dissentients from the proceedings adopted by the meeting; and lord Hood protested against the present mode as unfair, insisting that the sense of the electors of Westminster could be known only by meetings of their respective vestries. A petition, however, was agreed (by all but the two dissentients) to be presented to the house of commons, against the two bills in question, after which the meeting quietly dispersed. Parties of the military were stationed in different places; but, happily, their interference was not necessary.

17. On Saturday, the attorney-general made a motion in the court of chancery, on the petition of Mrs. Brothers, wife of the pretended prophet. The petition stated, that the petitioner was married to Mr. Brothers in 1786; that there was a child living, the issue of that marriage; that the petitioner had received nothing toward her support, and that of her child for some time, and in consequence of it they were reduced to great distress. The petition prayed that part of the income of Mr. Brothers might be appropriated to the maintenance of the petitioner and child. The court ordered, that the master should make a division of the income of Mr. Brothers; part to be appropriated to the petitioner and her child, and part to be reserved for the

the maintenance of the lunatic himself.

18. This day, at a court of common council in Guildhall, it was moved that a petition be presented to the house of commons, praying them to take such measures as might be necessary to suppress seditious meetings. An amendment was proposed, that the two bills, now pending in the house to that effect, might not pass into a law. A long debate ensued, and the amendment was negatived by 82 to 45. Another amendment, however, was carried, to insert the words *for a limited time*; and a committee having been appointed, and the petition brought up, it was unanimously agreed to.

Prior to this business, the thanks of the court to the late lord-mayor were voted in the following terms: "Resolved, That the thanks of this court be given to the right hon. Thomas Skinner, late lord mayor of this city, for the unwearied attention, and distinguished ability he has shewn in executing the duties of that high and important office; particularly for his upright and impartial administration of public justice; for his manly and constitutional conduct during the state trials; for his zealous and successful endeavours to preserve the peace of the city, at a period peculiarly critical, when the greatest caution, the clearest discretion, and the soundest judgment, were most eminently required, and most happily displayed; for his meritorious exertions to compose and adjust disputes between several bodies of labouring persons and their employers, especially the coal porters, who, under his well-timed and prudent interference, were both industrious and content; which reflect lasting

honour on his name, and constant lustre on his character; for his humanity, liberality, and activity, in supplying the wants of the poor, whose comfort and happiness he has in every circumstance been studious to promote; for his readiness on every important occasion to assemble this court, where his steady perseverance to preserve order in debate, and his affable and truly polite deportment to the members, were equally and invariably conspicuous; for the general vigilance, benevolence, and public spirit, which has gained him the esteem of all good men, and rendered his mayoralty worthy of being recommended by the lord chief baron of the exchequer, (in the warmest terms of approbation) as a model of imitation to his successors. *Rix.*"

21. A common hall was held this day at Guildhall, to take into consideration the propriety of the two bills now pending in parliament, for the better preservation of the king's person, and suppressing of seditious assemblies, when it was agreed, by a majority of four to one, to instruct their representatives to oppose the said bills. *See Public Papers.*

Glasgow, Nov. 18. About one o'clock this morning a violent storm of wind and rain, accompanied with snow, came on here, which continued till four in the afternoon. Early in the afternoon the river Clyde rose to a prodigious height, so as to lay all the low part of the town, near the river, under water. The Gallowgate Bourn, from the overflowing of the Monkland Canal, came down with such rapidity as to fill all the houses in the Gallowgate, east side of the Saltmarket, and lower part of St. Andrew's-square, with water. The
fine

fine new bridge across the river opposite the Salt-market, which was passable to foot passengers, is totally swept away. Boats for the relief of the inhabitants are plying along the bridge-gate, the depth of water being near six feet in some places. From Charlotte-street to Jamaica-street is a continued sheet of water of considerable depth, and the passage by either of the bridges is impassable for the present. A considerable number of cows, sheep, horses, &c. are carried away by the violence of the water, and lost. A great deal of goods in the cellars near the river will be greatly damaged, if not entirely useless: indeed the amount of the loss sustained, though it cannot as yet be ascertained, must be very great. The height of the water in the Salt-market at present (seven o'clock) is within 16 inches of the inundation in March 1782.

Portsmouth, Nov. 18. A sloop arrived here this day, from the Westward, reports, that rear-admiral Christian's fleet were separated; many of them in Torbay, a number in Portland roads, and several are returned in Spithead with him, but the weather is so thick it is impossible to see any thing that may arrive. There has been a most violent gale of wind all day, and it continues to blow now extremely hard. Five sail of ships are on shore; two with troops, two with merchandise, and one with horses. Signals of distress are flying on board of many vessels; but the weather is so very bad as to prevent any persons from attempting to lend them any assistance. One of the gun boats, lately returned from the coast of France with sir Sydney Smith, is driven on shore on South Beach: she immediately bulged,

but the commander and all the crew got safe on shore.

The number of the troops on board the fleet that was so severely handled by the storm on Tuesday night, was 16,179 effective men, beside about 300 on the sick list, most of whose complaints, however, were of a trivial nature.

Portsmouth, Nov. 22. Yesterday arrived his majesty's ships Prince George of 98 guns, admiral Christian; Colossus 74 guns, admiral Pole, with the principal part of the remaining convoy; but we are sorry to add, many are missing, seven sail of which it is thought are totally lost.

From several parts of the coast we continue to hear of the disasters occasioned by the late heavy gale.

Birmingham, Nov. 23. On Wednesday night, a little before eleven o'clock, a shock of an earthquake was very sensibly felt by most of the inhabitants of this town, and in all the adjoining counties, and occasioned considerable alarm. Those in bed felt themselves raised up in the same manner as if a person had been underneath them; and a shaking of the bedstead, and of the other furniture in the room immediately ensued. Those who had not retired to their beds, were disturbed by an indistinct rumbling noise, apparently proceeding from the cellar, which was followed by a rocking of the house.

Weymouth, Nov. 26. The shore from hence to Abbotsbury is covered with dead bodies, and parts of wrecks are hourly appearing. Nine bodies were thrown upon the beach by one tide. The violence of the sea had torn every particle of clothing off them, and from bruises, and lying so long in the water, they made a most shocking appearance.

The

The number of sufferers almost exceeds belief. The vessels lost in the West Bay were seven in number, and such was the fury of the waves, that several of the transports, heavily laden, were driven to the very summit of the beach. A soldier of the 63d says, that previous to his quitting the transport, one of the officers of the regiment, who was lame and in bed, and conscious of the impossibility of his escaping death, met it with a most dignified constancy; he told the soldier, that from his strength there was a chance of his safety, and told him how to husband it best to his advantage; and then gave him his purse and watch, which he observed, were no longer necessary to him. There were 170 men in this vessel, and five only were saved. Captain Bearcroft, who commanded the detachment, is among the sufferers. On Tuesday, his remains, together with those of lieutenant Kerr, of the 46th, with twenty-six others, were buried at Wick church, about two miles hence, with military honours; the Gloucester militia, &c. attending.

28. Henry Yorke, alias Redhead, convicted of sedition, at the last York assizes (*See page 50*) was this day brought up to the court of king's-bench, and sentenced to be confined two years, in Dorchester gaol, to pay a fine of 200*l.* and at the expiration of the two years, to enter into a recognizance with two sufficient sureties in the sum of 2000*l.* for his good behaviour for seven years more.

DECEMBER.

9. On Monday the London Corresponding Society, together with an immense concourse of spectators, assembled in Mary-le-bone fields. About one o'clock

1795.

rostra were erected, and Mr. Browne was called to the chair. After an explanatory speech, an address to the people, and a petition to the king, were read and unanimously approved of, together with a number of resolutions. Mr. Jones and Mr. Thelwall were the speakers. The petition to the king and the resolutions are in strong and firm, but loyal and respectful language. The conduct of the multitude was temperate and orderly. They signed the papers in great numbers, and separated in good order, and without the least tumult.

16. At the sittings after Michaelmas term, in Guildhall, an action was tried, brought by Mr Day against Barker and others, to recover from the defendants the sum of 500*l.* alleged by the plaintiff to have been lost in consequence of the defendants having given a false and fictitious character to H. Smith. Several witnesses were called, by whose testimony it appeared that Henry Smith applied to Mr. Day to let him have a quantity of goods to the amount of 500*l.* at two months credit, and referred him for his responsibility to the defendants. Application was accordingly made to the defendants, who assured the plaintiff that they well knew Smith to be a man of responsibility and credit, and might be safely trusted with goods to the amount of a much larger sum than 500*l.*

It appeared by the evidence of one of the witnesses, that the defendants, at the time they gave Smith the before mentioned character, knew him to be in a state of insolvency, and that their intention was to raise for him a false and fictitious credit.

In consequence of this character, the plaintiff sent the goods to Smith,

(E)

who

who was soon after discovered to be in very indigent circumstances, and totally incapable of paying any part of the debt, which was never discharged.

The learned judge observed that if one tradesman gives another the character of being a man of responsibility, and he afterward turns out to be insolvent, if he acted *bonâ fide* in giving such character, he was not liable to an action; but, where a man wilfully and knowingly, and not from error of judgment or misinformation, gives another a false character in order to hold him up to the world as a man of responsibility, and in consequence of it another person sustains a loss, such a man beyond all doubt was liable to an action for damages.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 500l.

Dublin, Dec. 21. This day, James Weldon, indicted for high treason, was called on to plead, by the denomination of *yeoman*.

Counsellors Curran and McNally, the counsel for the prisoner, moved and argued in abatement of this indictment, that yeoman was not the proper designation of the prisoner, under the statute of additions of Henry V. and advised him not to plead thereto.

It was contended on the part of the crown by the prime serjeant, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, counsellors Saurin and Kells, that yeoman, in its ancient and usual acceptation, was the proper designation of the prisoner in his station of life, being at the time of the facts charged, a soldier in his majesty's service.

A jury was impannelled to try this point before the prisoner should plead: Mr. Gregg, gaoler of Newgate, was the only evidence adduced to the fact, and on his cross-

examination could not swear that he knew the legal definition of yeoman.

The court, after full argument on both sides, delivered its opinion to the jury, through Mr. justice Chamberlaine, who said, that under the definition given by Blackstone, who was certainly a writer of most respectable authority on the law, the prisoner was not a yeoman; and under the definition of Dr. Johnson, who was certainly the first authority in the English language, the prisoner was a yeoman. Shakspeare, in speaking of the battle of Agincourt, called the soldiers yeomen, and at this day the soldiers of the king's body guard were called yeomen. His lordship, however, apprised the counsel on both sides, that whatever should be the finding of the jury, the court would adjourn, in order to submit the point for the decision of the judges, and report it on the opening of the court to-morrow morning. The jury, after retiring for a short time, found for the indictment, i. e. that the prisoner was a yeoman at the time of the facts charged against him, and the court forthwith adjourned.

Dec. 22. The court sat at a quarter past nine o'clock, to proceed on the trial of J. Weldon.

The jury being sworn in, the prisoner's counsel moved that his irons be struck off, which the court ordered accordingly. James Weldon was then indicted on a charge of high treason, for compassing the king's death, and for adhering to the king's enemies. The trial occupied the attention of the court till half past eight o'clock at night, in the course of which there were but two witnesses produced on the part of the crown, namely, William Lawler, who was the principal

pal and only evidence that affected the prisoner, and Oliver Carleton, esq. On the part of the prisoner two witnesses were produced, who gave him a most excellent character. Mr. Curran and Mr. McNally having spoke to evidence, and the prime serjeant in reply, and the three judges having severally charged the jury, the latter retired for about twenty minutes, and brought in their verdict Guilty.

Sierra-Leone-House, Dec. 23, 1795.

This day advices were received from Sierra-Leone, dated the 1st of November, by which it appears, that the colony was in good health, and that the rainy season had passed without the death of any European.

A factory had been lately established by the company in a neighbouring river, the Rio Pongas, with the view of maintaining the intercourse lately opened with the kingdom of the Foulahs, to the capital of which, situated about 300 miles inland, a small body of new colonists, who carry with them the arts of civilized life, are on the point of embarking from this country. It appears by the present dispatches, that attempts had been made by the slave-traders in the neighbouring parts to destroy this new factory, but that their endeavours had happily been defeated through the good-will of several natives. The following is an extract from the information furnished by the company's factor on that subject:

Rio Pongas, August 24, 1795.

"I was happy at the arrival of a vessel from Sierra-Leone; for most of the slave-traders in this river had joined to destroy this factory

and all the Sierra-Leone company's property. They attempted to bribe my landlord*, and to incense all the natives to make war on the factory. A palaver, or council, was called for that purpose at an adjoining slave factory. The slave-traders there told a thousand lies about the company, and about the conduct of their servants toward the natives of Sierra-Leone; and, among other things, they said that the king of Sierra-Leone had been publicly whipped at Freetown:

"Three of these slave-traders are subjects of Great Britain. I have kept an account of all their transactions. I have been obliged to be liberal to the natives on this occasion. They are a harmless and honest people, but they will beg the teeth out of one's head, and are as bad as the Timmanys for rum.

"The following is the account given by the natives of what passed at the palaver. "The palaver is over. These white men are bad men. They want me to drive you from my place. They offered me four slaves and a puncheon of rum, if I would let them do it. They say you want to take the country from me and my people, and that by and by you will put me in chains, as they tried to make me believe you did the old king of Sierra-Leone. I asked them what you would put me in chains for, as you did not buy slaves? and said, it would be time enough to drive you away when you had done me some harm. I put one of these slave-traders in mind of my having formerly saved him from being ill used by the people here, and asked him why, if I had kept the people

* The name usually given in Africa to the native chief, on whose territory an European factory or settlement is placed.

from doing him any harm before, I should allow any one to do the company's factor harm now? And also why he should wish to do harm to the company's factor, when he liked so ill to be harmed himself?" I told him further, "you want to spoil my name, but I cannot do the bad thing you would have me to do. I believe you to be a bad man, and the white men that are with you to be bad men. What is the reason they are all come from their places to make Yampha * for the company's factor? I don't want your money: the company's factor shall not go. He came here to do good in the country: none of you slave-traders would buy our produce. The company's factor buys every thing but slaves: you buy nothing but slaves. The company's factor buys every thing the natives bring to him, and pays them well for it. I like him. My people like him. He shall not go from my place. Say no more to me. You white men are all bad men. You had better go home: my people don't want you here."

The above account is confirmed, in all its particulars, by one of the company's principal officers, who visited the Rio Pongas, in order fully to investigate the transactions.

He adds, that a neighbouring chief, unconnected with the company, but apprised of their views, on hearing what the slave-traders were meditating, dispatched a messenger to inform the company's factor of it, and to offer an asylum to him and his people, in case the slave-traders should succeed in their designs.

It appears also by an account dated two months after the former

account, that Alimamee Sadoo, king of the Foulahs, having heard of the above conspiracy of the slave-traders, sent a message in the following terms:—"If them white slave-traders in the Rio Pongas go for do bad to the company's factory, you need only send to let Alimamee Sadoo know it, and he will send plenty of people to chastise them for their impertinence."

It is unnecessary to comment on the above particulars, as they sufficiently speak for themselves.

30. In the course of this month, the late Mr. Stock's donation, of 10l. each, to ten poor curates of the church of England, whose incomes do not exceed 40l. per ann. was disposed of by the court of assistants of the corporation of the sons of the clergy. More than forty petitions were presented, and the circumstances stated in each petition were duly considered; and the ten following were elected to receive the donation the present year; namely,

The rev. Maurice Anwyl, curate of Pennal, having four young children, and only 20l. per annum income.

The rev. Henry Barwick, curate of Lindfield, Sussex, having six children, and 30l. per annum.

Rev. Thomas Clarke, curate of Satterthwaite, Lancashire, having six children, and 39l. per annum.

Rev. William Jenkins, curate of Reynoldston, Glamorganshire, having four young children, and only 15l. per ann.

Rev. John Jones, curate of Routh, in Glamorganshire, having twelve children, and 33l. per annum.

Rev. John Jones, curate of St. Catherine's, near the Tower, Lon-

* A phrase which means to raise groundless clamour against one, and to injure him thereby.

don, having six young children, and 30*l.* per annum.

Rev. James Law, curate of Coverham and Horsehouse chapel, Yorkshire, having six young children, and 35*l.* per annum.

Rev. David Morris, curate of Llanfavin, in Carmarthenshire, having eight children, and only 20*l.* per annum.

Rev. Thomas Nicholas, curate of Machen, in Monmouthshire, having six young children, and only 18*l.* per annum.

Rev. Thomas Richards, curate of Llanymowddy, Merionethshire, having six young children, and 30*l.* per annum.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 9, 1794, to December 8, 1795.

Christened { Males 9344 } 18361, Buried { Males 10778 } 21179 Increase in Burials
Females 9017 } this Year 1938. Females 10401 }

Died under 2 Years	6466	20 and 30 -	1443	60 and 70 -	1816	100 - -	1
Between 2 and 5	1982	30 and 40 -	1601	70 and 80 -	1121		
5 and 10	768	40 and 50 -	2153	80 and 90 -	570		
10 and 20	764	50 and 60 -	1920	90 and 100 -	65		

BIRTHS in the Year 1795.

Jan. 5. The lady of Richard Joseph Sullivan, esq. M. P. a son.

17. Lady of the right hon. Charles Townshend, a daughter.

27. Viscountess Belgrave, a son.

Lately, the lady of sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a son and heir.

Lady of sir John Rous, bart. a son.

Feb. 1. Lady of sir Henry Harpur, bart. a son.

14. Lady Auckland, a son.

26. Lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. a son.

March 5. Lady of lord G. H. Cavendish, a daughter.

21. Princess of Brasil, a son.

April 6. Viscountess Conyngham, a son.

18. Lady of William Manning, esq. M. P. a son.

May 24. Lady Anne Wombwell, a son.

June 25. Lady of Dr. William

Cleaver, bishop of Chester, a daughter.

July 2. Countess of Exeter, a son and heir.

7. Lady Elisabeth Loftus, a son.

10. Countess of Breadalban, a daughter.

24. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq. M. P. a daughter.

26. Lady of sir John Ingilby, bart. a daughter.

30. Lady Arden, a son.

Lately, Lady Rodney, a daughter.

Aug. 7. Lady Harriot Sullivan, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.

9. Lady Mary-Anne Sturt, a son and heir.

— Lady of sir Archibald Dunbar, bart. of Northfield, a daughter.

11. Duchess of Dorset, a daughter.

26. Lady Charlotte Hope, a son.

Sept. 26. The consort of prince Lewis of Prussia, a prince.

Oct. 16. Countess of Jersey, a son.

18. Lady of lord Hugh Seymour, a daughter.

20. Lady of Thomas Anson, esq. M. P. a son and heir.

30. Lady of George Smith, esq. M. P. a son.

Lately, lady Sherard, a daughter

Nov. 3. Lady Fludyer, a daughter.

Dec. 4. The empress of Germany, a princess, baptised Carolina-Ludovica-Leopoldina.

8. Lady of sir H. P. St. John Mildmay, bart. a son.

10. Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

19. Hon. lady Shaw, a daughter. Lately, countess of Carlisle, a son.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1795.

Jan. 18. Hon. Simon Butler, to miss Lynch, daughter of Edward Lynch, esq. of Hampstead.

19. Francis lord Down, son of the earl of Moray, to miss Lucy Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

Lately, Hon. Henry Forbes, brother of the earl of Granard, to miss E. Preston, sister of John Preston, esq. M. P. for Navan.

24. Earl of Barrymore, to miss Coghlan, daughter of Mr. Coghlan, of Ardo, in the county of Waterford.

30. Hon. Newton Fellowes, son of the earl of Portsmouth, to miss F. Sherard, daughter of the rev. Castell Sherard.

Lately, hon. Edward Massey, second son of the late lord Massey, to miss Villiers, daughter of John Villiers, esq. of Limerick,

Feb. 9. Rev. George Trevalyan, son of sir John Trevalyan, bart. to miss Neave, daughter of Richard Neave, esq. of Dagnam Park, Essex.

15. Elector Palatine of the Rhine to the archduchess Maria-Leopoldina, second daughter of the archduke Ferdinand of Austria.

21. Capt. Metcalfe of the Staffordshire militia, to miss Vane, daughter of the hon. Mr. Vane, brother to the earl of Darlington.

Lately, Thomas Cole, esq. to lady Elisabeth Henrietta Stanley.

March 5. Richard Johnstone Vanden Bempele, esq. M. P. to miss Scott, niece of the rev. Dr. Scott, rector of Simonbourn.

10. Lieutenant Lascelles, son of lieutenant-general Lascelles, to miss Gould, daughter of sir Charles Morgan, bart.

24. Earl of Dalkeith, to the hon. miss Harriet Townshend, daughter of lord Sidney.

25. Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, to lady Louisa Hervey, daughter of the earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry.

30. Hon. and rev. Richard Bourke, second son of the late earl of Mayo, archbishop of Tuam, to miss Frances Fowler, daughter of the archbishop of Dublin.

— Dr. Henry Vaughan, physician extraordinary to his majesty, to the hon. Elisabeth Barbara St. John, sister to lord St. John of Bletsoe.

31. Captain Patrick Hunter, to the hon. miss Jane Rollo, daughter of the late James lord Rollo.

Lately, Francis Drake, esq. to the only daughter of the late sir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

April 7. Lord Torpichen, to miss Inglis, daughter of sir John Inglis, bart.

15. Sir

15. Sir Harry Burrard, bart. to miss Neale, daughter of the late Robert Neale, esq. of Shaw House, Wilts.—Sir Harry takes the name of Neale.

27. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. M. P. for Stafford, to miss Ogle, only daughter of the dean of Winchester.

May 4. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to miss Howard, only daughter of the late Charles Howard, esq. of Litchfield.

9. Sir James Sanderson, bart. M. P. for Malmesbury, to miss Skinner, daughter of the lord-mayor.

10. Hon. lieutenant-col. George St. John, to miss Lavinia Breton, daughter of William Breton, esq.

21. Finely Ferguson, esq. to the hon. miss Maclellan, only daughter of lord Kirkcudbright.

26. Sir Edward Denny, bart. to miss Day, daughter of Robert Day, esq. of Dublin.

28. John William Clough, esq. of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire, to miss Elisabeth Broughton, daughter of the rev. sir Thomas Broughton, bart.

30. Earl of Winterton, to Mrs. Bodicote of Westerham.

Lately, hon. captain Fortescue, brother to earl Fortescue, to lady Ackland, widow of sir Thomas Ackland, bart.

June 8. John Willes, esq. eldest son of the late hon. Mr. justice Willes, to miss Charlotte Floyer, only daughter of Charles Floyer, esq. of Portland Place.

12. Capt. George Parker, of the royal navy, nephew of sir Peter Parker, bart. to miss Harriet Butt, daughter of Peter Butt, esq. of the Dockyard at Deptford.

16. Sir Richard Beddingfield, bart. to miss Jerningham, daughter of sir William Jerningham, bart.

17. Crauford Tait, esq. to miss Susan Campbell, daughter of the right hon. Ilay Campbell, lord-president of the court of session of Scotland.

18. Captain Grey, of the royal navy, third son of sir Charles Grey, K. B. to miss Whitbread, youngest daughter of Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. of Bedwell Park, Herts.

20. Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the duke of Grafton, to miss Mundy, daughter of Edward Miller Mundy, esq. M. P. for Derbyshire.

22. John Dalrymple, esq. of the 3d regiment of guards, eldest son of the right hon. sir John Dalrymple, bart. one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, to miss Johnson, daughter of the rev. R. A. Johnson, of Kenilworth, Warwickshire.

23. Sir John Wrottesley, bart. to lady Caroline Bennett, daughter of the earl of Tankerville.

— The earl of Banbury, to miss Charlotte Blackwell, daughter of the late Ebenezer Blackwell, esq. of London, banker.

29. Rev. George Moore, eldest son of the archbishop of Canterbury, to lady Maria Isabella Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

July 1. Rev. Brook Henry Bridges, brother of sir Brook Bridges, bart. to miss Jane Hales, second daughter of the late sir Thomas Hales, bart.

15. Hugh lord Carleton, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, to miss Mathew, at Uxbridge.

20. Lord George Seymour Conway, to miss Isabella Hamilton, daughter of the late hon. and rev. George Hamilton.

21. William Henry Digby, esq.
(E 4) of

of Twickenham, to lady Anne Kennedy, daughter of the late earl of Caillis.

25. Lord Paget, to lady C. Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.

— Lord St. Asaph, to lady Charlotte Percy, daughter of the earl of Beverley.

29. Right hon. Dudley Ryder, to lady Susan Leveson Gower.

30. Viscount Dungannon, to the hon. miss Fitzroy.

Aug. 4. Marquis of Titchfield, to miss Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

8. Earl of Belfast, son of the marquis of Donegal, to miss May.

— Lord Spencer Stanley Chichester, second son of the marquis Donegal, to lady Harriet Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

20. Sir William Langham, bart. to miss Vane, only daughter of the hon. C. Vane.

24. Thomas Beever, esq. eldest son of sir Thomas Beever, bart. to miss Hare, only daughter of Hugh Hare, esq. of Hargham, Norfolk.

Lately, hon. Robert Leeson, son of the late earl of Miltown, to miss Grace Head, of Derry, in Tipperary.

Sept. 9. Sir John Riggs Miller, bart. to lady Davenport.

24. Charles Duncombe, esq. (eldest son of Charles Slingsby Duncombe, esq. of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire) M. P. for Shaftesbury, to lady Charlotte Legge, only daughter of the earl of Dartmouth.

— Edward Wigley, esq. M. P. for Worcester, to miss Annie Maria Meysey, only daughter and heiress of the late Charles Watkins Meysey, esq. of Shakenhurst in Boynton, Worcestershire.

October 9. John Richard viscount Dungarvon, to the hon. Isa-

bella Henrietta Poyntz, maid of honour to her majesty, and daughter of William Poyntz, esq. of Midgham House, Berks.

— Francis Gregor, esq. M. P. for Cornwall, to miss Jane Urquhart, niece of general Morris.

15. Major general Ross, to miss Gunning, daughter of sir Robert Gunning, K. B.

20. Lord Mulgrave, to miss Sophia Malling, daughter of C. T. Malling, esq. of West Henington.

26. Harrington Hudson, esq. of Blessingby, Yorkshire, to lady Ann Townshend, daughter of marquis Townshend.

27. John Gibbons, eldest son of sir William Gibbons, bart. of Stanwell Place, to miss Taylor, daughter of the late Richard Taylor, esq. of Charlton House.

31. Captain Knox, of the first regiment of foot-guards, to miss Emma Williams, daughter of Thomas Williams, esq. M. P.

Nov. 2. Charles Pole, esq. second son of sir Charles Pole, bart. to miss Buller, daughter of Richard Buller, esq. of Crosby-square.

7. Robert Dairymple, esq. son of admiral Dairymple, to miss Howard, of Knightsbridge.

11. Mark Sykes, esq. high sheriff of Yorkshire, and eldest son of sir Christopher Sykes, bart. to miss Masterman, only daughter of Henry Masterman, esq. of Stettrington.

13. Sir Francis Henry Drake, bart. to miss Anne Frances Mateby, daughter of Thomas Mateby, esq. of Great Mary-le-bone-street.

— Thomas Ridgate Maunsell, esq. to miss Daly, daughter of the late James Daly, esq. of Upton House, near Brixham, Devon.

Dec. 12. Sir John William Rose, kn. recorder of London, to miss Fenn, of Walworth.

15. Hon.

15. Hon. George Augustus Legge, son of the earl of Dartmouth, to miss Honora Bagot, daughter of the rev. Walker Bagot.

DEATHS in the Year 1795.

Jan. 6. Rev. George Berkeley, D. D. prebend of Canterbury, &c. son of the celebrated bishop of Cloyne.

Lately, earl of Coleraine.
— Col. William Dundas, brother to the right hon. Henry Dundas.

13. Hon. Thomas Broderick, under secretary of state.

15. Lady of lord Romney.

19. Lady Vane, relict of the rev. sir Henry Vane, bart.

22. Countess dowager of Carlisle.

— Sir Lucius O'Brien, bart.

23. Sir John Hynde Cotton, bart.

25. Edwin lord Harewood, the title extinct.

27. Hon. miss Fitzroy, eldest daughter of lord Southampton.

30. Lieutenant-general Douglas, colonel of the 99th regiment of foot.

31. Charles William earl of Sefton.

— Sir Hugh Hill, bart. M. P. for Londonderry.

Feb. 3. Richard Edwards, esq. admiral of the blue.

George earl of Mount Edgumbe.

John Webb, esq. M. P.

5. Sir John Duntze, bart. M. P.

7. Sir James Langham, bart.

8. Lady Rivers.

9. Thomas earl of Macclesfield.

10. Margaret Baronefs Cloncurry.

12. Thomas Grosvenor, esq. M. P. brother to earl Grosvenor.

14. Thomas earl of Beffive.

19. Sir Thomas Maffey Stanley, bart.

20. John Sawbridge, esq. alderman, and M. P. of London.

22. Jane duchess dowager of Athol.

March 3. Hon. Stephen Digby, son of the earl of Digby.

4. Viscountess Colchester, sister of sir John Trevelyan, bart.

— Hon. admiral Keith Stewart.

5. Basil William Douglas, lord Daer.

— Sir William Gordon of Gordonstown, bart.

9. Sir Henry Houghton, bart. M. P.

12. William Mostyn Owen, esq. M. P.

18. Lord Edward Murray, third son of the duke of Athol.

20. Lieutenant-general sir William Erskine, bart.

23. Hon. and rev. St. Andrew St. John, second son of John 10th lord St. John of Bletsoe.

30. Lewis Monson Watson, lord Spandes.

April 6. Sir George Collier, knt. vice admiral of the blue.

8. Sir Alexander Livingstone, bart.

10. Mr. Worsley, only son of sir Richard Worsley, bart.

12. Hon. Philip Tufton Percival, brother to the earl of Egmont.

13. Lady Sarah Annesley, daughter of the earl of Mountmorris.

16. Lady Grantley.

17. Thomas Whitmore, esq. M. P.

24. Hon. Thomas Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewsbury.

May 2 Sir Herbert Perrott Packington, bart.

16. John

16. John Aldridge, esq. M. P. for Shoreham.
17. Thomas Sainsbury, esq. alderman of Billingsgate-ward.
— Henry Beaufoy, esq. M. P. for Great Yarmouth.
18. Thomas duke of Newcastle; a major-general in the army.
Lately, hon. John Plunkett; son of the earl of Fingal.
— William Drake, jun. esq. M. P. for Agmondestham.
26. Sir Edward Lloyd, bart.
Lately, sir Nicholas Conway Colthurst, bart.
June 8. Hon. captain Charles Nairne.
9. Lady Stepney, mother of fir John Stepney, bart.
18. Countess dowager of Radnor.
22. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. col. of the 20th regiment of foot, and formerly ambassador extraordinary to the court of Vienna.
30. General fir John Vaughan, K. B.
July 3. Lady Sarah Bruce, daughter of Thomas earl of Kincardine.
— Lord Henry John Spencer, second son of the duke of Marlborough, and envoy extraordinary at Berlin.
5. Miss Mary Yorke, daughter of the hon. and right rev. the bishop of Ely.
6. Sir Philip Musgrave, bart.
— Sir William Middleton, bart. M. P.
9. Right hon. field-marshal Henry Seymour Conway.
— Sir Francis Wood, bart.
22. Lord Clonbrock of the kingdom of Ireland.
24. Sir William St. Quintin, bart.
— Jonathan Faulknor, esq. admiral of the blue.
28. Lady Susan Gordon, daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.
July 28. John Richard West earl Delaware.
29. John Heathcote, esq. M. P.
Aug. 1. Henry Hippsley Cox, esq. M. P.
2. Viscountess Tracey.
4. Sir Robert Sinclair bart. of Murkle, lieutenant-governor of Fort George.
17. Lady Mary Stanley.
— Lady Susan Drummond.
27. Lady Lyttelton, second wife of George lord Lyttelton.
Sept. 9. Viscount Kenmure.
12. Alexander lord Macdonald.
30. Hon. miss Charlotte Clive, sister of lord Clive.
Oct. 5. Hon. Mrs. Home, relict of the hon. Geo. Home.
17. Sir John Gordon, bart. of Earlston.
- Nov. 1.* Sir Michael Bruce, bart.
3. Sir John Hotham, bart. bishop of Clogher.
9. Hon. Mrs. John Thomas Townshend.
24. Samuel Estwick, M. P. for Westbury.
28. Hon. Mrs. Robinson, lady of colonel Robinson, and sister to lord Clive.
- Dec. 7.* The princess Louisa, daughter of the hereditary prince of Denmark.
8. Rev. fir James Stonehouse, bart. M. D. rector of Great and Little Cheverell, Wilts.
21. Thomas Wildman, esq. M. P.
23. In the 103d year of her age, Mrs. Beresford, great aunt to the marquis of Waterford.
22. General fir Henry Clinton, K. B.
25. Hon. Mrs. Murray, wife of rear-admiral Geo. Murray, M. P.
29. Coun-

29. Countess dowager of Findlater and Seaforth.

30. John Butler earl of Ormond.

— Matthew Barton, esq. admiral of the white.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1795.

January 4. John earl of Bute—lord-lieutenant of Glamorganshire.

14. George earl of Warwick—lord-lieutenant of the county of Warwick.

17. George James earl Cholmondeley—chamberlain to the prince of Wales, and intendant of the houses.

— John earl of Darnley—groom of the stole to his royal highness.

— Charles Nassau Thomas, esq.—vice-chamberlain.

— John Hyde, esq.—master of his royal highness' household.

— Earl of Jersey—master of the horse.

21. Robert Shore Milnes, esq.—governor of Martinico.

29. Dr. William Newcombe, bishop of Waterford—archbishop of Armagh.

— Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Berne—bishop of Ossory.

— Hon. Charles Lawrence Dundas—private secretary to the lord lieutenant.

— Rev. Dr. Richard Murray—provost of Trinity-college, Dublin.

— John earl of Portarlington and George lord Milton—privy-counsellors of Ireland.

Feb. 10. General the duke of York—field-marshal of the forces.

March 4. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, sir Charles Middleton, bart. lord Hugh Seymour, Philip Stephens, and James

Gambier, esqrs.—lords of the admiralty.

— Philip Stephens, esq.—a bart. with remainder to his nephew Stephens Howe, esq.

6. Lord Hugh Seymour and lord Villiers—gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

— William Churchill, esq.—first groom of the bed-chamber, master of the robes, and privy-purse to his royal highness.

7. Lieutenant-colonel Hervey Aston—one of the grooms of the bed-chamber.

11. Right hon. Thomas Pelham—a privy-counsellor.

— John Jeffries earl Camden—lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

— Henry Willoughby Roke, esq.—page of honour to his majesty.

27. Susannah baroness Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland—baroness Hood of Great Britain.

— Dr. John Law, bishop of Killala and Achonry—bishop of Elphin.

April 11. Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq.—private secretary to the prince of Wales.

— Sir George Chetwynd, of Brocton-hall, in the county of Stafford, and sir John Dryden, of Canons Ashby, in the county of Northampton, knts. Robert Sasisbury, of Llanwern, in the county of Monmouth, esq. Richard Gamon, of Minchenden-house, in the county of Middlesex, esq. (with remainder to Richard Grace, of Rahin, in the Queen's County and kingdom of Ireland, esq. and his issue male) Lionel Darell, of Richmond-hill, in the county of Surry, Richard Neave, of Dagnam-park, in the county of Essex, Henry Hawley, of Leybourne Grange, in the county of Kent, John Pollen, of Redenham, in the county of South-

Sonthampton, esqrs. and John Wentworth, esq. lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia—baronets.

16. Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot and William Hotham, esqrs. vice-admirals of the red—admirals of the blue.

22. Thomas Pickering, esq. mayor of Arundel—knighted.

23. Earl of Bute—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.

25. John Eamer and Robert Burnet, esqrs. sheriffs of London—knighted.

29. Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe—lord-lieutenant of Cornwall.

May 8. Robert Mackreth, esq. M. P.—knighted.

— William Lushington, esq. M. P. for London—alderman of Billingsgate-ward.

June 1. Hon. Edward Stopford, William Lloyd, Mark Milbanke, and Nicholas Vincent, esqrs. Thomas lord Greaves, Robert Digby, esq. and Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admirals of the blue—admirals of the white.

— Joseph Peyton and John Carter Allen, esqrs. sir Charles Middleton and sir John Laforey, barts. John Dalrymple, Herbert Sawyer, sir Richard King, Jonathan Faulkner and Philip Affleck, esqrs. vice-admirals of the red—admirals of the blue.

— Sir John Jervis, K. B. and Adam Duncan, esqr. vice-admirals of the white—vice-admirals of the blue.

— Richard Braithwaite, Philip Cosby, Samuel Cornish, John Brifbane, Charles Wolfeley, and Samuel Cranston Goodall, esqrs. William Henry duke of Clarence, Richard Onslow and Robert Kingmill, esqrs. vice-admirals of the white—vice-admirals of the red.

— Sir George Bowyer, bart. sir Hyde Parker, kn. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. hon. William Cornwallis, vice-admirals of the blue—vice-admirals of the red.

— William Allen, John McBride, George Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, and William Dickson, esqrs. and sir Alan Gardner, bart. vice-admirals of the blue—vice-admirals of the white.

— John Lewis Gidoin, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, esqrs. sir James Wallace, kn. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Pasley, bart. rear-admirals of the red—vice-admirals of the white.

— John Symonds, esq. and sir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the red—vice-admirals of the blue.

— Charles Thompson, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpoys, Skef. Lutwidge, Archibald Dickson, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumarecq, esqrs. and the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. rear-admirals of the white—vice-admirals of the blue.

— James Pigott, esq. and hon. William Waldegrave, rear-admirals of the blue—vice-admirals of the blue.

— Thomas Mackenzie, and Thomas Pringle, esqrs. sir Roger Curtis, kn. Henry Harvey, Robert Man, William Parker, Charles Holmes, Everitt Calinady, and John Bourmaster, esqrs. sir George Young, kn. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, esqrs. rear-admirals of the blue—rear-admirals of the red.

— Captains, Alexander Graeme, George Keppel, Samuel Reeve, Robert Biggs, Francis Parry, Isaac Prescott, John Bazeley, Christopher Mason, Thomas Spry, sir John Orde, bart. William Young, and James

James Gambier, esq.—rear-admirals of the white.

— Captains, Andrew Mitchell, Charles Chamberlayne, Peter Rainer, Hugh Clo. Christian, William Truscott, lord Hugh Seymour, John Stanhope, Christopher Parker, Philip Patton, Charles Morice Pole, John Brown, and John Leigh Douglas—rear-admirals of the blue.

6. Horatio Nelson, esq. hon. Thomas Pakenham, and hon. George Berkeley—colonels of marines.

— Rev. John Porter, D. D.—bishop of Killala and Achonry.

10. George lord Vernon, Richard Aubrey, and John Price, esqrs.—deputy lieutenants, to execute the office of lord-lieutenant of Glamorganshire, during the absence of John earl of Bute.

— James Watson, esq. serjeant at law—knt.

18. John viscount Fitzgibbon, lord chancellor of Ireland—earl of Clare.

— Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel—baron of Somerton, in the county of Kilkenny.

— Lord chief baron Yelverton—lord Yelverton, baron of Avonmore, in the county of Cork.

20. James Crawford, John Brickwood, Allen Chatfield, John Bowles, and Alexander Baxter, esqrs.—commissioners for the care and disposal of such ships and vessels, with their cargoes, as are, or hereafter may be, detained in, or brought into, any of the ports of this kingdom, pursuant to an act of the present year of his majesty's reign, intituled, "An act to make further provision respecting ships and effects come into this kingdom, to take the benefit of his majesty's orders in council of the 16th and 21st of January 1795, and to provide for the disposal of other ships

and effects detained in, or brought into the ports of this kingdom."

— Duke of Portland—lord-lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and steward, keeper, and guardian of the forest of Sherwood, and park of Polewood.

22. Edmund Henry lord Glentworth—keeper of the privy seal in Ireland.

— Hugh O'Reilly, esq. of Ballinlough—bart. of Ireland.

23. John Murray, of Lanrick, in the county of Perth, colonel and military auditor-general of Bengal; William Peirce Ashe a Court, esq. of Heytsbury, Wilts; Richard Bempde Johnstone, esq. of Hackness-hall, Yorkshire, (remainder to his brother, Charles Johnstone, esq. of Haverford-west); James Hamlyn, esq. of Clovelly-court, Devon, and of Edwinstord, in the county of Carmarthen; and John Methuen Poore, esq. of Rudshall, Wilts, (remainder to his brother Edward Poore, of Wedhampton, same county, esq.)—baronets of Great Britain.

30. Right hon. Henry Dundas, lord Grenville, duke of Portland, right hon. William Pitt, duke of Montrose, earl of Mornington, lord Belgrave, earl Bathurst, hon. E. J. Elliot, hon. R. B. Jenkinson, and right hon. Sylvester Douglas—commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

July 4. Sir J. Banks, bart.—K. B.

11. Daniel Hailes, esq.—envoy extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

— Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald—envoy extraordinary at the court of Copenhagen.

— William Wickham, esq.—minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons.

15. Major Thomas Saumarez—knighthed.

— Major-

15. Major-general Ralph Abercombe—K. B.

20. Right hon. sir George Howard, K. B.—a privy-counsellor, and governor of Jersey.

30. Thomas Jackson, esq.—secretary of legation to the court of Turin.

Aug. 15. Earl of Elgin—minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

26. William Parsons, Mus. D. composer of his majesty's band of music at St. James'—knighted.

Sept. 21. Roper George, Ambrose Serle, John Schank, and William Albany Otway, esqrs. captains in the navy, and John Marth, esq.—commissioners of the transport service of prisoners of war.

Oct. 6. Robert viscount Leitrim—earl of Leitrim.

— Charles lord Lucan—earl of Lucan.

— Luke lord Mountjoy—viscount Mountjoy.

— Robert lord Londonderry—viscount Castlereagh.

— Lawrence Harnan lord Oxmantown—viscount Oxmantown.

— John lord O'Neil—viscount O'Neil.

— Francis lord Bandon—viscount Bandon.

— Mrs. Anne Wolfe, wife of the right hon. Arthur Wolfe—baroness of Kilwarden.

— Right hon. Richard Longfeld—baron Longueville.

— Sir Ralph Payne, K. B.—baron Lavington.

— Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq.—baron Radcliffe. The above eleven of the kingdom of Ireland.

19. Alexander baron Loughborough, lord chancellor of Great Britain—baron Loughborough, of Loughborough, in the county of Surry, with remainder to sir James

St. Clair Erskine, bart. and to his brother John Erskine, esq.

24. James Bland Burges, esq. under secretary of state for foreign affairs—a baronet.

— Horace Hayes, esq.—a commissioner of taxes.

Nov. 7. Major-general his highness prince William of Gloucester—colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

Dec. 1. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, esq. lord Hugh Seymour, sir Philip Stephens, bart. James Gambier, and William Young, esqrs.—lords of the admiralty.

2. Isaac Pennington, esq. regius professor of physic in the university of Cambridge, John Bulkeley and Cuthbert Shafto, esqs. and Thomas Bonsall, esq. high sheriff of Cambridgeshire—knights.

17. George Aust, esq.—commissary-general of the musters, chief muster-master of all the forces in Great Britain, and secretary and register of Chelsea-hospital.

SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1795.

Bedfordshire, John Harvey, of Ickwell.

Berks, William Thoyts, of Surhamstead.

Bucks, Lovell Badcock, of Little Missenden.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Thomas Quintin, of Hatley St. George.

Cheshire, James Hugh Smith Barry, of Marbury.

Cornwall, Ralph Allen Daniel, of Truro, esqrs.

Cumberland, sir James Graham, of Netherby, bart.

Derby:

Derbyshire, William Drury Lowe, of Lockow.

Devonshire, William Clarke, of Buckland Tout Saints *.

Dorsetshire, Edward Greathed, of Uddings.

Essex, John Hanson, of Great Bromley-hall.

Gloucestershire, Samuel Edwards, of Botham-lodge.

Herefordshire, John Moore Green, of Cagebroke.

Hertfordshire, James Harding, of Tring.

Kent, Gabriel Harpur, of Gorecourt.

Leicestershire, Edward Muxloe, of Pickwell †.

Lincolnshire, Ayscough Boucherett, of Stalingborough.

Monmouthshire, Richard Morgan, of Argoed.

Norfolk, George Nelthorpe, of Lynford.

Northamptonshire, Valentine Knightley, of Fawley.

Northumberland, Cuthbert Shaf-
toe, of Basington.

Nottinghamshire, Jonas Bettison, of Holme-Pierrepont.

Oxfordshire, Strickland Freeman, of Henley upon Thames, esqrs.

Rutlandshire, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, of Normanton, bart.

Shropshire, Henry Bevan, of Shrewsbury.

Somersetshire, Edward Lyne, of Saltford.

Southampton, Wither Brampton, of Oakley-hall.

Staffordshire, Thomas Swinerton, of Butterson.

Suffolk, Jacob Whitbread, of Loudham.

Surry, Thomas Turton, of Starborough-castle.

Sussex, Francis Newberry, of Heathfield Park.

Warwickshire, William Little, of Kenilworth.

Wiltshire, James Mountague, of Alderton.

Worcestershire, William Waldron, of Stourbridge.

Yorkshire, Mark Sykes, of Sledmire, esqrs.

S O U T H W A L E S.

Brecon, Henry Skreen, of Danby Park.

Cardigan, Thomas Bonfal, of Trodfrith.

Carmarthen, John Rees, of Kilymaenllwyd.

Glamorgan, Wyndham Lewis, of Lanishen.

Pembroke, John Herbert Foley, of Ridgeway.

Radnor, Francis Fowke, of Boughrood, esqrs.

N O R T H W A L E S.

Anglesey, John Bulkeley, of Pre-
saddfed.

Carnarvon, William Jones, of Bodfaur.

Denbighshire, John Wynne, of Gorwenvawr.

Flint, Bromfield Foulkes, of Gwern y gron.

Merioneth, Robert Lloyd, of Cefngoad.

Montgomery, Lawton Parry, of Welch Pool, esqrs.

* On his decease, soon after, Philip Morthead, of Wordey, was appointed.

† On his decease, some time after, Anthony Keah, of Staughton-hall, was appointed.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of
Parliament, Dec. 30, 1794.*

My lords and gentlemen,
AFTER the uniform experience which I have had of your zealous regard for the interests of my people, it is a great satisfaction to me, to recur to your advice and assistance at a period which calls for the full exertion of your energy and wisdom.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which we have experienced in the course of the last campaign, I retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged.

You will, I am confident, agree with me, that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests.

In considering the situation of our enemies, you will not fail to observe, that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, have produced among themselves the pernicious effects which

were to be expected; and that every thing which has passed in the interior of the country, has shewn the progressive and rapid decay of their resources; and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which is equally ruinous to France and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

The states general of the United Provinces have nevertheless been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country. No established government or independent state can, under the present circumstances, derive real security from such negotiations: on our part, they could not be attempted, without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief animosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.

I have the effort continued to use the most effectual means for the further augmentation of my forces; and I shall omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe, as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion. I place the fullest reliance on the valour of my forces, and on the affection and
public

public spirit of my people, in whose behalf I am contending, and whose safety and happiness are the objects of my constant solicitude.

The local importance of Corsica, and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themselves from the yoke of France, determined me not to withhold the protection which they sought for; and I have since accepted the crown and sovereignty of that country, according to an instrument, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have great pleasure in informing you, that I have concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, in which it has been my object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both countries. As soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you, in order that you may consider of the propriety of making such provisions as may appear necessary for carrying it into effect.

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of my son the prince of Wales, with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick: the constant proofs of your affection for my person and family, persuade me, that you will participate in the sentiments I feel, on an occasion so interesting to my domestic happiness, and that you will enable me to make provision for such an establishment, as you may think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,
1795.

The considerations which prove the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, will, I doubt not, induce you to make a timely and ample provision for the several branches of the public service, the estimates for which I have directed to be laid before you.— While I regret the necessity of large additional burthens on my subjects, it is a just consolation and satisfaction to me to observe the state of our credit, commerce, and resources, which is the natural result of the continued exertions of industry under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

My lords, and gentlemen,

A just sense of the blessings now so long enjoyed by this country, will, I am persuaded, encourage you to make every effort, which can enable you to transmit those blessings unimpaired to your posterity.

I entertain a confident hope that, under the protection of providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be successful; and that my faithful people will find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the secure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greatest danger with which it has been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.

In the House of Commons on the 30th of December 1794, the following Address was moved by Sir Edward Knatchbull.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of
(F) Great

Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty the thanks of this house for your most gracious speech from the throne: to assure your majesty, that it is equally our duty and our anxious desire to second your majesty's views for the welfare of your people, at this important crisis, by our best advice and assistance: that, much as we must desire the restoration of peace, on safe and honourable grounds, we join with your majesty in thinking that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the attainment of that end, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests; and that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which have been experienced in the course of the last campaign, we retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in the vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged: from considering the situation of our enemies, we are persuaded that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which those efforts have been supported, have produced, among themselves, the pernicious effects which were to be expected from them: and that the circumstances which have taken place in the interior of the country afford strong marks of the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and of the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system which is equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

Although a sense of present difficulties has led the states general of the United Provinces to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in France, we

are fully sensible how little real security any established government or independent state can derive, under the present circumstances, from the result of such negotiations; and we are convinced that they could not be attempted, on our part, without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief animosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.

We cannot but applaud your majesty's determination to use the most effectual means for the further augmentation of your forces, and to omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion.

We are persuaded your majesty may, at all times, justly rely on the valour of your forces by sea and land, and on the affection and public spirit of your people, contending for their essential interests, and deeply sensible of your majesty's parental solicitude for their happiness and welfare.

We acknowledge your majesty's goodness in having directed the instrument by which you have accepted the crown and sovereignty of Corsica to be laid before us; and we are sensible that the local importance of that island, and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants, naturally recommended them to your majesty's protection.

It gives us great pleasure to learn that your majesty has concluded a treaty with the United States of America, with the view of removing, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and of improving an intercourse beneficial to both countries; and we shall be ready, as soon as the
 theaty

treaty is laid before us, to consider of the necessary provisions for carrying it into effect.

We cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction which all your majesty's subjects must derive from the auspicious event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick; and that, participating warmly in the sentiments which your majesty must feel on an occasion not less connected with the interests of your people than with the domestic happiness of your majesty, we shall cheerfully proceed to enable your majesty to make provision for an establishment suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.

The considerations which prove the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war cannot fail to induce us to make a timely and ample provision for the several branches of the public service; and while we feel the painful necessity of imposing additional burthens on our constituents, it is a just consolation and satisfaction to us to learn, that the state of our credit, commerce, and resources, is such as might naturally be expected to result from the continued exertions of industry, under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

Entertaining a just sense of the blessings now so long enjoyed by this country, we feel it incumbent upon us to make every effort which can enable us to transmit those blessings unimpaired to our posterity; and we cordially join with your majesty in a confident hope that, under the protection of providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the prin-

ciples of social order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be successful; and that your majesty's faithful subjects will find their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the secure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greatest danger with which it has been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.

Mr. Wilberforce moved the following Amendment on the preceding Address:

To assure his majesty, that they are determined to grant the most liberal supplies, for the purpose of enabling his majesty to act with vigour and effect in supporting the dignity of his crown, the internal security of his dominions, and the good faith towards his majesty's allies, for which this country has been so eminently distinguished; and that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses of the last campaign, they are firmly convinced, that from the unremitting exertions of his majesty, and the spirit and zeal which have been so generally manifested throughout the kingdom, by a people sensible of the advantages they enjoy under his majesty's government, they may promise themselves (by the blessing of providence) complete security from the attempts of foreign or domestic enemies.

That, at the same time, they beg leave most humbly to represent to his majesty, that upon full consideration of all the events and circumstances of the present war, and of some transactions which have lately passed in France, and also the negotiation entered into by the states general, they think it advisable and expedient to endeavour to restore the blessings of peace to his majesty's subjects, and to his

(F 2) allies,

allies, upon just and reasonable terms.

But that if, contrary to the ardent wishes of his faithful commons, such endeavours on the part of his majesty should be rendered ineffectual by the violence and ambition of the enemy, they are persuaded that the burdens and evils of a just and necessary war will be borne with cheerfulness by a loyal, affectionate, and united people.

The amendment was negatived, and the original address carried by a majority of 246 against 75.

Protest, by Earl Stanhope, January 6, 1795, against the Motion for Adjournment, by which his proposed Resolution, "That this Country ought not, and will not, interfere in the internal Affairs of France, and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the same," was negatived; sixty-one Peers voting for the Adjournment, and his Lordship alone against it.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because the motion made for the house to adjourn, was professedly intended to get rid of the following resolution, viz. Resolved, &c. See above.

2dly, Because I hold, that it is contrary to equity and justice, for any foreign country to interfere in the internal affairs, or constitution of the French republic, or any other independent nation.

3dly, Because the government of Great Britain, (not having been elected by the citizens of France) can have no more right to give to France a monarchical, aristocratical, or other form of government whatever, than the crowned despots of Prussia and Russia had, to overturn the constitution of now unhappy Poland.

4thly, Because I highly disapprove and reprobate the doctrine, advanced by ministers in the debate; namely, "That to restore the ancient and hereditary monarchy of France, no expence should be spared."—And I reprobate that pernicious and uncivic doctrine the more strongly, from its not having been suddenly, hastily, or inconsiderately started; but from its having been taken up (as it was solemnly declared) upon the utmost deliberation.

5thly, Because I deem it to be an injustice committed by ministers, towards my fellow-citizens, to adopt a principle which shall render it necessary for the government of Great Britain to lay further heavy burthens upon the people; and to tax their houses, their windows, their beer, their candles, their shoes, and many other conveniences and necessities of life, in order to provide a fund, to attempt the accomplishment of such a wicked purpose as aforesaid.

6thly, Because the proposed resolution, above stated, was intended by me as a solemn pledge, that the government of this nation would not interfere in the internal affairs of France: but the refusal of the house to give such a pledge, tends to shut the door to peace; and consequently tends to ensure the ruin of this manufacturing, commercial, and once happy country: particularly considering the increased, and rapidly increasing strength of the navy of the French republic; independently of the prospect there is, of their having the navies of Holland and Spain under their immediate influence.

7thly, Because the public funds, the paper currency, and the public and private credit of this country, will probably be unequal to stand against

against the tremendous shock to which the minister will now expose them.

8thly, Because I think that frankness, fairness, humanity, and the principles of honesty, and of justice, are always in the end the best policy.—And I believe it to be true in regard to nations (as well as with respect to individuals) that, “nothing that is not just, can be wise, or likely to be ultimately prosperous.”

9thly, Because I lament the more, that the house should refuse to disclaim the interfering in the internal constitution of France, inasmuch, as by the new constitution of the French republic one and indivisible, adopted by the present national convention, on the 23d day of June in the year 1793, and under the title “Of the relation of the French republic with foreign nations,” and by the articles 118th and 119th of that constitution, it is declared and enacted that, “The French people is the friend and natural ally of every free nation. It does not interfere with the government of other nations. It does not suffer that other nations should interfere with its own.”

So frank, so fair, and so explicit a declaration on their part, did, in my opinion, intitle them to a better species of return.

10thly, Because I conceive that a true republican form of government, being firmly established in France, is much more safe to the liberties of the people of Great Britain, than the tyrannical, capricious, perfidious, secret, intriguing, and restless, ancient monarchy of France, or than any other monarchy they could there establish: but, even if I were of a direct opposite way of thinking, I would not be guilty of the gross injustice of at-

tempting to force a monarchy upon them contrary to their inclination.

11thly, Because I think that no war ought to be continued, that can by a proper line of moderation be avoided; and the more especially with respect to the French people, who by their republican exertions, republican enthusiasm, and republican courage, have made victory the almost constant “order of the day.”

12thly, Because the continuance of such a bloody contest without necessity, appears to be a prophane tempting of divine Providence, in whose benign and almighty hands, the fate of battles, and of empires is placed.

13thly, Because I wish to wash my hands entirely of the innocent blood that may be shed in this war with France, of all the carnage which may take place, and of all the destruction, confusion, and devastation, (perhaps in Great Britain itself) which may ensue.

14thly, Because it was my object to preclude the government of Great Britain from attempting to stir up, or excite insurrections in La Vendée, or any other department of the French republic; and the resolution I moved was well calculated for that purpose.—And,

15thly, Because the maxim of “Do not to others that which you would not wish done to yourself,” is an unerring rule, founded upon the clear principle of justice, that is to say, of equality of rights.—It is upon this strong and solid ground that I make my stand. And all public men, in order to merit the confidence of the British people, must shew their determination to act with frankness, and with unequivocal good faith and justice towards the French republic.

(F 3) Having,

Having, upon this most important and momentous subject, frequently stood alone; and having also been, upon this last occasion, totally unsupported in the division, if I should therefore cease, at present, to attend this house, (where I have been placed by the mere accident of birth) such of my fellow citizens as are friends to freedom, and who may chance to read this my solemn protest, will find that I have not altered my sentiments, or opinions; and that I have not changed any of my principles; for my principles never can be changed. And those fellow citizens will also find, that I hereby pledge myself to my country, that I shall continue, what I ever have been, a zealous and unshaken friend to peace, to justice, and to liberty, political, civil, and religious: and that I am determined to die (as I have lived) a firm and steady supporter of the unalienable rights, and of the happiness of all mankind.

STANHOPE.

On the 26th of January, 1795, Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons,

That it is the opinion of this house, that the existence of the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding at this time a negotiation of peace.

Mr. Pitt moved the following Amendment:

That under the present circumstances, this house feels itself called upon to declare its determination firmly and steadily to support his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the present just and necessary war, as affording at this time the only reasonable expectation of

permanent security and peace to this country; and that for the attainment of these objects, this house relies with equal confidence on his majesty's intention to employ vigorously the force and resources of the country in support of its essential interests; and on the desire uniformly manifested by his majesty to effect a pacification, on just and honourable grounds, with any government in France, under whatever form, which shall appear capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.

Mr. Wilberforce opposed the preceding Amendment with a view to substitute the following:

That the existence of any particular form of government in France ought not to preclude such a peace between the two countries, as, both in itself, and in the manner of effecting it, should be otherwise consistent with the safety, honour, and interests of Great Britain.

The question was first put that Mr. Grey's words do not stand part of the motion: Ayes 86—Noes 268.

The next question put, was, that Mr. Pitt's words do stand part of the motion: Ayes 254—Noes 90. The minority on this question were understood to vote for Mr. Wilberforce's amendment, as they voted in hopes of having the question on it put to the house and carried.

After Mr. Pitt's resolution had passed in the affirmative, Mr. Sheridan moved a second resolution to be added to it, as follows:

That this house are not of opinion, that there are circumstances in the present existing government of France, which preclude all negotiation with the said government, or render it incapable of maintain-

ing the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.

This resolution was negatived without a division.

In the House of Lords, January 27, the Duke of Bedford moved,

That the existence of any particular form of government in France ought not at any time to preclude a negotiation, which might procure a peace, consistent with the interest, the honour, and the dignity of this country.

Lord Grenville moved an amendment in precisely the same words moved the preceding day by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons, on Mr. Grey's motion, which passed in the affirmative by a majority of 88 against 15.

On the 6th of February, 1795, Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons :

Resolved,

That this house considering, that in the support which it has given to his majesty in the prosecution of the present war, it has at no time had any other object, but to restore to these kingdoms the blessings of an equitable peace : That with a view to accomplish this humane and desirable end, every formal difficulty which may stand in the way of a pacific negotiation with the powers with which we are at war, ought, in the first instance, to be removed ; and that without some acknowledgment of the existence of a competent power in France with which his majesty may negotiate, and conclude a treaty of peace

on just and reasonable terms for both parties, there can be no termination of the present war, but in the destruction of one of them :

Considering further, that the existence of such a competent power in France has been directly acknowledged by several of the powers in Europe, as well as by the United States of America, with all of whom, during the present war, France has maintained the accustomed relations of peace and amity :

And considering also the existence of such a competent power in France has been, in various instances, virtually admitted even by the belligerent powers themselves, some of whom have entered into public resolutions to make overtures for peace ; is of opinion that the government now existing in France is competent to entertain and conclude a negotiation for peace with Great Britain.

Mr. Secretary Dundas moved the previous question, and on a division taking place there appeared, for the previous question 190, against it 60.

In the House of Lords, on the 12th of February, 1795, the Duke of Bedford moved :

Resolved,

That it is the opinion of this house that the actual situation of the governing powers in France ought not to preclude the conclusion of a speedy peace, if peace can be had upon such terms as are in themselves just and reasonable ; but if the ambition of France should lead her to persevere in hostilities, either for the purpose of her own aggrandisement, or to carry into effect

effect the principles of her own government in other countries, this house feels itself called upon firmly and steadily to support his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the present war.

Lord Hawkesbury moved the previous question, which was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 101 against 15.

PROTEST.

Because we conceive the repeated declarations made in the name of the king, and the resolutions come to by this house, are, as they now stand, an effectual bar to all negotiation with the present government of France, which can alone be removed by a resolution of a similar nature to that avoided by the previous question, and which is become the more necessary from the declaration of his majesty's ministers in debate, that the government of France is of such a character as to preclude the possibility of treating so long as they shall continue to act on their present principles; a declaration which we conceive to be little less than a determination to carry on the war upon such principles, that it can alone be determined by the destruction of one or both the nations.

BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,
GUILDFORD.

Address to the King, moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, on the 5th of June, 1795.

That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects,

the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, have, during the war in which so great a part of Europe has been involved, repeatedly given every assurance, that nothing should be wanting on their part that could contribute to that firm and effectual support which his majesty had so much reason to expect from a brave and loyal people.

That at the commencement of the present war this house saw, with satisfaction, "the United Provinces protected from invasion, the Austrian Netherlands recovered and maintained, and places of considerable importance acquired on the frontiers of France," and that whilst we concurred fully in the just and benevolent sentiments of his majesty's declaration graciously communicated to this house, in which his majesty has stated, that "it never could be his intention to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular forms of government to be established in an independent country," it was with pleasure we looked forward to that happy prospect of speedy and permanent peace, which the success of his majesty's arms, and the wisdom and moderation of his declared intentions seemed likely to secure. With unimpaired zeal, however, we assured his majesty, that, "relying with confidence on the valour and resources of the nation, and on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, we would, on our parts, persevere with vigour and union in our exertions."

That more recently we have seen with extreme concern the rapid and alarming progress of the French arms, and heard with pain, in his majesty's most gracious speech from

from the throne at the commencement of the present session, the confirmation of the melancholy "disappointments and reverses" experienced in the course of last campaign, and since so fatally illustrated by the subversion of one of the most respectable governments in Europe, the antient, the natural, and the most important ally of Great Britain. With unre-
laxed energy, however, we declared "our cordial support of such measures as his majesty in his wisdom should think necessary," and at an early period of this session resolved,

"That under the present circumstances this house feels itself called upon to declare its determination firmly and steadily to support his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the present just and necessary war, as affording at this time the only reasonable expectation of permanent security and peace to this country; and that for the attainment of these objects this house relies with equal confidence on his majesty's intention to employ vigorously the force and resources of the country in support of its essential interests; and on the desire uniformly manifested by his majesty to effect a pacification, on just and honourable grounds, with any government in France, under whatever form, which shall appear capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries."

That we now, however, approach his majesty at a moment, when, in the commencement of another campaign, we see ourselves deserted by some of those allies on whose powerful assistance and co-operation his majesty during the last campaign mainly relied, and when others, to protect whose interests his majesty originally inter-

fered, are unfortunately thrown into the scale of our enemies: thinking it our bounden duty humbly to state our conviction that it is the general opinion of his people, that no probable advantages to be obtained by continuing the war with the present state of his majesty's alliances, will bear the slightest comparison with the solid benefit likely to accrue from an immediate negotiation for peace.

That without entering into a painful enumeration of domestic distresses, which, as they early called forth the salutary and healing interposition of the legislature, cannot have escaped his majesty's paternal attention; or without minutely detailing the difficulties which embarrass every state in Europe that now remains in alliance with his majesty, we trust that the mere suggestion of these important considerations will induce his majesty speedily to use every honourable and expedient means for restoring the necessary blessings of peace.

That it is with pleasure and satisfaction we reflect, that a negotiation so desirable in itself cannot be deemed inconsistent with any of those rules of the law of nations, which the wisdom of ages and the common consent of mankind have consecrated as the leading principles of national intercourse. For "every nation which governs itself, under what form soever, without any dependence on foreign power, is a sovereign state," and the existence of government acquiesced in by the people under its controul is the only feature in the condition of a country to which foreign powers, for the purpose of discovering a capacity of negotiation, ought to direct their attention; there being no form of government which has not shewn
itself

itself capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries.

That if doubt should any where exist on this subject, as the law of nations itself is a rule of action growing out of the common consent of independent states, it cannot fail to be removed by the acquiescence in these doctrines of so considerable a number of those powers, whose united authority forms the only competent tribunal in questions of such universal importance to the rights of nations.

We cannot therefore reflect on the intercourse maintained by France with the United States of America, as well as with the neutral powers of Europe during the whole of the present war, on the treaties lately concluded with the duke of Tuscany, the king of Prussia, and the provisional government of Holland; on the negotiations that have been carried on by Spain, and on the strong declarations of desire to negotiate, recently made by his majesty's intimate ally, the emperor, as head of the Germanic body, and seriously maintain a doubt of that capacity to negotiate which so many powerful and independent states have acknowledged, and to whose decision his majesty has added the acquiescence, and in a manner the authority of this country, by a late mission to the continent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. For we humbly conceive that a nation cannot absolutely be thought incapable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity, which is treated with as capable of preserving and performing the stipulations which may be entered into for the humane and civilised purpose of alleviating the rigours of war.

That we humbly beg leave to

assure his majesty, that in thus anxiously recommending a speedy negotiation for peace, we do not merely contemplate the general advantages which this country always derives from a state of repose and public tranquillity. But as we have seen with grief (whilst we have been occupied in considering the capacity of the present government of France to treat) successive desertions from that general system of alliance on which his majesty and his people chiefly grounded hopes of success, so if this reluctance to treat should continue, we cannot now help anticipating with poignant regret the eventful moment when Great Britain may be reduced to the sad alternative of either providing for the expenses of all the allies, or of singly maintaining a protracted and destructive war in a cause not originally her own, and in which this country was embarked with the assurances of the active and zealous support of almost every European power.

That it is with confidence we therefore trust, that his majesty's gracious and benevolent mind will be impressed by the separate and combined effects of those powerful considerations which we the more anxiously press upon his majesty, as we approach his throne under a sincere and irresistible conviction, that the sense of the nation with whom his majesty is engaged in hostilities, as well as the disposition of its present government, affords no unfavourable opportunity for negotiation; and that an ardent and universal wish for the restoration, on fair and honourable grounds, of the blessings of peace, openly avowed by many of your majesty's allies on the continent, pervades with equal influence the minds of your majesty's loyal, faithful,

faithful, and affectionate subjects at home.

The address was negatived, by a majority of 53 against 8.

Petition of the Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, presented to the House of Commons, Jan. 26.

The humble petition, &c.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners deplore the evil consequences of war in general, but more particularly the disastrous effects of the present war, on the trade, manufactures, and commerce of the British empire.

Your petitioners conceive, that none of the ends proposed by the present war, either have been, or appear likely to be obtained; although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and has already produced an alarming increase of the national debt; augmented by subsidies paid to allies, who have notoriously violated their solemn engagements, and rendered no adequate service for large sums actually received by them, and wrung from the credulity of the generous and industrious inhabitants of this island.

Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly, but firmly, to express to this honourable house their decided conviction that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that this honourable house, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures as they, in their wis-

dom, shall think proper, for the purpose of promoting a speedy peace between Great Britain and the power with whom we are at war.

Address of the City of London to his Majesty, presented Jan. 28.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly approach the throne with renewed professions of firm and unshaken attachment to your majesty and royal family, and a full determination to support our most excellent constitution in church and state, against all such attempts as have lately been made to subvert it.

With the deepest concern, we have beheld, that notwithstanding the uniform bravery manifested throughout your majesty's fleets and armies, the objects of the just and necessary war, in which this country is engaged, have not yet been accomplished.

But at the same time, with the steadiest confidence on the God of all victory, we rely for the final success of your majesty's arms; to secure to these kingdoms the permanent enjoyment of social order, freedom, and every other blessing which we experience under your majesty's mild and paternal government, and the glorious constitution, as established at the revolution.

Your majesty's uniform and benevolent concern for the interests
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of your people, will go before our wishes, that your majesty will employ every means which shall be most proper to defend this country against its foreign and domestic enemies; and to restore to us the blessings of peace, whenever it can be done, consistently with the honour and dignity of the state; and with that permanent security which is, above all things, important to the maintenance of our trade, commerce, and prosperity.

Your majesty may be assured of the warm and uniform support of your faithful citizens of London, in your majesty's exertions toward this desirable end; convinced, as we are, that on this event alone depends the existence of all good government, security, law, and religion.

ANSWER.

I receive with the greatest pleasure this mark of your attachment to my person and family, and to the constitution of the kingdom, as by law established.

The assurance expressed by my loyal city of London, to support my exertions in the present just and necessary war, for the permanent security and honour of my people, cannot but be highly satisfactory to me.

Protest against the Bill for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Feb. 4.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because, whatever pretence there may have existed in the last session of parliament, for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, that pretence is now removed; the partial *ex parte* examinations of the

committees of parliament having been refuted by the verdicts of juries, who with labour unexampled in the legal annals of this country, after duly weighing the evidence of both sides, acquitted the persons indicted for a treasonable conspiracy.

2. Because intentions hostile to the constitution being entertained by persons, few in number, and devoid of weight and consequence in the country, do not justify the depriving all the people of Great Britain of that security which our laws so anxiously provide for personal liberty.

3. Because we find that as soon as those plots and conspiracies (which have heretofore caused the suspension of the people's right to their *Habeas Corpus*) had been dealt with according to law, and that the conspirators had been convicted and punished, the danger being over, the suspension has dropt. In the same manner, when the proved innocence of the accused has negated the supposed conspiracy, and when it is not even pretended that any new or other plot exists, to continue to suspend this great and essential safe-guard of our freedom, is equally contrary to the example set us by our ancestors, and inconsistent with that protection which, as legislators, we are bound to afford to the personal security of all our fellow subjects.

4. Because we consider that the national spirit of English freedom, to which was owing the high place that we once held amid surrounding nations, is either checked or deadened by causeless acts of despotism, or that the disgust necessarily generated by such a conduct, is likely (if any thing can produce such an effect upon this free and enlightened nation) to raise a spirit
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of disaffection even to the constitution itself.

5. Because, when we trace the history of the Habeas Corpus act, we find, among other securities from oppression, it was chiefly meant to ensure to the subject a speedy trial, when accused of treason, or treasonable practices, and to avert the tyranny of tedious imprisonment for those crimes. We conceive, therefore, that if the legislature is upon all occasions of suspicion of traitorous acts to suspend the operation of that most important and invaluable statute, security to the subject must be removed, at the very crisis, and in the very case, when it was meant by the wise and enlightened framers of that law most to shield and protect him.

NORFOLK,
BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 27.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The zealous and uniform regard which you have shown to the general interest of my people, and particularly the prudent, firm, and spirited support which you have continued to afford me, in the prosecution of the great contest in which we are still unavoidably engaged, demand my warmest acknowledgements.

The encouragement which my allies must derive from the knowledge of your sentiments, and the extraordinary exertions which you have enabled me to make, in supporting and augmenting my naval and military forces, afford the means most likely to conduce to

the restoration of peace to these kingdoms, and to the re-establishment of general tranquillity, on a secure, an honourable, and a lasting foundation.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have to return you my hearty thanks for the liberal and ample supplies which the resources of the country have enabled you to provide, beyond all former example, for the various exigencies of the public service.

I have also to acknowledge, with peculiar sensibility, the recent proof which you have given me of your attachment to my person and family, in the provision which you have made for settling the establishment of the prince and princess of Wales, and for extricating the prince from the incumbrances in which he was involved.

My lords, and gentlemen,

It is impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we are contending, without indulging a hope, that the present circumstances of France may, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government, as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.

The issue, however, of these extraordinary transactions is out of the reach of human foresight.

Till that desirable period arrives, when my subjects can be restored to the secure enjoyment of the blessings of peace, I shall not fail to make the most effectual use of the force which you have put into my hands.

It is with the utmost satisfaction that I have recently received the advices of an important and brilliant

liant success obtained over the enemy, by a detachment of my fleet under the able conduct of lord Bridport.

I have every reason to rely on the continuance of the distinguished bravery and conduct of my fleet and armies, as well as of the zeal, spirit, and perseverance of my people, which have been uniformly manifested through the whole course of this just and necessary war.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Oct. 29.

My lords, and gentlemen,

It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that, notwithstanding the many events unfavourable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs has, in many important respects, been materially improved in the course of the present year.

In Italy, the threatened invasion of the French has been prevented; and they have been driven back from a considerable part of the line of coast which they had occupied:—There is also reason to hope that the recent operations of the Austrian armies have checked the progress which they had made on the side of Germany, and frustrated the offensive projects which they were pursuing in that quarter.

The successes which have attended their military operations in other parts of the campaign, and the advantages which they have derived from the conclusion of separate treaties with some of the powers who were engaged in the war, are far from compensating the evils which they experience from its continuance. The destruction of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparal-

leled embarrassment and distress of their internal situation, have produced the impression which was naturally to be expected; and a general sense appears to prevail throughout France, that the only relief from the increasing pressure of these difficulties must arise from the restoration of peace, and the establishment of some settled system of government.

The distraction and anarchy which have so long prevailed in that country, have led to a crisis, of which it is as yet impossible to foresee the issue; but which must, in all human probability, produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe.—Should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for general peace on just and suitable terms will not fail to be met, on my part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. But I am persuaded you will agree with me, that nothing is so likely to ensure and accelerate this desirable end, as to shew that we are prepared for either alternative, and are determined to prosecute the war with the utmost energy and vigour, until we have the means of concluding, in conjunction with our allies, such a peace as the justice of our cause and the situation of the enemy may entitle us to expect.

With this view I am continuing to make the greatest exertions for maintaining and improving our naval superiority, and for carrying on active and vigorous operations in the West Indies, in order to secure and extend the advantages which

we

we have gained in that quarter, and which are so nearly connected with our commercial resources and maritime strength.

I rely with full confidence on the continuance of your firm and zealous support, on the uniform bravery of my fleets and armies, and on the fortitude, perseverance, and public spirit of all ranks of my people.

The acts of hostility committed by the United Provinces, under the influence and control of France, have obliged me to treat them as in a state of war with this country.

The fleet which I have employed in the North Seas has received the most cordial and active assistance from the naval force furnished by the empress of Russia, and has been enabled effectually to check the operations of the enemy in that quarter.

I have concluded engagements of defensive alliance with the two Imperial courts; and the ratifications of the treaty of commerce with the United States of America, which I announced to you last year, have now been exchanged.—I have directed copies of these treaties to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

It is matter of deep concern to me, that the exigencies of the public service will require further additions to the heavy burthens which have been unavoidably imposed on my people.—I trust that their pressure will, in some degree, be alleviated by the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures; and that our expences, though necessarily great in their amount, will, under the actual circumstances of the war, admit of considerable diminution in comparison with those of the present year.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I have observed for some time past with the greatest anxiety the very high price of grain, and that anxiety is increased by the apprehension that the produce of the wheat harvest in the present year may not have been such as effectually to relieve my people from the difficulties with which they have had to contend. The spirit of order and submission to the laws, which, with very few exceptions, has manifested itself under this severe pressure, will, I am sure, be felt by you as an additional incentive to apply yourselves with the utmost diligence to the consideration of such measures as may tend to alleviate the present distress, and to prevent, as far as possible, the renewal of similar embarrassments in future. Nothing has been omitted on my part that appeared likely to contribute to this end; and you may be assured of my hearty concurrence in whatever regulations the wisdom of parliament may adopt, on a subject so peculiarly interesting to my people whose welfare will ever be the object nearest to my heart.

The Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, on the daring Outrages offered to his Majesty in his Way to and from the Parliament House, presented October 31.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your majesty, humbly to express to your majesty our indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrages offered to your majesty in your

your majesty's passage to and from your parliament. We cannot reflect without the utmost concern, that there should be found within your majesty's dominions any person so insensible of the happiness which all your majesty's subjects derive from your majesty's just and mild government, and of the virtues which so eminently distinguish your majesty's character, as to be capable of these flagitious acts: and we beg leave humbly to lay before your majesty the earnest wishes of your faithful lords and commons, in which we are confident we shall be joined by all descriptions of your majesty's subjects, that you will be graciously pleased to direct the most effectual measures to be taken, without delay, to discover the authors and abettors of crimes so atrocious.

ANSWER.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I receive, with great pleasure, this additional proof of your uniform zeal and loyalty. I have too much reason to be assured of the affectionate and steady attachment of my people at large, to have felt any other sentiment upon this occasion than that of concern at so high a violation of the laws. I shall not fail to give such directions as may tend to bring to justice and punishment, the persons concerned in an offence so dangerous to the public tranquillity, and so injurious to our excellent constitution.

Copy of the Proclamation issued October 31, in pursuance of the foregoing Address.

At the court at St. James's, 31st day of October, 1795, present,

The king's most excellent majesty,
His royal highness the prince of Wales,
His royal highness the duke of York,
Lord Chancellor,
Lord President,
Lord Privy Seal,
Duke of Portland,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Westmorland,
Earl of Jersey,
Earl Spencer,
Lord Grenville,
Lord Onslow,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Villiers,
Field Marshal sir George Howard,
Master of the Rolls,
Mr. Secretary Dundas.

By the KING: A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

Whereas, on the twenty-ninth day of this instant month of October, divers persons, riotously assembled and stationed in different places in our city of Westminster, proceeded to commit certain daring and highly criminal outrages, in gross violation of the public peace, to the actual danger of our royal person, and to the interruption of our passage to and from our parliament; we, therefore, with the advice of our privy-council, in pursuance of an address from our two houses of parliament, do hereby enjoin all magistrates, and all other our loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to discover and cause to be apprehended the authors, actors, and abettors concerned in such outrages, in order that they may be dealt with according to law: and we do hereby promise, that any person or persons, other than those actually concerned in doing any act by which our royal person

person was immediately endangered, who shall give information, so as that any of the authors, actors, or abettors concerned in such outrages as aforesaid, may be apprehended and brought to justice, shall receive a reward of one thousand pounds, to be paid on conviction of every such offender; which said sum of one thousand pounds, the lords commissioners of our treasury are hereby required and directed to pay accordingly. And we do further promise, that any person or persons concerned in such outrages as aforesaid, other than such as were actually concerned in any act by which our royal person was immediately endangered, who shall give information, so as that any of such authors, actors, or abettors, as aforesaid, shall be apprehended and brought to justice, shall, upon conviction of such offender or offenders, receive our most gracious pardon.

Given at our court at St. James's, the thirty-first day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Copy of a Proclamation against Seditious Meetings, November 4.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it hath been represented to us, that, immediately before the opening of the present parliament, a great number of persons were collected in the fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, by advertisements and hand-bills, and that divers inflammatory discourses were delivered to the persons so collected, and divers proceedings were had, tending to create groundless jealousy and discontent,

and to endanger the public peace, and the quiet and safety of our faithful subjects: and whereas it hath been also represented to us, that divers seditious and treasonable papers have been lately distributed, tending to excite evil disposed persons to acts endangering our royal person: and whereas such proceedings have been followed, on the day on which the present session of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, and by daring and highly criminal outrages, in direct violation of the public peace, to the immediate danger of our royal person, and to the interruption of our passage to and from our parliament: and whereas great uneasiness and anxiety hath been produced in the minds of our faithful subjects, by rumours and apprehensions that seditious and unlawful assemblies are intended to be held by evil-disposed persons, and that such other criminal practices as aforesaid are intended to be repeated: we therefore have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy-council, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require, all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects throughout our kingdom, to use the utmost diligence to discourage, prevent, and suppress, all seditious and unlawful assemblies: and we do specially enjoin and command all our loving subjects, who shall have cause to suspect that any such assemblies are intended to be held in any part of our kingdom, to give the earliest information thereof to the magistrates of the several districts within which it shall be suspected that the same are intended to be held; and if such assemblies shall, nevertheless, in any case, be actually held, to be aiding and assisting, on being required thereto by the

civil magistrate, in causing persons delivering inflammatory discourses in such assemblies, and other principal actors therein, to be forthwith apprehended, in order that they may be dealt with according to law. And we have also thought fit, by and with the advice aforesaid, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require, all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects throughout our kingdom, to be in like manner aiding and assisting in bringing to justice all persons distributing such seditious and treasonable papers as aforesaid.

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

God save the KING.

Congratulatory Address of the City of London to his Majesty, presented November 6.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, beg leave to approach your royal person with the most affectionate sentiments of our veneration and respect, to express our horror and indignation at the most daring assault and flagitious outrage offered to your majesty, in your majesty's passage to and from your majesty's parliament, at the moment of your majesty's exercis-

ing the sacred duties of the crown, and fulfilling your part of our most excellent constitution.

Gratefully as we enjoy every blessing derived to us, in common with our fellow freeborn subjects, from your majesty's mild and paternal government, we are unable in adequate terms to express our concern, that a period has arrived when any person within your majesty's dominions should be found so daringly wicked as to hazard, by such atrocious violence, the safety of your royal person, and therein the happiness of a whole country.

It is therefore with the most profound sentiments of gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of all events, that we have to congratulate your majesty on your providential escape from such traitorous attacks, dangerous at once to the public tranquillity, and in violation of the glorious constitution, of which your majesty forms so important a part.

Permit us, sire, to return your majesty our most grateful thanks for your gracious intention to give the fullest and speediest effect to a negotiation for a general peace on just and suitable terms, whenever an order of things shall arise in France compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanency in a treaty to be concluded.

Convinced as your majesty's faithful and loyal citizens of London are, that nothing will be so likely to bring about such a peace as firm and vigorous measures in the prosecution of the war, we feel it not more our bounden duty than our steady determination to contribute every thing in our power to that desirable end, and to support your majesty's sacred person and government inviolate from all your foreign and domestic enemies.

AN-

ANSWER.

I thank you for this recent proof of the uniform affection and attachment which has been shewn me by my faithful city of London. The persuasion that the sentiments you have expressed on this occasion are in common with those of the rest of my people, leaves me only to regret on my part, the outrage which has been committed against the laws and constitution, for the defence and maintenance of which you may always rely upon my utmost exertions.

Your determination to contribute every thing in your power for the prosecution of the war, as affording the most effectual means of enabling me to conclude a safe, honourable, and permanent peace, and your assurance to support my person and government against all foreign and domestic enemies, cannot but be highly satisfactory to me.

Resolutions passed at an extraordinary Meeting of the Whig Club, November 11.

Crown and Anchor Tavern, Nov. 11.

At an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club, held this day. His Grace, the Duke of Bedford, in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved,

I. That this club has seen with the utmost horror and indignation, the daring attack made on the person of his majesty, in his passage to parliament.

Resolved,

II. That we will give every aid to the civil magistrates, in detecting

and bringing to punishment the persons concerned in the said attack, convinced that the laws now in existence will be found fully sufficient for that purpose.

Resolved,

III. That lamenting as we do this nefarious act, we have seen with the utmost concern that it has been used as a pretext for introducing into parliament, a bill striking at the liberty of the press and the freedom of public discussion; in substance and effect, destroying the right of the subject to petition the different branches of the legislature, for redress of grievances, and utterly subversive of the genuine principles of the British constitution, and for proposing another measure calculated to produce similar effects by means still more exceptionable.

Resolved,

IV. That it is highly expedient that meetings of the people, in their respective districts, be immediately called, to consider this important subject; and for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the said bill, or any other measures which may tend to infringe the just rights of the people of Great Britain.

Resolved,

V. That these resolutions be printed in the newspapers.

BEDFORD.

Resolved,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the duke of Bedford for his impartial conduct in the chair.

ED. HALL, Secretary.

Proceedings of the Associated Livery of the City of London, at the Antwerp Tavern,
(G 2)

Tavern, in Threadneedle-Street, November 13.

November 13, 1795.

At a numerous and respectable meeting, held this evening, at the Antwerp tavern, Threadneedle-street, convened by public advertisement,

Mr. deputy LEEKEY, in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

I. That a loyal and respectful address be presented to his majesty, by the liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of London; expressive of their abhorrence of the atrocious and malignant attack upon his sacred person, and their firm determination strenuously to support the glorious and happy constitution of these realms.

II. That a committee be appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen, to withdraw and prepare the address.

Mr. deputy Leekey,	Mr. William Lane.
chairman.	Mr. Parish.
Mr. William Angell.	Mr. Tate.
Mr. deputy Birch.	Mr. Watlington.
Mr. Davis.	Mr. White.
Mr. Irvine.	

The address was prepared accordingly as follows:

To the king's most excellent majesty.

Most gracious Sovereign,

Weyourmajesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of the city of London, whose names are undersigned, deeply impressed with unfeigned sentiments of affection for the father of his people, as well as a sense of the great importance of your majesty's safety to the happiness and prosperity of your subjects, as forming an essential part of our glorious constitution, think it our indispensable duty to express to your majesty our indignation and

abhorrence at the late most atrocious outrages and malignant insults offered to your royal person, in going to and returning from parliament.

With extreme concern we have to deplore, that the minds of any of your majesty's subjects should be so infatuated and desperately criminal as to imagine and contrive any mischief by which the sacred person of your majesty, and therein the invaluable constitution of these realms, should be endangered.

Feeling as we do, that we cannot trace back such nefarious attempts to any other source, than to those dangerous and seditious meetings and publications which have multiplied in the metropolis and its vicinity, and poisoned the deluded minds of a multitude, till a proper sense of the blessings of the government, under which they live, has been nearly extinguished; we cannot too gratefully own the paternal care of your majesty, manifested in your late most gracious proclamations; and we confidently rely on the wisdom of the united branches of our excellent constitution, in the present crisis, to apply such wholesome measures for its own security and permanency, as will long insure the safety of your majesty's person and government, the privileges of both houses of parliament, and consequently the happiness of a free and loyal people.

The address being agreed to, it was resolved,

III. That copies of the address be left at the following places, viz. the Antwerp tavern; Star and Garter, Pall-mall; London coffee-house; King's Head tavern, Holborn; and Crown and Magpye, Whitechapel; for the signatures of the liverymen, freemen, and others, inhabitants of the city of London.

IV. That the address, when signed,

signed, be presented to his majesty by the committee.

V. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his loyal conduct in convening this meeting, at the present crisis, and for his respect for the laws and liberties of the country; evinced by his steady adherence to the cause of the livery, upon all occasions, and for his impartial conduct this evening. That the above resolutions be signed by the chairman.

GABRIEL LEEKY.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton Street, November 14.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and others, inhabitants of the city of London, convened by public advertisement, at the Paul's Head tavern, Cateaton-street, on Saturday, the 14th instant, to take into consideration the propriety of presenting a petition to the honourable the house of commons, most humbly praying them not to pass into laws certain bills, intituled "An Act for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts,"—and "An Act for preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies."

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON, esq. in the chair.

It was unanimously resolved,

That this meeting hold in detestation and abhorrence the criminal attack recently made upon his majesty, and will afford every possible assistance towards the discovery of the offenders.

That the said bills are a direct violation of the Bill of Rights, and

subversive of the fundamental principles of the constitution.

That the honourable the house of commons be petitioned, that the said bills do not pass into laws.

That the petition now read be adopted, and that the same do remain for signatures at the bar of this tavern, and that the right honourable Charles James Fox, the honourable Thomas Erskine, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. be requested to present the same.

That it be recommended to the inhabitants throughout the kingdom, to assemble in their respective districts, to express their disapprobation of the said bills, and to petition against the same.

That these resolutions be inserted in the morning and evening papers, and signed by the chairman.

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his manly and impartial conduct in the chair.

Tenour of the Petition.

To the honourable the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the merchants, bankers, &c. &c. of the city of London,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners deeply sensible of the invaluable rights and liberties, secured to them in common with their fellow-subjects, by the existing laws and constitution of this kingdom, and—wile they regard with the most grateful remembrance, the wisdom of their ancestors in forming and meliorating, and their firm and manly defence from time to time of the glorious fabric they had raised—feeling it as they do their bounden and indispensable duty to endeavour to

(G 3) trans-

transmit it unimpaired to their posterity;—considering the laws now in force, as adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and sufficiently coercive and efficacious, even as to the momentous exigencies of the present times: And conceiving that certain bills now pending in your honourable house, entitled, “An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty’s Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts;”—and an “Act for preventing Seditious Meetings;”—are utterly hostile to the true and acknowledged principles of that constitution they so sincerely venerate and esteem, and destructive of the undoubted and sacred rights and liberties of the people of Great Britain,—do most humbly pray, that your honourable house will not pass the said bills into laws.

Petition to the House of Commons, agreed upon at a Meeting of the Electors of the City of Westminster, in New Palace-Yard, November 16.

Sheweth,

That a bill has been brought into your honourable house, subversive of the liberties which the people of this kingdom, at the period when they transferred the crown of England to the illustrious family upon the throne, did claim, demand, and insist upon as their true, ancient, and indubitable rights.

That the said bill is entitled, “An Act for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies.”

That the only mode by which your petitioners and the people of Great Britain can express their sentiments, and make their grievances

known, is by meeting together either to instruct their representatives, to petition parliament, or to address the king. This is their privilege, and subject to the existing laws, which have already provided against the abuse of it: your petitioners do in the language of their forefathers, claim, demand, and insist upon the free exercise of it, as their true, ancient, and indubitable right. The allowance and encouragement of free, honest, and open discussion of all matters, political and judicial, while it has afforded the surest controul upon the encroachments of the executive government, has tended most effectually to secure the upright administration of justice.

Your honourable house is humbly reminded, that the right of the people to such meetings is the best security they possess against the abuse of power. If they who are delegated to defend their liberties, basely or corruptly betray them; if they who are sent to watch over ministers become their accomplices, what may the people do if they may not remonstrate?

By the bill now depending, no meeting can be called except with the knowledge of a magistrate, whose presence is made necessary, not merely for the preservation of the peace, but for the purpose of controuling the sentiments to be uttered. He is constituted sole judge of the manner in which a grievance may be stated, or a right asserted. To differ with him in political opinion is made a breach of the peace; to maintain that opinion is made a riot; and to persist in it is to incur the horrors of military execution. We trust your honourable house will feel a proper degree of resentment against the principle of such a bill, as affecting the whole mass
of

of the people; but we, as inhabitants of Westminster, stand more especially in need of your protection. It is our peculiar fate to be superintended by magistrates who are selected, employed, and paid during pleasure by the executive power.

Your petitioners further beg leave to call the attention of your honourable house, to a bill now depending, entitled, "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts."

They humbly represent that this bill contains an arbitrary accumulation of treasons, calculated to harass and oppress the subject without adding any security to the person of his majesty; that it also describes the misdemeanor at which another of its clauses is pointed with such studied ambiguity, as to comprehend in its penal operation, every exercise of the right of examining public affairs, and that this misdemeanor so described, is subjected to a barbarous punishment, which, as applied to such offence, is utterly unknown to the mild and merciful spirit of the law of England.

Under all these circumstances, your petitioners, deeply impressed with a sense of the dangers which impend over the peace and constitution of their country, most earnestly implore your honourable house to avert them, by the rejection of measures, which, by depriving the people of their most ancient and indubitable rights, have a tendency to alienate their affections from the constitution, and to lessen their respect for the laws.

Proceedings of the Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, Nov. 20.

In a meeting or assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Friday, the 20th day of November, 1795, "To consider the expediency of instructing their representatives in parliament to vote against two bills now depending in parliament, for the declared purpose of preventing a public discussion of public measures, and thereby tending to deprive British subjects of their unquestionable rights;"

Resolved unanimously,

That the livery of London, firmly retaining that unalterable attachment to the constitution of this country, as composed of king, lords, and commons, which they have so uniformly declared, respect, with detestation and abhorrence, upon the abominable outrage which has lately been committed against the sacred person of the king; and they will each, in his individual capacity, give their best assistance to discover the atrocious offender.

Resolved, That regarding, with equal veneration, the due prerogative of the crown, and the just rights of the people, as asserted at the glorious revolution; and in the exercise of that privilege, which the livery of London have long enjoyed, they do hereby instruct their representatives in parliament to vote against passing into law either of the two bills now depending in the honourable the house of commons, entitled, "An Act for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts," and, "An Act for the more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies."

(G-4) Resolved

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be delivered to the right honourable the lord-mayor, requesting that they may be signed by the town-clerk, and printed in all the morning and evening papers, and that copies thereof may be presented to each of the representatives in parliament of this city.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this common hall be returned to the right honourable the lord mayor for his upright and impartial conduct in this day's business.

Rix.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the Paul's Head Tavern, in Cateaton Street, Nov 25.

At a very numerous and most respectable meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London, consisting of upwards of 800 persons, convened by public advertisement, at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton-street, on Wednesday, the 25th instant, to take into consideration an humble and affectionate petition to the king, most ardently beseeching him to dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils, and to adopt measures for the purpose of speedily obtaining for his distressed subjects the blessings of peace,

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON esq. in the chair.

It was resolved, (with only 25 dissentient voices) That the critical and calamitous state of these kingdoms demands an immediate peace; and it is the opinion of this meeting, that his majesty's ministers have lost the confidence of the people.

That an humble petition be pre-

sented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to adopt measures for immediately procuring to his distressed subjects the blessings of peace, and to dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils.

That the petition now read be adopted.

That the petition do lie for signatures at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton-street, until Friday next, at 12 o'clock.

That his grace the duke of Norfolk, his grace the duke of Bedford, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Lauderdale, be requested to present the same.

That these resolutions be inserted in the morning and evening papers, and signed by the chairman.

SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his upright and impartial conduct.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of your ancient city of London, beg leave to express to your majesty our firm and inviolable attachment to the constitution of these kingdoms, and to your majesty's person and house.

But, while we reflect with the most heartfelt gratitude on the wisdom of our forefathers in establishing and cherishing that constitution, and their anxious and unremitting solicitude to preserve it unshaken amid all the perturbations and convulsions of the most unfriendly times, we cannot contemplate without horror and indignation the conduct of your majesty's ministers, who, instead of proving

proving themselves the defenders of that unrivalled system, have suggested and pursued measures, which, if persisted in, must, in our humble apprehension, inevitably effect the total annihilation of that constitution, and the invaluable rights and liberties of your faithful people.

We acknowledge the proximity which that glorious fabric bears to perfection, and we are mindful too that your majesty's and our own offspring claim its transmission as a sacred due.

We feel it, sire, a duty which we owe to your majesty, to ourselves, and to our posterity, most unequivocally to declare our detestation of those recent designs in particular, that directly tend to destroy the freedom of speech, and to subvert the boasted polity of these realms.

We solicit permission also to represent to your majesty, that from the most afflicting experience and observation, we conceive the continuation of the present calamitous war to be utterly inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of these kingdoms.

We are deeply sensible of the paternal goodness and anxiety which your majesty has constantly evinced for the safety and welfare of your people, and we as sincerely lament that those persons whom your majesty has honoured with your royal confidence, should so far frustrate your majesty's intentions and designs; should so far forget their own duty and the interests of your people, as to urge measures so destructive of that constitution they affect to support. We hesitate not, therefore, to pronounce in the firm accents of a free but injured people, that your majesty's ministers have forfeited our confidence. And we hold it our bounden duty most ar-

dently, yet most humbly, to entreat your majesty graciously to withhold your royal assent from their unconstitutional innovations; to speedily restore to your distressed subjects the inestimable blessings of peace; and to dismiss from your majesty's presence and councils those persons who, if suffered to proceed in their wonted system, will, we are persuaded, alienate the affections of your people from your majesty's person and government, and plunge this once happy country into misery and destruction.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at the London Tavern, in Bishopsgate Street, Nov. 27.

London Tavern, Nov. 27.

At a meeting held here this day, present—SAMUEL BOSANQUET, esq. in the chair.

Rt. hon. Thoms Harley.
 Sir Charles Pole, bart.
 Sir James Sanderson, bart.
 Sir Richard Neave, bart.
 William Albin, esq.
 John William Anderson, esq.
 Thomas Bainbridge, esq.
 Thomas Boddington, esq.
 William Bosanquet, esq.
 Alexander Champion, esq.
 Abel Chapman, esq.
 Joseph Cotton, esq.
 Thomas Dea, esq.
 Joseph Denison, esq.
 George Dorrien, esq.
 Richard Down, esq.
 Joseph Fletcher, esq.
 Daniel Giles, esq.
 George Grote, esq.
 John Harman, esq.
 Jeremiah Harman, esq.
 Robert Hunter, esq.
 John Pooley Kensington, esq.
 Edward Kensington, esq.
 Beeston Long, esq.

John

John Lubbock, esq.
 William Manning, esq.
 Job Mathew, esq.
 John Mellish, esq.
 William Mellish, esq.
 Arnold Mello, esq.
 Isaac Minet, esq.
 Thomas Parry, esq.
 René Payne, esq.
 John Puget, esq.
 William Raikes, esq.
 Thomas Raikes, esq.
 John Read, esq.
 Edward Simeon, esq.
 John Smith, esq.
 Alexander Hendras Sutherland, esq.
 Samuel Thornton, esq.
 Godfrey Thornton, esq.
 John Whitmore, esq.
 William Whitmore, esq.
 Mark Weyland, esq.

Resolved, That it is expedient at the present important crisis that a meeting should be convened of such merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London as have not joined in the proceedings of some meetings lately held at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton-street, purporting to be meetings of "the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London," in order to take into consideration the propriety of making a declaration to the public, that they have had no concern in the proceedings and resolutions of those meetings, but that, on the contrary, they are of opinion it has become necessary for parliament to adopt some temporary measures for the more effectual support of peace and good order.

Resolved, That a meeting be held accordingly at Grocers' Hall, in the Poultry, on Wednesday next, the 2d day of December, 1795, at 12 o'clock at noon.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and printed in the public papers.

SAM. BOSANQUET, chairman.

Resolutions passed at a late Meeting of the London Corresponding Society, held near Copenhagen House, in the vicinity of Islington.

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to his grace the duke of Bedford, lord Lauderdale, the right honourable Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Charles Grey, John Christian Curwen, Charles Sturt, and all those distinguished members of the two houses of parliament, who, in the present hour of trial, have proved themselves to be the true friends of the rights and liberties of the people.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Whig Club, for their spirited proceedings and resolutions of yesterday; and to all those persons whose patriotic exertions have conduced to the accomplishment of the present happy unanimity among the friends of freedom.

Resolved, That the London Corresponding Society, and the other friends of liberty and justice here assembled, entertain the most settled and decided abhorrence of all tumult and violence; that they respect the peace and happiness of society, and regard, therefore, with becoming reverence, the inviolability of all magistrates, and others engaged in the constitutional discharge of their respective functions.

Resolved, That we deplore, in common with all true lovers of the genuine principles of liberty and order,

order, the tumultuary excesses of an enraged and uninformed populace, on the first day of the present session of parliament; and mark with our most unequivocal censure, that unhappy delusion which appears to have occasioned misguided individuals to direct their indignation against the sovereign, for errors and misconduct for which his ministers alone ought to be rendered responsible; and that not in a tumultuary but in a legal and constitutional way;—a delusion which would never have existed, if the efforts of popular societies to illuminate the people, had not been counteracted by unprincipled inquisition and illegal persecutions.

Resolved, That the assertions of certain persons in high stations and authority, that the insults offered to the person of the chief magistrate, in his passage to and from parliament on that day, originated in the meeting held on the preceding Monday, in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen-House, is a gross, unfounded, wilful, and treacherous calumny, invented by interested and designing persons, (who perhaps know that these excesses originated from a very different quarter,) to furnish them with a pretence for tyrannical usurpation, long before digested and determined upon.

Resolved, That we know how to cherish and to practise, in cases of the last extremity, the constitutional right of resistance to oppression. We will exert our utmost endeavours on all occasions to repress all irregularity and excesses, and to bring the authors of such unjustifiable proceedings to the just responsibility of the law.

W. DUANE, chairman.
J. ASHLEY, secretary.

Petition presented to the House of Commons, Nov. 23, and signed by twelve thousand one hundred and thirteen Persons.

To the honourable the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled:

The petition of the undersigned Britons, inhabitants of London, and its environs, assembled together, to express their free sentiments, according to the tenor of the Bill of Rights; on the subjects of the threatened invasions of their constitutional liberties:

May it please your honourable house,

Your petitioners approach you, once more, to make their grievances and apprehensions known, in a legal and constitutional manner, to that branch of the legislature, which, from its legal style and form, was evidently intended to be the constitutional guardian of the people's liberties, and the champion of its rights and privileges. But we approach you, not as heretofore, to claim the reformation of existing abuses: If those claims had been attended to, the cause of our present petition could never have existed. We come not to repeat our unanswered arguments on the necessity of parliamentary reform: (the very proposition of the measures we now protest against is a demonstrative evidence of the necessity of such reform:) but we approach you with constitutional reverence and British firmness, to conjure you not to drive the people of this distressed and irritated nation to such despair, as the adoption of the coercive system in agitation before you, we are firmly persuaded, in the end must inevitably produce: We conjure this honourable house to re-

member

member that the vital energies of the British constitution consist in the liberties of speech and of the press; that the safety and preservation of our lives and liberties (next after that immortal institution, the trial by jury) depend upon the strict observance of the provisions of that admirable statute of treasons, extorted by a virtuous house of commons from Edward the Third. We conjure you also to remember that the invasion of these liberties, and the violation of this safety by arbitrary institutions and new theories of constructive treasons (though sometimes assumed under pretences of ancient prerogatives, and sometimes confirmed by corrupt representatives and arbitrary acts of parliament) have never failed of being productive of consequences the most alarming both to the government and people. That the adoption of those very maxims and precedents upon which the proposed measures are evidently founded, brought one unhappy prince of the House of Stuart to the scaffold, and drove another with his posterity from the throne; and that therefore to propose and support such measures, is, in reality, to endanger not only the tranquillity of the nation, but the safety of his majesty's person and government, in support of which these measures are said to be brought forward.

Permit us solemnly to conjure this honourable house, to recollect the events that immediately preceded and produced the revolution of 1688—the doctrines advanced in justification of that memorable event, and the principles which established the House of Brunswick on the throne. Let us conjure you also to consider with due deliberation, the limits and the sacred nature of that compact which exists

between the government and the people; and the dreadful consequences which must inevitably ensue if ever those limits should be violated, or this compact broken!—If those circumstances are duly considered, we feel a settled confidence that the strong and hitherto unparalleled attempts to destroy the personal security of the people of these realms, and annihilate the sacred right of political discussion, will meet with the decided reprobation of this honourable house,—that precedents drawn from the tyrannical reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts will be rejected with indignation; and that this honourable house will be struck with horror at the idea of staining the annals of the House of Brunswick, by the revival of those very measures which brought the House of Stuart into such general odium, and were productive of such intolerable oppression, as to justify the resistance of the people, and produce that glorious revolution upon the principles of which, and of which alone, the House of Brunswick is at this time entitled to the British crown.

Your petitioners therefore pray this honourable house to consider the purport and tendency of the bill introduced, for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention, of popular assemblies for the purpose of political investigation, and to dismiss it with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserves; to guard with the most inviolable respect that sacred institution, the trial by jury; and to suffer no arbitrary innovations, under any pretence whatever, on the existing laws of treason and sedition; laws which have hitherto been found fully competent to all the just purposes of free and equitable government.

And

And finally, we entreat this honourable house to believe, that when we profess our abhorrence of all tumult and violence, and reject with the utmost indignation the groundless calumnies that have been spread against our peaceful, orderly, and constitutional meetings, we do it from a firm and long settled conviction that all acts of violence and outrage are most eminently injurious to that great cause of national and constitutional liberty to which we are attached. At the same time we conjure you to confide in the firmness and temperance of the people of Great Britain, who, we trust, have not degenerated from the spirit and bravery of their ancestors, nor forgotten the important lessons inculcated by their examples.

Proceedings of a Meeting held at Grocers' Hall, Dec. 2.

Grocers' Hall, Dec. 2, 1795.

At a numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, held here this day, in consequence of public advertisement.

SAMUEL BOSANQUET, esq. in the chair.

The chairman having read the advertisement, by which this meeting was called,

A motion was made by Robert Darell, esq. and seconded by John Roebuck, esq. that the following declaration be read, viz.

THE DECLARATION OF THE Merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, made at Grocers' Hall, the 2d day of December, 1795.

We, the undersigned merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, impressed with

the same sentiments which produced our declaration in support of the constitution of Great Britain made at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the 5th December, 1792, observing the resolutions of certain meetings lately held at the Paul's Head Tavern, purporting to be meetings of "the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London," feel it our indispensable duty thus publicly to disclaim all connexion with those meetings, or approbation of their proceedings.

Perceiving with deep concern that alarming attempts continue to be made to alienate the affections of the people from the government established by law, and to disturb it in the exercise of its most important functions; we think that it has become necessary for parliament to adopt measures for the protection of his majesty's person, and the more effectual preservation of the public peace.

We lament that the disposition of the times should call upon Britons to resign, even for a short period, the smallest portion of that liberty, which in this country forms the distinguished privilege of the subject, and the great object of government itself. We trust therefore, that the legislature (and we have full confidence in its wisdom) will adopt such restrictions only, as the urgency of the case demands; that as the danger arises from the times, the remedies also will be temporary, and that while parliament strengthens the security, it will respect the liberties of the people.

Under these considerations, we here make this public declaration of our determined resolution, "to support by every means in our power, the ancient and most excellent

cellent constitution of Great Britain, and a government by king, lords, and commons, and to exert our best endeavours to impress on the minds of those connected with us, a reverence for, and a due submission to the laws of their country, which have hitherto preserved the liberty, protected the property, and increased the enjoyments of a free and prosperous people."

Which having been read,

Resolved, by a great majority, That this declaration be approved, and be subscribed by all such merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants as may approve thereof, and that it do lie at this Hall for signature.

Resolved, That every person who shall sign the declaration be desired to add his place of abode and description.

Resolved, That the master and wardens of the grocers' company, together with Samuel Bosanquet, esq.

Rt. hon. Thomas Harley.

Sir Charles Pole, bart.

Sir James Sanderson, bart.

Sir Richard Neave, bart.

William Albin, esq.

John William Anderson, esq.

Thomas Bainbridge, esq.

Thomas Boddington, esq.

William Bosanquet, esq.

Alexander Champion, esq.

Abel Chapman, esq.

Joseph Cotton, esq.

Thomas Dea, esq.

Joseph Denison, esq.

George Dorrien, esq.

Richard Down, esq.

Joseph Fletcher, esq.

Daniel Giles, esq.

George Grote, esq.

John Harman, esq.

Jeremiah Harman, esq.

Robert Hunter, esq.

John Pooley Kensington, esq.

Edward Kensington, esq.

Beeston Long, esq.

John Lubbock, esq.

William Manning, esq.

Job Mathew, esq.

John Mellish, esq.

William Mellish, esq.

Arnold Mello, esq.

Isaac Minet, esq.

Thomas Parry, esq.

René Payne, esq.

John Puget, esq.

William Raikes, esq.

Thomas Raikes, esq.

John Read, esq.

Edward Simeon, esq.

John Smith, esq.

Alexander Hendras Sutherland, esq.

Samuel Thornton, esq.

Godfrey Thornton, esq.

John Whitmore, esq.

William Whitmore, esq.

Mark Weyland, esq.

being the names of those gentlemen who have stood forward to call this meeting, be a committee to attend the signing of this declaration, and they are hereby requested to cause the same to be published in the newspapers, and in any other manner they may think advisable.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the master, wardens, and committee of the grocers' company for the very polite and friendly manner in which they have afforded the use of the hall for the meeting this day.

A motion was made and seconded.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman for his firm, upright and impartial conduct in the business of this day.

The chairman left the chair.

When the said motion was agreed to.

The chairman having resumed the chair, the meeting was adjourned.

SAMUEL BOSANQUET, chairman.

Priest

Protest against the Bill entitled "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts."

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because we conceive this bill to be founded on a false pretence. It recites a daring outrage on his majesty's person, (which we feel with the utmost horror) and purports to provide further remedies against such practices, while, in reality, it affords no additional security whatever to his majesty's person, and leaves us to regret a deep and irreparable injury to the laws and constitution of our country, by making the compassing, imagining, inventing, and devising the levying war a substantive treason; thereby departing, in a most dangerous and unjustifiable manner, from the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third; the salutary provisions of which we cannot be tempted to abandon, by the example of temporary statutes, whose doubtful policy stands in opposition to a law, in which the wisdom of our ancestors has been so repeatedly recognized by the legislature, and so strongly confirmed by the permanent experience of its benefits.

2. Because the free discussion of the administration of government in all its branches, by writing, speaking, and meeting for the purpose of representing grievances to any of the three branches of the legislature, has afforded the best protection to the liberties of the people, and is the undoubted inherent right of Englishmen. Yet this bill erects into a high misdemeanor, the exercise of this most valuable privilege, and inflicts in certain cases the pains and penalties of transporta-

tion for the offences which it creates; a punishment in the case of misdemeanors, thus generally constituted, as unprecedented in the history of our laws, as it is unnecessary and unconstitutional.

3. Because the extension of the treason laws, and the creating new misdemeanors, is an alarming encroachment on the security of the subject, and affords no additional protection to his majesty's person and government; for the state of every king, ruler, and governor of any realm, dominion, or commonwealth, standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects toward their sovereign, ruler, and governor, than in the dread and fear of those laws with rigorous pains and extreme punishments, which have at all times disgraced our code. History, however, shews us, that by succeeding legislatures, our statute book has, with every mark of generous indignation, been uniformly cleared of these temporary and unconstitutional excrescences; a circumstance which we now regard as a solemn warning against creating new and unheard of misdemeanors, or altering the treason laws of our country.

BEDFORD,
DERBY,
LAUDERDALE.

Protests against the Bill entitled "An Act to prevent Seditious Meetings and Assemblies."

FIRST PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT,

Because, to present petitions to the throne and the two houses of parliament has at all times been the undoubted right of the subjects of this realm; the free and unlimited enjoyment

enjoyment of which was one of the many blessings restored by the revolution, and invariably continued in its fullest extent, as well during times of internal commotion as of external danger; we therefore cannot consent to a bill which thus fetters the rights of the people, and imposes restraints on that freedom of speech, to the existence of which the preservation of all our liberties may be ascribed, and from the full, free and continued exercise of which is derived the manly character that distinguishes a free people.

NORFOLK,
SUFFOLK,
LANSDOWN,
DERBY,
CHEDWORTH,
ALBEMARLE,
LAUDERDALE,
PONSONBY,
BEDFORD.

SECOND PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because, though we cordially agree in the above ground of Protest, yet we think it further necessary to state, that—

Although the bill industriously displays the acknowledged right of Englishmen, a right essential to a free constitution, of deliberating on grievances in church or state, and of preferring to the king and each house of parliament petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations thereupon, yet it proceeds to lay the whole exercise of that important and sacred privilege under a restraint and discountenance, which directly and absolutely annihilates the right.

The very proposition of any matter which shall tend to incite or stir up the people to hatred or contempt of the government and constitution of this realm, as by law established,

makes the assembly liable to be dispersed by any one justice of the peace, under the pain of felony, without benefit of clergy, if any twelve remain together an hour after proclamation, even though they should not proceed on the prohibited business. Nay, if any one justice shall think fit to arrest any person holding any discourse to the above effect, to be dealt with according to law, and shall meet with obstruction, whether the orator and obstructor be suborned or not, the whole assembly is liable to be treated in this harsh and unprecedented manner.

Now the case to which these terrible consequences are attached, is unavoidable, being a necessary incident to the exercise of the right; for no grievance can be made the subject of deliberation, much less of complaint and remonstrance, without drawing down upon it that odium, which its injurious tendency, or that contempt which its absurd incongruity may seem to merit; that is, without representing it as a grievance. So that an occasion, even without straining, can never be wanting to suppress the exercise of this franchise.

2dly, Because the severe provisions of this bill, not only apply to all assemblies convened by the exertions of private subjects in the manner expressly claimed for Englishmen by the Bill of Rights, but to all the other assemblies mentioned in the Act, as appears from a consideration of the following words—“Such meeting or assembly, as is herein before mentioned, to which every justice of peace is authorized and empowered to resort with any number of constables, or other officers of the peace, and to do, or order to be done, all such acts, matters, and things, as the case may require.”

quire."—Now although it be not expressly provided, that deliberating on any grievance in church, or state, shall be deemed a crime, except in assemblies convened by private subjects, yet the above-mentioned authority, to arrest men holding discourse to such effect, to be dealt with according to law, does so flagrantly imply it, that the zeal of any justice of the peace, who should so understand the phrase, may regard this as affording ample countenance to his efforts. Happily, in the class of magistrates in this country, are men whose worth and honour render them respectable: but we cannot forget that many are not only appointed by the minister during his pleasure, but are in a state of apparent subjection to his caprice, and some even, paid by him for the exercise of their office, have their dependence on that caprice for their daily bread. It is therefore but too easy to foresee how such an occasion will be applied.

3dly, Because the provisions in the conclusion of this bill form a worthy sequel to the foregoing measures, differing not in principle, but only in extent and application, The prohibition of unlicensed discoursing upon law, constitution, government, and policy, at meetings not sanctioned by the sacred occasion of a free people applying to their legislature, interrupts private instruction, and the freedom of private discourse. The perusal of books, recommended by universal esteem, and the authority of names the most venerable, is an indulgence, however, that still remains. We are only forbidden to talk of what they contain.

We therefore think it our bounden duty, thus solemnly to mark the
1795.

ignominious difference between this impaired state of English liberty, and that which was so nobly demanded, and so honourably conceded, at the auspicious æra of our happy and glorious revolution. It is in vain that by the rapidity with which this bill has proceeded, the petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and other addresses of an irritated people, have been evaded. It is in vain to hope that the length of time for which it is to endure, will lay the public anxiety to sleep. The people cannot cease to regard this invasion of their rights with grief and dismay. They feel with us that even indifference would extinguish this fundamental franchise, this safeguard of all our liberties, for ever.

BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
ALBEMARLE.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 22.

My lords and gentlemen,

In obedience to his majesty's commands, I resort to your councils at a period which, in a peculiar manner, calls for the wisdom and energy of parliament.

His majesty's determination is fixed; as long as he is supported by his faithful subjects, he never will be wanting to them or to himself; his majesty has no interest but that of his people; no views but for their happiness; no object but their general safety.

The uniform tenor of your conduct has demonstrated, that you will not only be desirous, but zealous to second and emulate the
(H) mag-

magnanimity of a sovereign, formed to lead a nation that has ever been as firm to assert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority, for the sole purpose of supporting those liberties. As you are thus cordially attached to that sovereign, and to the constitution, which it is his glory to protect, I have to announce to you, with true satisfaction, what you will hear with equal pleasure, the intended marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales, with the princess Caroline Amelia Elisabeth, daughter of his most illustrious highness the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; a princess of that illustrious house, to whose mild and constitutional sway these kingdoms are highly indebted for the blessings they enjoy: this marriage promises the perpetuation of the same blessings under the same house.

I have it also in command to inform you, that his majesty has concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States of America, in which it has been his majesty's object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both states. As soon as the ratification of this treaty shall have been exchanged, and I shall have received a copy of it, I will direct it to be laid before you, in order that you may consider if it will be necessary to make any provisions for carrying into effect a treaty, in which the commerce of this kingdom is so materially and extensively interested.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the public service, and the state of

the public accounts, to be laid before you.

His majesty has that assured confidence, grounded on a long and uniform experience of your loyalty, and your zeal for his service, and the good of your country, that I think it unnecessary to press you, in any particular manner, to make a provision adequate to the present awful situation of affairs.

It is with pleasure I acquaint you, that the provision will, in some degree, be facilitated by the circumstance, that, during the existence of such a war as the present, the public revenue, together with the commerce of the kingdom, has kept up, and has been even augmented: advantages, which are due to the care and vigilance of our sovereign, in the general protection provided by him for all his subjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

I earnestly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have constantly taken to cultivate all your domestic advantages in commerce, in manufacture, and in such public works, as have appeared directed to promote those important objects. These are the true foundations of all public revenue and public strength. Your endeavours have had their fruit. The great staple manufacture of this kingdom has increased beyond the most sanguine expectations; an advantage principally owing to the constant superintendence and wise provisions of the parliament of Ireland; and next to those, to the assured liberal and most merited encouragement, which it receives in the rich and extensive market of Great Britain; a circumstance, tending to cement the union, and to perfect the harmony, which happily

ally subsist, and I trust will subsist for ever, between the two kingdoms.

Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration the state of education in this kingdom, which in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may acquire some new arrangement. Considerable advantages have been already derived, under the wise regulations of parliament, from the protestant charter schools; and these will, as usual, claim your attention: But as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations, connected with this important subject, highly necessary, it is hoped that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it, in the manner most beneficial, and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men, which compose his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland.

We are engaged in an arduous contest. The time calls not only for great-fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. You are engaged with a power, which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has assumed a new shape: but with the same ambition, and much more extensive and systematic designs, far more effective, and without comparison, more dreadful in the certain consequences of its eventual success; it threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe. An enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar

animosity against these kingdoms, not only as the natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but also, because, by the possession of a legal, humane, and rational freedom, we seem to reproach that false and spurious liberty, which, in reality, is an ignominious servitude, tending to extinguish all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, disorder, and ferocious manners; and to end in wretchedness, and general desolation.

To guard his people from the enterprises of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the protection of all civilized society against the inroad of anarchy, his majesty has availed himself of every rational aid, foreign and domestic; he has called upon the skill, courage, and experience of all his subjects, wheresoever dispersed; and you must be duly sensible, in such a crisis as the present, which rarely occurs in the course of human affairs, of the advantage of his majesty's thus endeavouring to profit of the united strength and zeal of every description of his subjects.

I have to assure you of his majesty's most cheerful concurrence in every measure, which your wisdom and comprehensive patriotism shall point out for the salutary purpose.

On my part you shall find me, from principle and from inclination, thoroughly disposed to concur with his majesty's paternal wishes, and the measures of his parliament. On a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct suitable to that sentiment, I wish to found my own personal estimation, and my reputation in the execution of the great trust committed, by the most beneficent of sovereigns, to my care.

(H 2)

Answer

Answer of his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Address of Thanks presented by the Commons for his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 24.

This cordial address, justifying with such promptitude and alacrity the confidence which his majesty reposes in the spirit and loyalty of his faithful commons of Ireland, is of so salutary and animating a tendency, reflects such high honour on the national character, and gives so happy an earnest of the cheerfulness, vigour, and extent of the national exertion at this arduous and trying crisis, that it calls for more than ordinary expressions of satisfaction and acknowledgement.

Such sentiments, communicating themselves from one kingdom to the other, such conformity in attachment to the constitution, and in affection for the best and most beloved of sovereigns, a spirit so firm and persevering in the support of a cause which they consider as common to both, and a determination so fixed and unshaken to stand or fall together, must be as encouraging to the friends as formidable to the enemies of the British name and empire.

Standing on this ground, we have nothing to dread. The disturbers of the peace of Europe will see, that, bound indissolubly together in interests, in principles, and in affection, Great Britain and Ireland disregard their menaces, and are determined, under providence, to check the course of their exterminating ambition.

If any thing could be wanting to complete my satisfaction at this happy and auspicious commencement of my administration, I

should find it in the flattering terms in which you express your approbation of my principles and past conduct, and in the generous confidence with which you anticipate future benefits to be derived to this kingdom from my loyalty to my sovereign, and from my inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of the people.

The stake which I have in your country, you naturally conclude, ought to bind me in a peculiar manner to its interests; but such considerations are languid and cold, indeed, when compared with the ardent desire I feel to recommend myself, in this new connection which I have formed with you, to the approbation, the esteem, and the affection of the whole of Ireland.

Speech of the Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons, to his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on presenting the Money Bills, that had been returned from England, March 24.

The commons attend your excellency with their supplies, which go to the utmost extent of every estimate and desire laid before them by his majesty's ministers, and are much larger than have ever been granted in any one session; but it is their determined resolution, at all times, to stand or fall with Britain; and that resolution is now, if possible, still more strengthened by every circumstance of foreign and internal consideration in these eventful times. They therefore feel it their duty, their interest, and their anxious wish, to support the empire through the present unprovoked

voked and destructive war, with all that is most dear to them—their lives and fortunes.

In their appropriation of these supplies, they have shewn their early attention to the sure and natural strength of the British empire, her navy, by granting 200,000*l.* for procuring seamen; and they have provided for augmenting the militia, an institution which, by the indefatigable exertion both of men and officers, is the admiration, and will be the salvation, of this kingdom.

It is owing to the unexampled prosperity and growing resources of the nation that they have been enabled to raise the large sum which they now offer to his majesty, without laying much additional burthen on the people, or lessening those bounties and pecuniary encouragements under which our trade and manufactures have increased and are increasing; and the same causes have allowed them, amidst these liberal supplies, to gratify his majesty's paternal benevolence, and their own anxious feelings, by relieving all the poorer classes from the tax of hearth-money.

Satisfied, however, that those resources and that prosperity cannot be permanent without an effectual attention to the sobriety of the people, to their morals and peaceable subordination to the laws, they have, by an arrangement of duties, which promises also an increase of revenue, relieved the brewery from all restriction of taxes, so as to give it a decided advantage over the distillery, and thereby discourage the too frequent or immoderate use of spirituous liquors—a measure which must conduce to sobriety, tranquillity, and content, and under which the people, encouraged to

regular industry, and the consequent acquisition of wealth, must feel the blessings of the happy constitution under which they live, and cherish and preserve it from all change or innovation.

Speech of his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, June 5.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am directed by his majesty to convey to you his full approbation of your services in the present session, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. It has afforded me infinite satisfaction to observe, since my arrival in this kingdom, the great temper and wisdom with which your proceedings have been uniformly conducted.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am particularly to express his majesty's acknowledgements for the very liberal supplies which you have contributed, for the service of the empire and the defence of the kingdom, with such unanimity and cheerfulness. The extent of your grants is a convincing proof how warmly you feel yourselves interested in the vigorous prosecution of a war, rendered necessary by the wanton and unprovoked attack of France, and involving in it the general cause of social order, morality, and religion, in all civilized countries. On my part you may be assured they shall be faithfully applied to the great purposes for which they were granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty observes with the highest satisfaction, that during the present crisis you have not failed to

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cherish and to maintain the various sources of your internal prosperity. You have also completed the intention so benevolently entertained of entirely relieving the poorer classes from the tax of hearth-money. A wise foundation has been laid for educating the Roman catholic clergy. A satisfactory arrangement of the treasury has been confirmed by law; and an alteration of duties has been introduced, with a view to prevent the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and in the hope of introducing a more general habit of sobriety among the lower orders of the people. In the execution of these measures you may depend upon my sincere and earnest endeavours, to pursue that wise and prudent policy by which they were dictated.

On repairing to your respective counties, which I cannot too strongly and too earnestly recommend, it is especially incumbent upon you to make those exertions which the times demand, and to inculcate the necessity of an exact submission to the laws. By contrasting the blessings which result from a well-regulated liberty and peaceable subordination, with the mischiefs which necessarily spring from licentiousness and anarchy, you will increase the attachment of the people to our free and happy constitution. To preserve the constitution inviolate is the great object of his majesty in the present contest; and he cannot but look to its fortunate issue when he reflects on the loyalty, spirit, and power of his people, and on their just sense of the invaluable inheritance for which they contend.

It will be the constant object of my administration, in which his majesty's commands and my personal wishes are most intimately combined,

to forward with unremitting vigilance the welfare and the happiness of this country. These objects I cannot so effectually promote as by attending to and acting upon those established principles which form the connection between Great Britain and Ireland; on which the security, the freedom, and the prosperity of both kingdoms most essentially depend.

Speech of his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. Viceroy of Corsica, to the Chamber of Parliament, at the Opening of the Session, February 9, 1795.

Gentlemen,

It is with unfeigned pleasure that I meet you this day in parliament, both because your constitution, on which the future happiness of Corsica depends, is hereby consummated, and because the full energy of your wisdom and authority is required, at a period rendered doubly interesting, by the establishment of a new government, and by the continuance of the war.

You are charged not only with important, but arduous duties; since you must on the one hand secure your freedom as an independent nation, by a vigorous and courageous exertion in the war; and on the other, you must make provision for internal happiness and liberty, by deliberations which are better suited to times of tranquillity and peace.

For the discharge of this great trust, I rely with perfect confidence on the wisdom and public spirit of parliament, supported by the zealous and hearty union of all good Corsicans, whether in public or private

private stations ; for you will, no doubt, participate with me in the pleasing reflection, that the present period affords the happy opportunity of composing past animosities, and obliterating divisions no longer supported by any subsisting motive, and which being always at variance with the general good, are peculiarly prejudicial to it in moments like the present.

His majesty, on his part, ever just and ever firm to his engagements, has already taken those steps which the constitution pointed out, for completing the new system of your government. He has been pleased to ratify, in person, the constitutional act which he had previously authorized me to accept in his name.

I have ordered the gracious answer made by his majesty to the address of the late general council, presented to him by deputies from that assembly, to be laid before you. I have also ordered to be laid before you, a copy of the commission by which his majesty has been pleased to confer on me the exalted honour of representing him in this kingdom under the title of viceroy, agreeable to the provisions of the constitutional act. By the choice of a person whose best qualification for that distinguished station is a warm and steady affection for Corsica, you will perceive that the same sentiment prevailed on that occasion in his majesty's mind.

I am enabled, with equal satisfaction, to acquaint you, that his majesty is not less attentive to your protection against the hostile designs of the enemy ; and you may depend on his powerful and vigorous support during the war. He confides, at the same time, in the zeal and courage of his Corsican

subjects, for repelling the enemy, and defending the independence of their country, and the security of their lives, fortunes, and honour, all that can be dear to men. In these views, a considerable body of Corsican infantry has been raised, and an immediate augmentation to that national corps is intended.

Measures have been taken for enabling his majesty to assemble the militia, and employ them against the common enemy, in case of need. It will be for the parliament, in its wisdom, to frame adequate regulations for the perfection of such a system as may give to Corsica, in moments of danger, the full benefit of the courage and patriotism of all her subjects ; for it must not be forgotten, that the independence and liberty of your country must not depend on the protection of regular troops alone, however formidable the force employed may be ; but, under the providence of God, must still rest principally on the hearts and arms of a people who love their country and their freedom.

Many important objects will require your immediate attention. The most urgent of these is, to provide sufficient funds for the public service.

In the present circumstances of Corsica, his majesty is pleased to take upon himself the whole charges of the military establishment ; you have also the benefit of a great naval force, without any expence ; you have no public debt, and consequently no interest to pay on that account.

Reflecting on these peculiar advantages, enjoyed perhaps exclusively by this nation, I am persuaded that you will cheerfully furnish the remaining and unavoidable expences of the public service ; and

it is with much comfort that I consider the impossibility of an ample and adequate provision for the civil charges of government being burdensome to the people of Corsica, even in the present state of her resources.

A settlement of your religious establishment has been reserved for the chamber of parliament, in concert with his holiness the pope.

To this important point you will naturally direct your early and serious attention; and I have no doubt, that the wisdom and piety which will preside in your councils, will lead you to the means of reconciling the civil interests and temporal prosperity of your constituents, with the holy duty of religion, the reverence due to its ministers, and the sacred rights of property.

The definition and limits of the several powers and jurisdictions to be exercised by the different tribunals, in the administration of justice, as well as a declaration of the law itself, are other points of serious and urgent importance. A faithful and judicious administration of the national property, particularly of the woods and forests, the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, the encouragement of industry in all its branches, the government and discipline of the military, the encouragement of navigation, and regulations which may bring forth the naval resources of the island, whether in mariners or stores, in its own defence, and in the general service of the empire; the repair of highways, and improvement of internal communication; institutions for public instruction; establishments of health, both for the security of the inhabitants, and the convenience of their commerce; all these are objects worthy of your

early deliberations, and for which your wisdom and diligence will not fail to provide.

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. I am persuaded that your affection for the person and family of his majesty will make you participate in the general joy diffused through every part of his dominions, by an event so interesting to the happiness of his majesty and that illustrious prince.

Gentlemen,

Impressed with the momentous nature of the present period, and of the duties which it imposes on us, I am nevertheless confident in your patriotism, talents, and application, and I pray God, so to bless and enlighten our councils, and so to endue us with wisdom and virtue, as to render this first parliament of Corsica an example to all succeeding ones, as well as to your constituents of the present day, of disinterested, zealous, and above all, united exertion for the public good.

It is by these means, and by the blessing of God, that I trust your country will triumph over its foreign and domestic enemies, and attain, under the mild and equitable government of his majesty, the summit of national prosperity and happiness.

Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between the Republic of France and the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

Art. 1. The republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the inde-

independence of the republic of the United Provinces, and the abolition of the stadtholdership.

2. There shall be a lasting peace, amity, and good understanding, between the two republics.

3. There shall also be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all the enemies of the respective republics, during the present war.

4. There shall be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against Great Britain, for ever.

5. No treaty shall be entered into with Great Britain without the consent of the two republics.

6. The French republic shall make no peace with any power whatever, without comprising in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign 12 ships of the line and 18 frigates, for the North Sea and the Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign half the number of the troops which the republic shall have on foot.

9. All the forces employed in actual service shall be under the command of French generals. The arrangements for the campaign shall be made in concert: the states general may send a deputy, who shall sit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public safety at Paris.

10. All arsenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces shall be restored.

11. From the ratification of the present treaty, restitution shall be made of all the countries and places belonging to the United Provinces,

with the exceptions contained in the following article.

12. Dutch Flanders and the right side of the Hondt, Maefricht, Venlo, and their dependencies, shall be reserved by the French republic as indemnities.

13. A French garrison shall be admitted, in peace and war, into the town of Flushing, until other arrangements shall have been decided.

14. The port of Flushing shall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the separate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In case of hostilities on the side of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garrisons shall be admitted into Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, cession shall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the cession contained in the 12th article, and in a position most convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, such a number of troops shall be stationed in the necessary places as shall be deemed adequate to the defence of them.

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt shall be open to the two Republics: French and Dutch vessels shall be indiscriminately admitted, under the same conditions.

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces all the immoveable effects belonging to the House of Orange, and all the moveable property not already disposed of.

20. As an indemnification for the expenses of the war, the republic

lic of the United Provinces shall pay to the republic of France one hundred millions of livres, either in specie, or in bills upon foreign powers, as shall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic shall use their good offices with foreign powers, in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the sums due to them before the war.

22. No asylum shall be given, by the republic of the United Provinces, to the French emigrants; and no asylum shall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The present treaty shall be ratified within two decades, or sooner, if possible.

Separate Articles, relative to the Port of Flushing.

Art. 1. The two nations shall indiscriminately make use of the port and the docks.

2. Each nation shall have timber-yards, &c.

3. From the ratification of the present treaty, the republic of the United Provinces shall relinquish the building the West India company, and the ground adjacent to it, and also one of the docks.

4. All new acquisitions for the construction of fresh arsenals, and all acquisitions of ground, shall be made at the expense of the French republic.

5. The expenses of the repairs of the basin, and the quay, shall be defrayed by the two republics, but the direction of the remainder shall belong to the republic of the United Provinces. The French republic, however, shall be informed of every operation, and the *procès verbaux* shall be sent to the French

government, who will defray half the expense.

6. No admiral's ship, nor guard-ship belonging to either of the two republics, shall be in the port of Flushing.

7. If any disputes should arise relative to the foregoing regulations, which shall not be amicably adjusted, they shall be decided by five arbitrators; two of whom shall be French, and two Dutch; and for the fifth, each republic shall choose one, and it shall be decided by lot.

8. These regulations shall be carried into execution, as part of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the republic of France and the republic of the United Provinces.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, at noon, 1795, and afterwards ratified by both of the contracting parties.

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Empress of all the Russias, Feb. 18.

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity. His Britannic majesty, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, animated with a desire equally sincere to strengthen more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them and their respective monarchies, have thought that nothing would more effectually contribute to this salutary end than the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance, concerning which they should occupy themselves forthwith, and which should have for basis the stipulations of similar treaties which have already been heretofore

heretofore concluded, and have made the objects of the most intimate union between the two empires. For this purpose, their said majesties have named for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Britannic majesty, the sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the order of the Bath; and her imperial majesty of all the Russias, the sieur John count Osterman, her vice chancellor, actual privy councillor, senator and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, Great Cross, of that of St. Vladimir of the first class of St. Anne; the sieur Alexander count of Besborodko, her great master of the court, actual privy councillor, director general of the posts, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander, Newsky, and Great Cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class; and the sieur Arcadi de Morcoff, privy councillor, member of the college of foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, and Great Cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class: who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic majesty and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, their heirs and successors; and, in consequence of this intimate union, the high contracting parties shall have nothing more strongly at heart than to promote by all possible means their mutual interests, to avert from each other whatever might cause them any injury, damage or prejudice, and to main-

tain themselves reciprocally in the undisturbed possession of their dominions, rights, commerce and prerogatives whatsoever, by guaranteeing reciprocally for this purpose all their countries, dominions and possessions, as well such as they actually possess, as those which they may acquire by treaty.

2. If, notwithstanding the efforts which they shall employ by common consent, in order to obtain this end, it should nevertheless happen that one of them should be attacked by sea or land, the other shall furnish him, immediately on the requisition being made, the succours stipulated by the following articles of this treaty.

3. His Britannic majesty and her imperial majesty of all the Russias declare however, that in contracting the present alliance, their intention is by no means to give offence thereby, or to injure any one, but that their sole intention is, to provide by these engagements for their reciprocal advantage and security, as well as for the re-establishment of peace, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe, and above all, that of the North.

4. As the two high contracting parties profess the same desire to render to each other their mutual succours as advantageous as possible, and as the natural force of Russia consists in land troops, whilst Great Britain can principally furnish ships of war, it is agreed upon, that if his Britannic majesty should be attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it might be, in the possession of his dominions and provinces, so that he should think it necessary to require the assistance of his ally, her imperial majesty of all the Russias shall send him immediately

diately 10,000 infantry, and 2000 horse. If on the other hand, her imperial majesty of all the Russias should find herself attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it may be, in the possession of her dominions and provinces, so that she should think it necessary to require the assistance of her ally, his Britannic majesty shall send her forthwith a squadron of twelve ships of war and of the line, carrying 708 guns, according to the following list:—two ships of 74 guns, making together 148 guns, and the crews 960 men; 6 ships of 60 guns, making 360 guns, and the crews 2400 men; four ships of 50 guns, making 200 guns, and the crews 1200 men. In the whole, 12 ships, 708 guns, and the crews 4560 men. This squadron shall be properly equipped and armed for war. These succours shall be respectively sent to the places which shall be specified by the requiring party, and shall remain at his free disposal as long as hostilities shall last.

5. But if the nature of the attack were such, as that the party attacked should not find it to his interest to demand the effective succours, such as they have been stipulated for in the preceding article, in that case the two high contracting powers have resolved to change the said succour into a pecuniary subsidy; that is to say, if his Britannic majesty should be attacked, and should prefer pecuniary succours, her imperial majesty of all the Russias, after the requisition having been previously made, shall pay to him the sum of 500,000 rubles yearly, during the whole continuance of hostilities, to assist him to support the expences of the war; and if her imperial majesty of all the Russias should be attacked, and should prefer pecu-

niary succours; his Britannic majesty shall furnish her with the same sum yearly, as long as hostilities shall last.

6. If the party required, after having furnished the succour stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty, should be himself attacked, so as to put him thereby under the necessity of recalling his troops for his own safety, he shall be at liberty to do so, after having informed the requiring party thereof two months before hand. In like manner, if the party required were himself at war at the time of the requisition, so that he should be obliged to retain near himself, for his own proper security and defence, the forces which he is bound to furnish to his ally in virtue of this treaty: in such case the party required shall be dispensed from furnishing the said succour, so long as the said necessity shall last.

7. The Russian auxiliary troops shall be provided with field artillery, ammunition, and every thing of which they may stand in need, in proportion to their number. They shall be paid and recruited annually by the requiring court. With regard to the ordinary rations and portions of provisions and forage, as well as quarters, they shall be furnished to them by the requiring court, the whole on the footing upon which his own troops, are or shall be maintained in the field or in quarters.

8. In case the said Russian auxiliary troops required by his Britannic majesty should be obliged to march by land, and to traverse the dominions of any other powers, his Britannic majesty shall use his endeavours jointly with her imperial majesty of all the Russias to obtain for them a free passage, and shall supply them on their march with the necessary provisions and forage

forage in the manner stipulated in the preceding article; and when they shall have to cross the sea, his Britannic majesty shall take upon himself either to transport them in his own ships, or to defray the expences of their passage; the same is also to be understood as well with regard to the recruits which her imperial majesty will be obliged to send to her troops, as respecting their return to Russia whenever they shall either be sent back by his Britannic majesty or recalled by her imperial majesty of all the Russias for her own defence, according to article 6 of this treaty. It is further agreed upon, that, in case of recalling or sending back the said troops, an adequate convoy of ships of war shall escort them for their security.

9. The commanding officer, whether of the auxiliary troops of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, or of the squadron which his Britannic majesty is to furnish Russia with, shall keep the command which has been entrusted to him; but the commander in chief shall belong most certainly to him whom the requiring party shall appoint for that purpose; under the restriction however that nothing of importance shall be undertaken that shall not have been beforehand regulated and determined upon in a council of war, in the presence of the general and commanding officers of the party required.

10. And, in order to prevent all disputes about rank, the requiring party shall give due notice of the officer to whom he will give the command in chief, whether of a fleet or of land forces: to the end that the party required may regulate in consequence the rank of him

who shall have to command the auxiliary troops or ships.

11. Moreover, these auxiliary forces shall have their own chaplains, and the entire free exercise of their religion, and shall not be judged in whatever appertains to military service, otherwise than according to the laws and articles of war of their own sovereign. It shall likewise be permitted for the general and the rest of the auxiliary forces to keep up a free correspondence with their country, as well by letters as expresses.

12. The auxiliary forces on both sides shall be kept together as much as possible; and in order to avoid their being subjected to greater fatigue than the others, and to the end that there may be in every expedition and operation a perfect equality, the commander in chief shall be bound to observe on every occasion a just proportion according to the force of the whole fleet or army.

13. The squadron which his Britannic majesty is to furnish by virtue of this alliance, shall be admitted into all the ports of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, where it shall experience the most amicable treatment, and shall be provided with every thing which it may stand in need of, on paying the same price as the ships of her imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the said squadron shall be allowed to return every year to the ports of Great Britain, as soon as the season will no longer permit it to keep the sea; but it is formally and from time forward stipulated, that this squadron shall return every year to the Baltic sea about the beginning of the month of May, not to quit it again before the month of October, and that as often as the exigency

exigency of the treaty shall require it.

14. The requiring party, in claiming the succours stipulated by this treaty, shall point out at the same time to the required party, the place where he shall wish that it may, in the first instance, repair; and the said requiring party shall be at liberty to make use of the said succour during the whole time it shall be continued to him in such manner and at such places as he shall judge to be most suitable for his service against the aggressor.

15. The conditions of this treaty of alliance shall not be applicable to the wars which may arise between her imperial majesty of all the Russias and the powers and people of Asia, respecting whom his Britannic majesty shall be dispensed with from furnishing the succours stipulated by the present treaty; excepting in the case of an attack made by any European power against the rights and possessions of her imperial majesty, in whatever part of the world it may be. As also on the other hand her imperial majesty of all the Russias shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by this same treaty in any case whatever, excepting that of an attack made by any European power against the rights and possessions of his Britannic majesty in whatever part of the world it may be.

16. It has been in like manner agreed upon, that, considering the great distance of places, the troops which her imperial majesty of all the Russias will have to furnish by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of his Britannic majesty, shall not be sent to Spain, Portugal, or Italy, and still less out of Europe.

17. If the succours stipulated in

the fourth article of this treaty should not be sufficient, in that case the contracting parties reserve to themselves to make a further provision between themselves with respect to the additional succours which they should give to each other.

18. The requiring party shall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without including the required party, to the end that the latter may not suffer any injury in consequence of the succours he shall have given to his ally.

19. The present defensive alliance shall in no way derogate from the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, inasmuch as the said treaties shall not be contrary to this, nor to the friendship and good understanding which they are resolved constantly to keep up between them.

20. If any other power would accede to this present alliance, their said majesties have agreed to concert together upon the admission of such power.

21. The two high contracting parties, desiring mutually and with eagerness to strengthen and to consolidate as much as possible the friendship and union already happily subsisting between them, and to protect and extend the commerce between their respective subjects, promise to proceed without delay, to the forming of a definitive arrangement of commerce.

22. As circumstances may make it necessary to make some change in the clauses of the present treaty, the high contracting parties have thought proper to fix the duration of it to eight years, counting from the day of exchanging the ratifications:

tions: but before the expiration of the eighth year, it shall be renewed according to existing circumstances.

23. The present treaty of alliance shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged here, in the space of two months, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned ministers plenipotentiary on both sides have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, this 17th-18th of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

(L. S.) CTE. JEAN D'OSTERMAN.

(L. S.) ALEXANDRE CMTE DE BEZBORODKO.

(L. S.) ARCADI DE MORCOFF.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany, May 4.

The emperor and the king of Great Britain, being equally convinced of the necessity of acting with vigour and energy against the common enemy, in order to procure to their respective dominions a safe and honourable peace, and to preserve Europe from the danger with which it is threatened, their imperial and Britannic majesties have thought proper to concert together upon the measures to be adopted for the next campaign, and to agree, for this purpose, on such stipulations as may best conduce to the salutary object of their intentions already mentioned. With this view, their majesties have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries; that is to say, his imperial majesty, his privy councillor actual, and mini-

ster for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, commander of the order of St. Stephen; and his Britannic majesty, sir Morton Eden, knight of the Bath, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. In order to assist the efforts which his imperial majesty is desirous of making, and to facilitate to him the means of bringing forward the resources of his dominions, in the defence of the common cause, his Britannic majesty engages to propose to his parliament to guarantee the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends, on the sum of 4,600,000l. sterling, which is, or is to be raised, on account of his imperial majesty, on the terms and in the manner specified in the two engagements or octrois, the tenor of which is annexed to this convention; his imperial majesty solemnly engaging to his Britannic majesty that he will make due provision for the regular discharge of the payments which shall become due in consequence of the said loans, so as that those payments shall never fall as a burthen on the finances of Great-Britain.

2. In return for the stipulation contained in the preceding article, and by the means of the said loan of 4,600,000l. sterling, assured by the guarantee of Great Britain, his imperial majesty shall employ in his different armies, in the ensuing campaign, a number of troops, which shall not only amount at least to 200,000 effective men, but which his imperial majesty will exert himself, as much as possible, to augment

ment even above that number; which troops shall act against the common enemy, according to the dispositions agreed upon by a secret article forming a part of this convention.

3. The emperor will see with pleasure the appointment of general officers, or other persons of confidence, to be present with his armies on the part of his Britannic majesty, to whom all the necessary communication and information will be furnished, with respect to the state and strength of the armies, and the number of troops of which they may consist; and if, in order to facilitate and promote the correspondence and communication between the armies of the two courts, his imperial majesty shall think proper to send an officer, or other person, on his part, to the English armies, they shall, in like manner, receive from the generals of his Britannic majesty all such marks of confidence as are most analogous to the intimate union so happily subsisting between the two courts.

4. It is expressly agreed, that the said loan is to rest on the security of all the revenues of all the different hereditary dominions of his imperial majesty. All the necessary measures shall be taken on the part of his imperial majesty, in each of the said dominions respectively, to give full and legal effect and validity to the said loan, and to the engagements for the regular payment of the half yearly dividends which shall fall due in consequence thereof, so that if at any time there should happen, from whatever cause, to be any delay in any of the payments, after the period of their falling due, the holders of the securities granted, or to be granted, on the part of his imperial majesty,

for the said loan, may sue the receivers or treasurers of his imperial majesty's revenues, in any of the said dominions respectively, at the option of such holders, and may recover from them, or any of them, by due course of law, the full amount of such payments having so fallen due, in the same manner as any private individuals are admitted in the said dominions respectively to prosecute and recover their just rights against other private persons.

5. If it should ever happen that, contrary to all expectation, any part of the dividends due on the said loans should, in consequence of the failure of the payments stipulated to be made by his imperial majesty, be paid by the British government, it is agreed that such payments shall be made at the Bank of England, and only on the delivery of tallies or certificates of the dividends so respectively paid; and every such tally or certificate so delivered up, shall be a valid and legal security, so as to enable the holder thereof to sue any of the receivers or treasurers of his imperial majesty's revenues, in any of his dominions aforesaid, at the option of such holder, and to recover from them, or any of them, the full amount of the sum expressed in such tally or certificate, with interest thereon at the rate of five per cent. per annum, to be reckoned from the date of the payment made by the British government. And whereas it is provided, in the terms agreed upon for raising the said loans, that, as a collateral security for the said loans, there shall be deposited in the bank of England mortgage actions of the Bank of Vienna, for a sum, in the proportion of four to three of the loan to be so raised; it is further agreed, that

that the governor and company of the said bank shall, in case of any such payment as aforesaid being made by the British government, be authorized to withdraw from the said deposit such a quantity of the said actions, as shall be required to make up at least the proportion of four pounds for every three which shall be so paid by the British government, to be by the said government either used as a security or claim upon the bank of Vienna, until repayment of the said sum, and of the interest due thereon, or negotiated at the time to such extent as may be necessary in order to effect such reimbursement, according as to the said government may seem most eligible; and that the quantity of actions directed the committee of legislation to report on so withdrawn shall be deducted from or set off against any quantity, which, according to the terms of the said loan, might thereafter be to be withdrawn from the said deposit, in proportion to the gradual redemption of the bonds, and the payment of the annuities, as is specified in the conditions of the said loan.

6. And whereas certain advances have been made by the British government to his imperial majesty, on account and by way of loan; it is agreed that the same shall be repaid at London in the course of the present year, in exchange for the receipts given by the generals commanding in chief the imperial army, and conformably to the sums contained in the said receipts. The said advances shall be reimbursed at latest, in two equal parts, in the months of November and December, so that the total shall be reimbursed before the expiration of the present year.

7. The present Convention
1795.

shall be ratified on each side, without any delay, and the exchange of the ratifications, expedited in due form, shall be made within the space of one month at latest.

In witness whereof we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have in their names signed the present act, and have thereto set the seal of our arms.

Done at Vienna, the 4th day of
May, 1795.

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.
(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

TENOR OF THE FIRST OCTROI.

Francis, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, &c. &c. To all those who shall see these presents, greeting:

The expenses which we find it necessary to incur, for continuing our efforts against a destructive enemy, requiring that, without too far burthening our subjects, we should procure extraordinary resources, we have, by the advice of our most dear, our dear and trusty the treasurer-general, counsellors and commissioners of our domains and finances, and upon the deliberation of his royal highness, our most dear and well-beloved brother, the archduke Charles Lewis, of Austria, prince royal of Hungary and Bohemia, our lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the Low Countries, our chancellor of law having been heard, resolved to raise a loan in England, conformably to the clauses and conditions following:

1. A loan of three millions of pounds sterling, payable in ready money, shall be opened in the city of London, at the house of Walter Boyd, Paul Benfield, and James
(1) Drummond,

Drummond, merchants, in London, in the firm of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. bankers to his majesty, appointed for that purpose.

2. A part of the said loan shall consist in bonds, to be signed by the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. or by one of the individuals belonging to the said firm; and those bonds may be for such sums as shall be judged proper.

3. A capital of two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling shall be raised by those bonds, bearing interest at three per cent. per annum. The lenders shall not demand the repayment thereof, but we reserve to ourself the right of redeeming them at par, viz. at the rate of one hundred pounds sterling in money, for one hundred pounds sterling of capital.

4. The said capital of two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling shall be valued to the lenders at sixty pounds sterling in money for one hundred pounds sterling of capital.

5. The residue of the said loan shall consist in bonds, to be likewise signed by the said house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. or by one of the individuals belonging thereto, containing an engagement to pay, for the term of twenty-five years, annuities at the rate of ten per cent. of the capital lent; and the said annuities for twenty-five years shall be in full to the lenders, as well for the capital as for the interest on this part of the loan.

6. The said annuities shall amount in the whole to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, which, at the rate of one hundred pounds capital for ten pounds annuity, will produce the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, form-

ing the other part of the said loan.

7. The interest of the bonds, at three per cent. and the annuities for the term, shall be computed from the first of May, 1794, and shall be paid half-yearly, on the first of May and the first of November in each year, at the house of the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. or at the office which shall be appointed by them for that purpose.

8. Although the redemption of the capital stock of perpetual annuities at three per cent. is not demandable at any period, we engage, nevertheless, to remit to the said house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. the sum of five thousand pounds sterling monthly, during the term of twenty-five years, for which the annuities shall conting; which sum of five thousand pounds sterling per month, during the term of twenty-five years, or sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum, shall be applied by the said house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. under the direction and control of five persons (who shall be appointed by us for that purpose) to the buying up, at the market price, of the bonds bearing interest at three per cent.; and not only the said sum of sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum, but also the interest accruing from all the bonds which shall have been successively bought up, shall be invariably applied to the purchase of other bonds, for the purpose of thus keeping up an annual sinking fund for the redemption of the said bonds, until their final extinction, to the amount of sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum, augmented by the interest of all the bonds which shall have been successively bought up.

9. The

9. The bonds, at the head of which the present octroi shall be printed, shall be conceived in these terms, viz.

For those bearing an annual interest of three per cent.

"We, the undersigned, being thereto specially authorized by his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, acknowledge to have received of the sum of pounds sterling, for which, in our said quality, we will pay h a yearly interest, in two payments, of sterling, the first payment whereof will be due on the 1st of November, 1794, and to continue till the redemption of the said capital, which shall be made conformably to the above octroi."

Done at London, the And for the bonds for the annuities for a term.

"We, the undersigned, being thereto specially authorized by his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, acknowledge to have received of the sum of pounds sterling, for which, in our said quality, we will pay h , during twenty-five years, the sum of which shall be in full, both for the said capital and for the interest."

Done at London, the

10. In order to provide for the security both of the capital and the yearly interest of this loan, and to give, upon this occasion, the most satisfactory and proper securities, we engage and assign, by these presents, to those who shall furnish the said loan, the clear surplus, free from all charge, of all our royal revenues, to the amount of the said sum, and especially the reve-

nues of our provinces of the Low Countries.

11. We further engage to remit, at our option, either to the house of the widow Nottine and son, at Brussels, or to that of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. at London, punctually every six months, before the first of May and the first of November in each year, the amount of two hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds sterling per annum, during the term of twenty-five years, so far as the said sum shall be necessary for discharging the payments and redeeming the capitals, as stipulated by this octroi; so that the funds necessary for the payment of the interest and the annuities, and for the buying up the bonds, shall be realized in the hands of the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. in time, when each half-yearly payment becomes due, and for the purchases in each month.

12. As a collateral security for the said loan, there shall be deposited in the hands of the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. to be deposited by them in the Bank of England, actions in mortgage of the Bank of Vienna, to the amount in value of the sum of four millions sterling, bearing interest at the rate of five per cent. on the amount of the nominal capitals of this loan; and, according to the gradual redemption of the bonds bearing interest at three per cent. and of the payment of the annuities for the term, a quantity of actions of the Bank of Vienna shall be withdrawn from the said deposit, in proportion to the payments and redemptions which shall have been made.

13. Each of the lenders shall receive an equal portion of bonds and annuities, so that such of them who shall have subscribed one hun-

dred pounds sterling in money will receive a bond for eighty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling, bearing interest at three per cent. and another bond for the payment of an annuity of five pounds sterling for twenty-five years.

We therefore command all whom it may concern to govern themselves accordingly: we renounce, moreover, by these presents, as well for ourself, as for our heirs and successors, all exceptions and advantages whatsoever which might be claimed for diminishing or invalidating the obligations which we have contracted by these presents, and of which we assure and promise the exact and inviolable accomplishment; and we derogate, in this instance, from the ordinances and instructions now existing for the conduct and direction of our domains and finances, by which it is prohibited to alienate, sell, or charge them, either in the whole or in part; from which we have released, and do release, those of our council for our domains and finances, those of our chamber of accounts, and all others whom it may concern: we discharge them in consequence, on this occasion, from the oath which they have taken for the observance and execution of the said ordinances and instructions, which nevertheless, in all other cases, points, and articles, shall remain in their full force and vigour. And these presents shall be exhibited as well to those of our council of domains and finances, as of our chamber of accounts, in the Low Countries, to be there respectively verified, confirmed, and registered, according to their form and tenor, and afterwards transmitted to the house of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. at London, for the security of the concerned. For such is our good pleasure.

In witness whereof we have signed these presents, and caused our great seal to be set thereto.

Given at our head quarters, in the city of Tournay, the 18th of May, in the year of our Lord 1794, and of our reigns of the Roman empire the second, and of Hungary and Bohemia, the third year.

(Signed)

FRANCIS,

TRAUTT, Vt.

By the emperor and king.

P. DU RIEUX.

TENOR OF THE SECOND OCTROI.

Francis, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the Romans, &c. &c. To all those who shall see these presents, greeting:

The wants of our service requiring an augmentation of extraordinary resources, we have resolved to open a new loan of 1,600,000*l.* sterling, at the house of Walter Boyd, Paul Benfield, and James Drummond, merchants, at London, under the firm of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. upon the same engagements, conditions, and stipulations as that of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, already opened by them, on our account, by the octroi of the 18th of May, 1794; which engagements, conditions, and stipulations, shall be deemed to be now herein inserted, at the same rate of proportion as exists between the capital sums of the two loans; provided that, for the security of the lenders, as well as those who are or shall be concerned in the first loan of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, as those who shall be parties in the present, we engage, assign, and destine thereto, by the present octroi, all our royal revenues in our hereditary dominions, kingdoms, and provinces, without exception, engaging, moreover, in further augmentation of the security for the second loan, as we have done for the

the first, to remit, as a collateral security, to the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. actions in mortgage of the Bank of Vienna, bearing an interest of 5 per cent. for a sum proportioned to this second loan, upon the footing stipulated by the 12th article of the octroi, of the 18th of May, 1794, above recited. For such is our good pleasure.

In witness whereof we have signed these presents, and caused our great seal to be set thereto. Given at Vienna, the 4th of May, in the year of our Lord 1795, and of our reigns of the Roman empire the second, and of the hereditary dominions the third year.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

TRAUTT, Vt.

By the emperor and king.

P. DU RIEUX.

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany, May 20.

His majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, being desirous to renew and to cement the ancient relations of friendship and intimacy between their crowns and their respective dominions, as well as to provide in a solid and permanent manner, for their future safety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe, have determined, in consequence of these salutary views, to proceed to the conclusion of a new treaty of alliance; and they have nominated for that purpose, viz. his majesty the emperor, his actual privy counsellor and minister for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, sir Morton Eden, one of his majesty's privy counsellors, knight of

the bath, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his said majesty, at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be between his imperial majesty and his Britannic majesty, their heirs and successors, and between all the respective dominions, provinces and subjects of their said majesties, a perfect and sincere good understanding, friendship, and defensive alliance. The high contracting parties shall use all their endeavours for the maintenance of their common interests, and shall employ all the means in their power to defend and guarantee each other mutually against every hostile aggression.

2. The high contracting parties shall act in perfect concert in every thing which relates to the re-establishment and to the maintenance of general peace; and they shall employ all their efforts to prevent, by the means of friendly negotiation, the attacks with which they may be threatened, either separately or conjointly.

3. In case either of the high contracting parties should be attacked, molested, or disturbed in the possession of its dominions, territories, or cities whatsoever, or in the exercise of its rights, liberties, or franchises whatsoever, and without any exception, the other will exert all its endeavours to succour its ally without delay, and in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

4. Their imperial and Britannic majesties reciprocally guarantee to each other, and in the most express manner, all their dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, and franchises whatsoever, such as they at present possess, and such as they

shall possess, at the conclusion of a general peace, made by their common agreement and consent, in conformity to their mutual engagements in that respect, in the convention of the 30th of August, 1793. And the case of this defensive alliance shall exist from the moment whenever either of the high contracting parties shall be disturbed, molested, or disquieted in the peaceable enjoyment of its dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, or franchises whatsoever, according to the state of actual possession, and according to the state of possession which shall exist at the above-mentioned epoch.

5. The succours to be mutually furnished, in virtue of this treaty, shall consist in 20,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry, which shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall continue to be at its disposition during the whole course of the war in which it shall be engaged. The succours shall be paid and maintained by the power required, wherever its ally shall employ them; but the power requiring shall provide them with the necessary bread and forage, upon the same footing with its own troops.

If the party requiring prefers, it may demand the succours to be furnished in money; and in that case the succours shall be computed at the following rate, that is to say, 10,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand infantry, and 30,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand cavalry. And this money shall be paid monthly, in equal portions, throughout the whole year.

If these succours should not suffice for the defence of the power requiring, the other party shall augment them according as the occasion

shall require, and shall even succour its ally with its whole forces, if the circumstances should render it necessary.

6. It is agreed that, in consideration of the intimate alliance, established by this treaty between the two crowns, neither the one or the other of the high contracting parties shall permit the vessels of merchandize belonging to its ally, or to the people or subjects of its ally, and which shall have been taken at sea by any ships of war or privateers whatsoever, belonging to enemies or rebels, to be brought into its harbours; nor any ship of war or privateer to be therein armed, in any case or under any pretext whatsoever, in order to cruise against the ships and property of such ally, or of his subjects; nor that there be conveyed by its subjects, or in their ships, to the enemies of its ally, any provisions, or military or naval stores. For these ends, as often as it shall be required by either of the allies, the other shall be bound to renew express prohibitions, ordering all persons to conform themselves to this article, upon pain of exemplary punishment, in addition to the full restitution and satisfaction to be made to the injured parties.

7. If, notwithstanding the prohibitions and penalties abovementioned, any vessels of enemies or rebels should bring into the ports of either of the high contracting parties any prizes taken from the other, or from its subjects, the former shall oblige them to quit its ports in the space of twenty-four hours after their arrival, upon pain of seizure and confiscation; and the crews and passengers, or other prisoners, subjects of its ally, who shall have been brought into the said ports, shall immediately after their

their arrival, be restored to their full liberty, with their ship and merchandize, without any delay or exception. And if any vessel whatsoever, after having been armed or equipped, wholly or partially, in the ports of either of the allies, should be employed in taking prizes, or in committing hostilities against the subjects of the other, such vessel, in case of their returning into the said ports, shall, at the requisition of the injured parties, be seized and confiscated for their benefit.

The high contracting parties do not intend that the stipulations in these two articles should derogate from the execution of anterior treaties actually existing with other powers; the high contracting parties not being, however, at liberty to form new engagements hereafter to the prejudice of the said stipulations.

§. Their imperial and Britannic majesties engage to ratify the present treaty of alliance, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their imperial and Britannic majesties, have signed the present treaty in their names, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th day of May, 1795.

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

In case the establishment, in general limited, of the land forces of Great Britain should not permit his Britannic majesty to furnish, within the term specified, the succour in men stipulated by the 5th article of the present treaty of alliance, and

that consequently his imperial majesty should be obliged to supply that succour by an equal number of other troops, to be taken into his pay, the confidence which the emperor reposes in the friendship and equity of the king of Great Britain leaves him no room to doubt but that his Britannic majesty will readily grant him an indemnification for the difference, which, according to a just valuation at the time, shall exist between the expences of the taking into pay and subsistence of those troops, and the estimate in Dutch florins, which, in order to avoid every delay of discussion, has been adopted in the above-mentioned 5th article, in conformity to the estimate contained in ancient treaties.

The separate article, making part of the treaty of alliance, signed this day in the name of their imperial and Britannic majesties, shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the said treaty of alliance.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their imperial and Britannic majesties, have, in their names, signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

Their imperial and Britannic majesties shall concert together upon the invitation to be given to her imperial majesty of all the Russias; in order to form, by the union of the three courts, in consequence of the intimate connections which exist already between them, a system of triple alliance, proper for the re-establishment and maintenance

nance in future of peace and general tranquillity in Europe.

This article shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their imperial and Britannic majesties, have in their names signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

Proclamation by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, March 1.

His royal highness having, since the very beginning of the present war, been of opinion, that it was neither just nor convenient for Tuscany to take any active part in the transactions which at this present time convulse Europe; that the welfare and safety of this country should not be entrusted to the preponderance of any of the belligerent powers, but to the sacred right of nations, and to the inviolable faith of those treaties, which guarantee the immunities, and of course the neutrality of the port of Leghorn; and lastly, that the natural and political situation of his dominions demands the most impartial line of conduct, has resolved, with the strictest impartiality, to observe the edict of neutrality, published by his august father, under date of the 1st of August, 1778, as a fundamental law of the duchy.

The beneficial consequences of this resolution rendered it highly agreeable to his beloved subjects, who, profiting by the trade and commerce of other nations, with-

out hurting any of them, found themselves relieved from those alarms and troubles which are occasioned by the fear of war. Whilst his royal highness enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing, that Tuscany, superior as it were, to the occurrences of the times, rested peaceful and quiet on that neutrality, which was constantly respected by the French republic, he found himself involved in those unpleasant transactions, which are already known to all Europe. Although his royal highness was unable to resist them, yet he consented to nothing but the removal of the French minister residing at his court, the only act which the imperious circumstances of that period could extort from him, and which can never be quoted as an act derogatory to the constitutional neutrality of Tuscany.

The sincere explanation of these facts, which admit neither discussion nor refutation, and the impartial line of acting observed afterwards towards the French republic, as well as towards individuals of that nation, have restored Tuscany to the enjoyment of all the blessings which had been taken from her. His royal highness having concluded with the national convention of France a treaty, calculated to re-establish his former neutrality for the benefit of his subjects, without encroaching upon the rights and interests of the belligerent powers, with respect to whom he had never taken upon himself any particular obligation, has thought proper to publish the terms of that treaty, which are as follows:

Art. 1. The great duke of Tuscany repeals all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession to the armed coalition against the French Republic.

2. In

2. In consequence thereof, peace, friendship, and good understanding are to prevail between the French republic and the great duchy of Tuscany.

3. The neutrality of Tuscany is re-established on the same footing as it was before the 8th of October, 1793.

4. The present treaty shall have no effect before it has been ratified by the national convention.

His royal highness, therefore, wills that in all his dominions, the edict of neutrality of the 1st of August, 1778, confirmed by the ordinance of the 22d of March, 1790, and republished at Leghorn on the 28th of April, 1792, be scrupulously observed, for which purpose a sufficient number of copies of this edict shall be sent to the consuls of foreign nations residing at Leghorn, and to the Tuscan consuls residing in foreign ports.

Given on the 1st of March, 1795.

FERDINAND,

V. ANTHONY SERRISTORI,

ERNEST DI GILKENS.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of Prussia, April 5.

The French republic and his majesty the king of Prussia, equally animated with the desire of putting an end to the war which divides them, by a solid peace between the two nations, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, viz.

The French republic, the citizen François Barthelemy, its ambassador in Switzerland; and the king of Prussia, his minister of state, of war, and the cabinet, Charles Auguste, baron de Hardenberg, knight of the order of the red eagle, of the

white eagle, and of St. Stanislaus: who have agreed upon the following articles:

1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French republic and the king of Prussia, considered both as such, and as elector of Brandenburg, and co-state of the German empire.

2. In consequence, all hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease, from the day of the ratification of the present treaty; and neither of them, from the same period, shall furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title whatsoever, any succours or contingent, in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, or otherwise.

3. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory, to the troops of the enemies of the other.

4. The troops of the French republic shall evacuate, within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, the parts of the Prussian states they may occupy on the right bank of the Rhine.

The contributions, deliveries, supplies, and services of war, shall cease entirely within fifteen days after the signature of this treaty.

All arrearages due at that period, as well as billets and promises given or made in that respect, shall be null. Whatever shall be taken or received after the period aforesaid, shall be restored gratuitously, or paid for in ready money.

5. The troops of the French republic shall continue to occupy the parts of the states of the king of Prussia, situated on the left bank of the Rhine. All definitive arrangement with respect to these provinces, shall be deferred till the general pacification with the German empire.

6. Until

6. Until a treaty of commerce between the two contracting powers shall be made, all the commercial communications and relations between France and the Prussian states, shall be re-established on the footing upon which they were before the present war.

7. As the dispositions of article 6 cannot have their full effect, but in proportion as liberty of commerce shall be re-established for all the north of Germany, the two contracting powers shall take measures for removing from it the theatre of war.

8. To individuals of the two nations respectively shall be granted the restoration of all effects, revenues, or property of what kind soever, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war between France and Prussia, as well as prompt justice with respect to all debts due in the states of either of the two contracting powers to the subjects of the other.

9. All prisoners taken respectively since the commencement of the war, without regard to difference of number or rank, including Prussian marines and sailors, taken either in Prussian ships or ships of other nations, as well as in general all those detained on either side on account of the war, shall be restored within the space of two months at the latest after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the private debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The same shall be done with respect to the sick and wounded immediately after their getting well.

Commissioners shall be immediately appointed on both sides, for executing this article.

10. The prisoners of Saxon,

Mentz, Palatine, and Hessian corps, with those of Hesse-Cassel and Darmstadt, who have served in the army of the king of Prussia, shall be included in the exchange above-mentioned.

11. The French republic will accept of the good offices of his majesty the king of Prussia in favour of the princes and states of the German empire, who shall desire to enter directly into negotiation with it, and who to that end have already requested, or shall request, the interposition of the king.

The French republic, to give to the king of Prussia a first proof of its desire to concur in the re-establishment of the ancient bonds of amity which have subsisted between the two nations, consents not to treat as an enemy's country, during the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, the territories of those princes and states of the empire aforesaid, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, in whose favour the king shall interest himself.

12. The present treaty shall have no effect till after being ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Basle within one month from this date, or sooner if possible.

In testimony of which, we the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, and his majesty the king of Prussia, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of peace and amity, and affixed to it our respective seals.

Done at Basle the 16th of Germinal, the third year of the French Republic, April 5, 1795.

Signed FRANÇOIS BARTHELEMY.
CHARLES-AUGUSTE BARON DE HARDENBERG.

Additional

Additional Convention concluded, in consequence of the Treaty of Peace of April 5, 1795, signed at Basle, between Baron Hardenberg, the Prussian Minister Plenipotentiary on the one part, and Citizen Barthélemy, the Minister of the French Republic, on the other.

Article 1. In order to remove the theatre of war from the frontiers of the territories of his Prussian majesty, to preserve the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and to restore the entire freedom of commerce between this part of the empire and France, as it has been before the war, the French republic consents not to extend her warlike operations either to those countries and states which are situate beyond the following line of demarcation, nor to let her troops, naval or military, enter them. This line will comprise East Friesland, and go down along the Ems and the Aa, or Alpha, as far as Munster, then take its direction to Coesfeld, Borcken, Bockholt, as far as the frontier of the duchy of Cleves, near Isleburg; follow this frontier at Magenporst on the New Yssel; ascend the Rhine as far as Duisburg, from thence along the frontier of the county of Mark to Vreden, Germark and along the Wipper, to Hombourg, Altenberg upon Lahn, Limburg upon Lahn, along this latter river and that which comes from Idstein; then extend from this place, Ephem and Hochet on the Mayn, then follow the brook which flows through this place to the frontiers of the Palatinate, including the space between Raunheim and Dornheim; to continue along the frontier of Darmstadt and the circle of Franconia, which the line shall entirely include, to Ebersbach on the Neckar; then

the course of this river to the free imperial city of Wimpfen, and from thence to Loewenstein, Murrhard, Honenstadt, the free imperial city of Nordlingen and Holtzkirn on the Wetniz, also the county of Pappenheim, and the whole circle of Franconia and Upper Saxony, along Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and Bohemia, to the frontiers of Silesia.

The French republic will consider as neutral states and countries all those which are situate behind this line, on condition that they observe on their part a strict neutrality, the first point of which would be to call back their contingents with the army of the empire, and to enter into no fresh engagements which would authorize them to furnish troops to the powers at war with France. Those who shall not fulfil these conditions, to which the king will endeavour to persuade them, shall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality. His Prussian majesty takes upon him, as far as the above line of demarcation is on the right bank of the Rhine, to guarantee, that no troops hostile to France shall pass the said line, or come from the countries included in it, to combat the French armies. For this purpose both contracting parties, after having concerted with each other, will keep sufficient corps of observation on the principal points, to make this neutrality respected: The passage of troops, whether they belong to the French republic, to the empire, or to Austria, shall however remain free on those routes which lead on the right bank of the Mayn, through Frankfort to Koenigstein and Limburgh toward Cologne; to Haderstein, Wisbaden and Nassau, toward Coblentz; lastly, to Haderstein against Mentz, and

and *vice versa*; as likewise all those countries which are on the left bank of this river, and in the whole circle of Franconia, yet without the least prejudice to the neutrality of all the states and countries included in the line of demarcation.

Article 2. As the county of Sayn Alterkirchen, on the forest of Westerwald, beside the little district of Bendorff, below Coblenz, are in possession of his Prussian majesty, it shall likewise enjoy the same security and advantages as his majesty's other dominions situate on the bank of the Rhine.

Declaration of his Majesty the King of Prussia to his Most Serene and Illustrious Co-states of the Empire, relative to the Treaty of Peace concluded with the French Republic on the 5th of April 1795.

His majesty the king of Prussia, &c. now sees himself in the happy situation to announce to his most serene and illustrious co-states of the empire an event, the happy consequences of which concern also very intimately the whole Germanic country. The eventful war, which spread long enough for suffering humanity death and devastation to so wide an extent, has now found its termination on his part.

A happy conclusion of peace has been signed between his majesty and the French republic on April 5, 1795, at Basle, and afterward mutually ratified: it affords again tranquillity and undisturbed welfare to the Prussian territories, opens at the same time to all the states of the empire a beaten road to attain in a like manner the blessings of peace, and gives already at this moment protection and security to a great part of Germany

against the horrors and ravages of war. With just confidence in the assent and approbation of the whole Germanic empire, the king does therefore not delay to manifest with candour his motives, his sentiments, and wishes, with regard to this treaty.

His majesty is fully convinced, that if his motives have been principally dictated by the concurrence of imperious circumstances, his sentiments have always been pure, as well in this point as in the whole course of the great concern which occupies Europe. He can with satisfaction leave it to his observing contemporaries, and to judging posterity, to shew, that during the whole course of this war, his interest has not been indirect or selfish; that, without any regard to his own advantage and benefit, he could share in the deliverance and defence of distressed Germany, only from a pure zeal for the public weal, and from refined patriotism.

To this generous and common end, the king indeed has not only fulfilled in the completest manner his engagements as a confederate and state of the empire, but much beyond this mark. He made, with unprecedented exertion, all the sacrifices which the resources of the Prussian dominions would allow: he has fought, during three bloody campaigns, with a chosen and great army, an enemy so formidable by his power and the fortune of war, in some measure at a great distance from the Prussian territories, on a foreign and mostly exhausted soil, amid the most exorbitant dearth of all necessaries, amid the most cumbersome obstacles of all kinds, and an immense efflux of money from his territories; in order to check the torrent of the enterprises of this enemy from the Germanic empire, he has done all that

that depended on him, exhausted all, and exerted his whole power to gain the hard-earned merit of having been, in the most perilous crisis, the protector and deliverer of Germany. The future German generations will own with gratitude, that they chiefly were the Prussian armies which saved with expedition and energy the empire from that first irruption with which general Custine surprised it terribly, and in its very heart, while it was still unprepared, and had not yet declared war: that they were Prussians who drove the enemy from the anterior territories of the empire, after they had penetrated into them with superior numbers; that they were chiefly Prussians who recaptured Mentz and Frankfort, and re-united and shielded Germany, already torn; that those armies covered, during the three campaigns, like an unhaken bulwark, the greatest part of the river Rhine, while, on the right and left, disaster upon disaster fell upon the arms of the allies; that after, by the continuance of the misfortune of the allies, the United Netherlands were also lost, and the defenceless northern part of the empire stood open to the enemy, they hastened where the danger threatened most imminently, saved and protected, beside the king's Westphalian provinces, the whole circle of that name, and all the countries behind it.

And in this service of the common country, so much Prussian blood was shed, and such enormous sums of money expended from the Prussian states, at a time while the king was partly involved in another war, and obliged to defend with the rest of his military force the distant provinces of his monarchy

against the insurrection and incursions of the neighbouring Poles.

But it was plain to every observer of the political forces and relations of a state, that that war, carried on on both sides with such high spirited powers; that so depopulating, so destructive, so extremely expensive, and in every respect so melancholy a war, especially on account of its distance from the Prussian territories, must in process of time uncommonly affect their forces, and ultimately render impossible the continuance of a foreign conflict of this kind.

His majesty has without reserve, and several times, signified this to his high confederates and co-states of the empire. This happened particularly in the beginning of last year, when he was obliged to inform the Germanic empire, that it was become impossible for him to bear any further the burden of a war, till then solely carried on from his own resources, without support and facility; and that the empire, unless the greatest part of his troops should retreat from the field, and abandon it to its own defence and fate, ought to take charge of the maintenance of those troops. The propositions made for this purpose met almost every where in the empire with indifference, apathy, and disapprobation; a reception which, in truth, corresponded but little with the well-meaning views of the king, with his protection, so essential to the empire, and which necessarily induced the king to resolve, even then, to act according to his declaration.

At that same period, offers of subsidy were made to the king on the part of the court of Great Britain, which tended to remove the cause

cause of that resolution, and to give to him the means of continuing the war. His participation in it till now has but too much been the disinterested result of a faithful solicitude for all his connexions and engagements, and of an honest zeal to counteract, as much as possible, the wide-spreading ravages of the faction which then reigned in France, and of her horrors, which had risen to the highest degree: too much the pure work of genial patriotic devotion to the common Germanic country, and of a profound and anxious desire to prop up with all his might its impaired constitution, and its transient prosperity; his majesty listened to the proposals of Great Britain, and the distressed empire continued to enjoy the protection of the Prussian arms.

Had the king chosen at that period, by virtue of his previous declarations, to abandon the empire to itself, and to its feeble means of defence, its melancholy fate would perhaps ere now be decided. At that epoch, when there was not the least streak of the dawn of peace to be seen, when nothing but misfortune rushed like storms every where upon the German frontiers and its anterior districts, and an anxious perplexity foreboded, that after the sad catastrophe of all the countries of the empire on the other side of the Rhine, the fate of the imperial royal Netherlands, which were defended with the utmost vigour, and nevertheless conquered, and the fate of the United Provinces, which were then more and more threatened with danger, would also be the fate of the more defenceless and major part of Germany.

The king, however, remained the defender of the Germanic em-

pire in its most critical minute; his army marched soon to the most threatened part, the north of Germany, and saved it likewise from the enemy, who was advancing with superiority, and accustomed to victory.

But this lasting sacrifice, the march of a numerous army to Westphalia, and the very difficult and expensive mode of supporting it, in a country partly so sterile in corn, partly so exhausted, became the last possible effort of the resources of Prussia in this war. After a constant and almost infinite efflux of money from the Prussian dominions during three years; after three years unremitting war; after the incessant fatigues and decrease of troops; after the Prussian provinces on the other side of the Rhine had fallen into the hands of the enemy; after the trying influence of these circumstances upon the population, the subsistence and prosperity of the remaining provinces; the continuation of the war, at his majesty's sole expence, became an absolute impossibility.

And from what other quarter could his majesty find resources and ease, if even the empire objected to the maintenance of the Prussian troops who fought for its defence? Even while those troops were in danger, in exhausted Westphalia, of having to combat the most terrible foe—want; while all the neighbouring and backward countries longed at the same time for their protection and guard; all those states would by no means consent unanimously to grant a free exportation for the army, still less to establish magazines for it at their own expence. Even the extraordinary and enormous expences which the king incurred by the recapture of Mentz,

Mentz *, and other similar exploits, where the Prussian army alone performed with vigour and effect what it belonged to the army of the empire alone to have performed, are not yet refunded to him, though the chest of war of the empire exists entirely for paying such expences; though such considerable supplies in Roman months have been repeatedly voted by the states of the empire; though his majesty has already so often and urgently made his incontestable demands, and is willing to discount from them the Roman months or supplies, to be paid by his territories to the empire.

And upon what co-operation in the war on the part of others can his majesty depend in future, especially since, by the defection of the United Netherlands, the mass of the forces which have to combat the enemy of the empire, has been so considerably lessened; and just the weakest part of Germany has been opened to that enemy, to force his way into the heart of it? Every where, alas! are the melancholy omens of a lasting disgrace to the allied arms, which cannot even excite any fair hopes for the future. Every where, and from all sides, appears the deepest exhaustion, the natural result of such uncommon efforts. His imperial majesty himself, upon whom rests the principal conduct of the war, owing to a manifold, urgent, and immediate interest, already, about the middle of last year, concealed it no farther from the Germanic empire that, without a speedy and sufficient supply in men and money, he would not be able to save it. And what

remained then to be expected of the empire itself, which was afterward, while the danger increased, more and more left to itself, and to the weakness of its diminishing means of defence, that it resolved to raise the latter to the quintuple contingent of the armament of the empire, but of which no farther effect could be hoped, than there had been hitherto of the triple contingent, since so many countries of the empire, by the force of the French arms, were deprived of all kind of co-operation, while most of the states of the empire were exhausted, partly by the disasters and expences of the war, partly too weak themselves, and not prepared; and since experience has but too much taught us, not only in the present, but in every former war of the Germanic empire, that the military constitution of Germany bears too many blemishes of a whole composed of so many parts, and is not every where sufficiently efficacious without the assistance of other powers.

All considerations on these, and many other relations, became certainly the more urgent and inviting; as, at the termination of the last unsuccessful campaign, the crisis threatened on one side to reach the most dangerous point; but, on the other, there began to rise in France, from the ruins of the precipitated system of terror, a more solid government of moderation and temperance; and the wise sentiments of its being in want of peace. At this period there could be but one wish, but one longing desire in Germany.

If, after three bloody campaigns, fertile in death and devastation, the

* According to the most moderate official accounts delivered to the diet, the expences of the re-capture of Mentz amount to 2,083,961 six dollars, 11 groats and 4 pennings.

resources of the war were entirely drained, and all hopes of its further continuance vanished; if it became powerfully manifest, that the Almighty hand of Providence had given to the torrent of the hostile exploits at once so decisive a turn, that all further attempts to resist it would prove fruitless; if the enemy himself is not disinclined to embrace the offer of peace, and all hopes appear of obtaining it sooner than by an obstinate continuance of the war, did there still remain any choice? Could a wise and humane prince then wish to see the horrors of the war spread still farther, without measure, and to no purpose? Were not the provinces already overwhelmed with misery, sufficiently ravaged? Was not suffering humanity bent sufficiently low?

His majesty opened therefore his whole heart to the just wish of soon restoring tranquillity and peace to the Prussian dominions, and, if possible, to the whole Germanic empire. The latter likewise felt and manifested almost universally the same wish, and began already a formal deliberation upon the means of gaining such an important end. At the same time whole circles of the empire, and several of the first Germanic princes applied to his majesty with the request, to help, in concert with his imperial majesty, to procure to the empire an armistice, and afterward a peace. By the patriotic zeal of several states solicitous of their own welfare and that of the empire, the well-known advice of the empire soon followed, in which it declared with dignity and consistency its wish of peace, and desired of the supreme chief of the empire, an introduction to an attempt of obtain-

ing peace, and a concert with the king for his majesty's co-operation.

However, this introduction of his imperial majesty being the main point to which the good offices of the king's majesty could only approach as secondary, followed as little as a proper concert with his majesty. On the other hand, all the proceedings have been entered upon, to make all the illustrious states furnish their contingents for the campaign of the present year to the army of the empire, however weak and hopeless it may further prove; and there appeared constantly the sad prospect, as if the empire, notwithstanding its pacific inclination so solemnly manifested, should remain farther involved in this unfortunate war.

But the king's majesty, who has already, in a combat of three years, made the utmost efforts for the empire, and the most enormous sacrifices, cannot add to these impossibilities. His majesty cannot wholly sacrifice himself, and leave his dominions entirely a prey to destruction, for the sake of participating only in a further experiment of the war, the result of which, were it even as favourable as possible, would still be inferior to a present negotiation of peace. All considerations of domestic and foreign relations, as likewise the sacred duties which his majesty owes to the prosperity of his provinces, to his subjects longing for peace and tranquillity, and to the happiness of his own royal bosom, summon him most urgently to renounce forthwith a war, whose further issue must only prove ruin past redemption.

The king could not therefore forego the opportunity of opening and carrying on negotiations of peace

peace between his own and a French plenipotentiary in the city of Basle; his majesty's beneficent views have been blest with a happy issue; and his majesty may now enjoy the patriotic and paternal satisfaction of having restored, by the treaty of peace with the French republic, tranquillity, and new and undisturbed prosperity to his dominions.

But his majesty has consulted in this weighty transaction, with the purest patriotic care, as much as possible, the common weal of the Germanic empire. His majesty has by no means been able to procure and negotiate for it immediately a formal and effective peace; because his majesty wanted in this point the main preliminary introduction, and the concert, not having ensued on the supreme head of the empire, a direct and definitive authorization on the part of the empire, a legitimation sufficient in the eyes of the French government, and a more exact knowledge of the special conditions of peace, desired and rendered applicable on every part. Meanwhile his majesty, duly considering the melancholy situation of the Germanic empire, after the repeated requests addressed to him by several illustrious states, has done every thing which could depend on him, to pave as much as possible the way by which the whole empire and all the separate states might obtain soon the accomplishment of so just a desire.

For this purpose, a favourable stipulation is expressly contained in his majesty's treaty with the French republic, for all those states of the empire which shall, within the space of three months, make proposals of peace to the republic, and in whose behalf his majesty shall exert

himself. At the same time, and by virtue of a separate agreement, a certain line of neutrality has already been fixed for all northern Germany, which shall put a stop to the warlike operations on all sides, and afford perfect safety and tranquillity to all the countries situate behind it, whether they belong to Prussia, or to the empire, on condition of their abstaining, directly and indirectly, from all acts of hostility. At the same time, the liberation of all the prisoners of war taken by the French, being troops of the empire, which were stationed in the field with his majesty's army, was likewise stipulated.

These are the advantages which his majesty can offer at present to his illustrious co-states of the empire. His majesty flatters himself, that it will not fail to make a due impression upon them all, especially the general utility of the former point. By it is held forth to them all, the hand of peace and reconciliation; and will they disdain it untied?

His majesty likewise declares, in a solemn manner, that he will take upon him with sincere and cordial readiness, the patriotic task, to grant in the most effective manner his support to all those who shall immediately address to France their wishes of peace, and to confirm in all points the French republic in the best manner, in her favourable, pacific disposition.

His majesty will deem himself very fortunate, his most fervent wishes will be fulfilled, and his manifold sacrifices, made hitherto for the common weal, will obtain the fairest reward, if these efforts and this occurrence do not fail to spread speedily again the blessings of peace; if the horrors and ra-

vages of so calamitous a war; be soon entirely removed from the whole Germanic territory, and if peace and tranquillity be again given to the good Germanic citizen for the happy exercise of his peaceful duties; if even the remaining nations of Europe should soon let such bloody divisions be succeeded by reconciliation, in order to be again able to obtain the sole and grand end of all governments in the tranquillity and prosperity of their citizens.

But what course soever these momentous affairs may take, and should adverse fate have doomed the empire to a further prosecution of the war, his majesty can only make this express and peremptory declaration, that he sees himself obliged by his treaty, to renounce completely all further participation in the war, and all co-operation by furnishing contingents, or furnishing the usual supplies of the Roman months, and to keep up the strictest and most punctual neutrality. His majesty, it is but too true, has performed in the fullest measure his duties, as a state of the empire (which he will always acknowledge and never retract from) by the enormous sacrifices in the last three campaigns; and his majesty has unequally exerted himself to a higher pitch than should have been required of him for many years to come, than all the illustrious states have indeed hitherto done: his majesty is, therefore, in this respect, in pure conviction, superior to every apprehension of reproach.

His majesty carries with him, upon the whole, the consolatory and remunerating conviction of having really contributed, to a degree of physical impossibility, to the Germanic empire, and to the preserva-

tion and security of its constitution and tranquillity, all he could indeed contribute, as well by a most vigorous prosecution of the war during three years, as likewise by having paved the road to peace with patriotic solicitude. To gain by this road, the end of the present struggle, tranquillity and safety; to profit for this purpose by the favourable prospects already open, by the proffered support of the king, and the moderate and equitable sentiments and principles of the French republic—all this his majesty must leave with confidence to the enlightened approbation of his most serene and illustrious co-states of the empire themselves.

(Signed) FREDERIC WILLIAM.
Berlin, May 1, 1795.

Rescript of the Emperor, presented by the Imperial Minister to the States of the Germanic Empire, in Diet assembled, at Ratibon, on the 4th of May.

The ministers of his imperial majesty are charged to declare, in the name of his majesty the emperor and king, to the envoys representing the several princes and states of the holy Roman empire, that his majesty is ready to enter into negotiations with the French republic. His majesty, without being too mindful of his own interest, will consult thereby the real welfare of the empire, and make it his sole care to procure to the empire an acceptable, solid, and permanent peace. But his imperial majesty has also, at the same time, the just confidence in all his co-states of the empire, that they will co-operate, with all their power, to accomplish this desirable end, and not enter into separate negotiations with the French

French Republic. His imperial majesty expects, however, the speediest declarations on this subject, and the imperial commissioner will soon present a declaration from the emperor and king, explanatory of the sentiments of his imperial majesty. In other respects his imperial majesty cannot conceal, that the separate treaty of peace concluded on the part of his Prussian majesty, even in his quality of a prince and co-state of the empire, has been most unexpected by him.

Edict, published at Hanover, Sept. 29.

George the Third, king of Great Britain and Ireland, elector of Hanover, &c. &c.

Whereas the depots of the French emigrants and other free corps which have served with our army were only for a certain time; and until they could be removed to other parts of our German dominions; their longer stay producing disorders and becoming oppressive and burthenfome to our subjects; and moreover having already caused it to be declared, that we acquiesce in the treaty of peace concluded on the 5th of April between his Prussian majesty and France, and especially in the additional convention of the said treaty; we do hereby enact and will, that all and every emigrant, as well as other foreign corps, shall be immediately embarked and removed from our German dominions, and no such corps, under any form whatever, shall any longer be suffered there. We notify this our pleasure to all our subjects, and enjoin all our civil officers, magistrates, &c. &c. in all our German dominions, not to allow any such corps or troops,

after the embarkation, which is immediately to be effected, to remain in the country, and still less to permit any depot, detachment, or division of the corps embarked to be left behind, nor to suffer any transports of recruits for the same to enter and pass our said German dominions; but on the contrary, immediately to stop, order back, take up, and remove from our dominions, or deliver them to the next garrison, for their removal beyond the frontiers; and in case of need to request the assistance of the military for that purpose; to which all our civil officers have most carefully to attend, as all those who shall be guilty of any neglect shall be called to a severe account for the same.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of Spain, July 23.

The French republic, and his majesty the king of Spain, equally animated with a desire to put a stop to the calamities of the war which now disunites them; strongly convinced that there exists between the two nations respective interests, which demand a reciprocal return of friendship and good understanding, and wishing, by a solid and durable peace, to re-establish that desirable harmony which had for a long time been the constant basis of the relations subsisting between the two countries, they have charged with this negotiation, viz. The French republic, citizen François Barthelemy, their ambassador in Switzerland; and his catholic majesty, his minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the king and republic of Poland, don Domingo D'Yriarte, who, af-

ter having exchanged their powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

Art. 1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French republic and the kingdom of Spain.

2. In consequence, all the hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty ; and none of them shall, from that period, furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title, any aid, or contingent either in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, ships, or other articles.

3. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through their territories to any troops at war with the other.

4. The French republic restores to the king of Spain all the conquests which she has made from him in the course of the present war : the conquered places and territories shall be evacuated by the French troops within fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

5. The fortified places, of which mention is made in the preceding article, shall be restored to Spain, with the cannons, warlike stores, and other articles belonging to those places, which shall have been in them at the moment of the signing of this treaty.

6. All sorts of military contributions, requisitions, and payments shall entirely cease from the date of fifteen days after the signing of the present pacification : all the arrears due at that period, even bills and promissory notes, given for these objects, shall be of no effect : what shall have been taken or received after the above named period, shall be gratuitously

restored, or paid to the amount of its value.

7. There shall immediately be named by both sides commissioners, for the purpose of adjusting a treaty of limits between the two powers : they shall as much as possible take as the basis of this treaty, with respect to the territories which were disputed before the present war, the tops of the mountains, which are the sources of the rivers of France and Spain.

8. Neither of the contracting powers can, at the expiration of a month after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, maintain on their respective frontiers more than the number of troops they had usually been accustomed to have stationed there previously to the present war.

9. In exchange for the places restored by the fourth article, the king of Spain, for himself and his successors, gives up and abandons to the French republic all right of property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles ; a month after the ratification of the present treaty shall be known in that island, the Spanish troops shall be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they at present occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French republic, as soon as they shall arrive to take possession of them ; the places, ports, and establishments, of which mention is made above, shall be delivered up to the French republic, with the cannons, warlike stores, and articles necessary for their defence, which shall be in them at the moment when the present treaty shall be known at St. Domingo. The inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, who, from inducements of interest or other motives,

shall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his catholic majesty, shall be able to do so within the space of a year, from the date of the treaty: the respective generals and commanders of the two nations to concert the measures necessary to be taken for the execution of the present article.

10. There shall be respectively granted to the individuals of the two nations, restitution of the effects, revenues, and property of all sorts, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war which has subsisted between the French republic and his catholic majesty; and likewise the most speedy justice with respect to the particular claims which these individuals may have in the states of the two contracting powers.

11. In the mean time, till there shall be a new treaty of commerce between the contracting parties, all correspondencies and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain, on the footing on which they stood before the present war.

All French merchants shall be allowed to pass into Spain, there to resume their commercial establishments. They shall make new ones according to their convenience, submitting, in common with all other individuals, to the laws and usages of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privileges, subject to the same conditions, in France.

12. All the prisoners respectively made since the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number and rank, comprehending the seamen and marines captured on board French or Spanish vessels, or those of other nations, as well as in general all those imprisoned on either side on ac-

count of the war, shall be delivered up within the space of two months at latest, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any appeal on either part, discharging, however, the private debts which the prisoners may have contracted during their captivity. The same mode shall be adopted with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery or cure.

Commissioners on either side shall be immediately appointed to proceed to the execution of the present article.

13. The Portuguese prisoners, making a part of the troops of Portugal, who have served with the armies and on board the ships of his catholic majesty, shall be in like manner comprehended in the above mentioned exchange. It shall be the same with respect to the French troops taken by the Portuguese troops in question.

14. The same peace, amity, and good understanding stipulated by the present treaty between France and the king of Spain, shall take place between the king of Spain and the republic of the United Provinces, allies of the French republic.

15. The French republic, wishing to give a testimony of amity to his catholic majesty, accepts his mediation in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, the king of Naples, the king of Sardinia, the Infant duke of Parma, and the states of Italy, for the re-establishment of peace between the French republic and each of these princes and states.

16. The French republic, sensible of the interest which his catholic majesty takes in the general pacification of Europe, consents likewise to accept of his good offices in

favour of other belligerent powers, who shall apply to him, in order to enter into negotiation with the French government.

17. The present treaty shall not have effect till after having been ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of a month, or sooner, from the date of this day.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his majesty the king of Spain, in virtue of our full powers, have signed this present treaty of peace and amity, and have put to it our respective seals.

Done at Basle, the 4th of the month of Thermidor, the third year of the French republic (July 22, 1795).

(Signed) FRANÇOIS BARTHELEMY.
DOMINGO D'YRIARTE.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Aug. 28.

The French republic having accepted of the good offices of the king of Prussia in favour of his most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and being animated with the same sentiments as the landgrave, to make a solid and permanent peace succeed to a war which had disunited them; in consequence of which, the contracting powers have appointed as follows:

The French republic on her part, citizen François Barthelemy, her ambassador in Switzerland, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, his privy counsellor Frederick Sigismund, baron of Waitz d'Eschen.

Which ministers, after having engaged their respective powers,

agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French republic and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

2. In consequence of which, all hostilities between the two parties shall cease from the date of the ratifications of the present treaty, and neither of the two powers shall, after that period, furnish against each other, under whatever quality or condition it may be, succours or contingents, either in men, horses, provisions, money, ammunition, or other things.

3. As long as the war shall be continued between the French republic and England, the landgrave shall neither prolong nor renew the two subsidiary treaties existing between him and England.

This disposition will begin to have its effect from the date of the present treaty.

4. With respect to the passing of any troops whatever through his states, the landgrave shall strictly conform himself to the dispositions stipulated in the convention, concluded at Basle, on the 17th of May, 1795, between the French republic and the king of Prussia.

5. The French republic will continue to occupy the fortress of Rheinfelds; the town of St. Goar, and the part of the county of Katzenellenbogen, situate on the left bank of the Rhine. The definitive arrangements with respect to those countries remain suspended, until a general pacification between the French republic and the parts of Germany which are yet at war with the republic.

6. All commercial communications and relations shall be re-established between France and the states of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they

they were previously to the present war.

7. Both the respective governments, and the individuals of the two nations, shall grant to each other a restoration of all goods or property of any kind whatever, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war which has taken place between France and Hesse Cassel, as also speedy justice, with respect to debts existing in the states of the respective contracting parties.

8. All the prisoners made respectively since the beginning of the war, without consideration of the number or rank, shall be delivered up to each other within two months, at the latest, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any reclamation of expences, paying, however, any debts of the privates, which might have been contracted during their captivity. The same shall be observed with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery.

Commissioners shall be appointed on both sides to proceed to the execution of this article; the dispositions of which shall be applied to the Hessian troops in the service of England, and who have been made prisoners of war.

9. The present treaty to have no effect until it is ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged in this town of Basle, within a month from this day, or sooner if possible.

We, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed this present treaty of peace, and have sealed it with our respective seals.

Done at Basle, the eleventh of the month Fructidor, of the third republican year, and the 28th of August, 1795.

(Signed) FRANÇOIS BARTHELEMY.

FREDERICK-SIGISMUND,
Baron of Waitz d'Eschen.

Treaty of Alliance, Offensive and Defensive, concluded between the Republic of France and the Republic of the United Provinces.

Art. 1. The republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the independence of the republic of the United Provinces, as also the abolition of the stadtholdership.

2. There shall be a lasting peace, amity, and good understanding between the two republics.

3. There shall also be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all the enemies of the respective republics during the present war.

4. There shall also be a lasting alliance, offensive and defensive, against Great Britain.

5. No treaty shall be entered into with Great Britain, without the consent of the two republics.

6. The French republic shall make no peace with any power whatever, without comprising in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, for the North Sea and the Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign half the number of the troops which the republic shall have on foot.

9. All the forces employed in
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actual service shall be under the command of the French generals. The arrangements for the campaign shall be made in concert; the states-general may send a deputy, who shall sit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public welfare at Paris.

10. All arsenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces shall be restored.

11. From the ratification of the present treaty, restitution shall be made of all the countries and places belonging to the United Provinces, with the exceptions contained in the following article.

12. Dutch Flanders and the right side of the Hondt, Maastricht, Venlo, and their dependencies, shall be reserved by the French republic, as indemnities.

13. A French garrison shall be admitted in peace and war into the town of Flushing, until other arrangements shall have been decided.

14. The port of Flushing shall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the separate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In case of hostilities on the side of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garrisons shall be admitted into Breda, Bols-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, cession shall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the cession contained in the 12th article, and in a position most convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, such a number of troops shall be stationed in the necessary places as shall be deemed adequate for the defence of them,

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt shall be open to the two republics; French and Dutch vessels shall be indiscriminately admitted under the same conditions.

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces, all the unmoveable effects belonging to the house of Orange, and all the moveable property not already disposed of.

20. As an indemnification for the expences of the war, the republic of the United Provinces shall pay to the republic of France one hundred millions of livres, either in specie, or in bills upon foreign powers, as shall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic shall use their good offices with foreign powers in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the sums due to them before the war.

22. No asylum shall be given, by the republic of the United Provinces, to the French emigrants; and no asylum shall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The present treaty shall be ratified within two decades, or sooner if possible.

SEPARATE ARTICLES relative to the Port of Flushing.

Art. 1. The two nations shall indiscriminately make use of the ports and docks.

2. Each nation shall have timber-yards, &c.

3. From the ratification of the present treaty, the republic of the United Provinces shall relinquish the building for the West India company, and the ground adjacent to it, and also one of the docks.

4. All new acquisitions for the construction of fresh arsenals, and all acquisitions of ground, shall be made at the expence of the French republic.

5. The expences of the repairs of the basin, and the quay, shall be defrayed by the two republics, but the direction of the remainder shall belong to the republic of the United Provinces. The French republic, however, shall be informed of every operation, and the *procès verbaux* shall be sent to the French government, who will defray half the expence.

6. No admiral's ship, nor guard-ship belonging to either of the two republics, shall be in the port of Flushing.

7. If any dispute should arise relative to the foregoing regulations, which shall not be amicably adjusted, they shall be decided by five arbitrators; two of whom shall be French, and two Dutch; and for the fifth, each republic shall choose one, and it shall be decided by lot.

8. These regulations shall be carried into execution, as part of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the republic of France and the republic of the United Provinces.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, at noon, 1795.

Procès Verbal of the Opening of the Body of the Son of the deceased Louis Capet.

The Tower of the Temple, this 21st Prairial (9th June,) in the third year of the French republic, one and indivisible. Half past eleven o'clock in the morning.

We the undersigned, Jean Baptiste-Eugene Dumangin, physician

in chief of the hospital of Unity, and Philippe Jean Pelletan, surgeon in chief of the great hospital of humanity, accompanied by the citizens, Nicolas Jeanroy, formerly professor in the schools of physic of Paris, and Pierre Lassus, professor of physic in the school of health at Paris, declare, that we assembled in consequence of an arret of the committee of general safety of the national convention, dated yesterday, and signed Bergoing, president, Coutois, Gautier, Pierre Guyomar, directing us to assist together in the opening of the body of the son of the deceased Louis Capet, and to declare the condition in which we have found it, have acted as follows;

We arrived at eleven in the morning at the outward gate of the Temple, and were received by commissaries, who introduced us into the tower; we were conveyed to the second story, and were shewn into an apartment where we found lying on a bed the dead body of an infant, who appeared to us to have been about ten years of age, which body the commissaries declared to be the body of the son of the deceased Capet, and which two of us knew to be that of the infant who had been ill for several days.

The said commissaries declared to us, that the infant died on the preceding evening at three o'clock, upon which we proceeded to verify the signs of death, which we found characterized by an universal paleness, a coldness of the whole body, a stiffness of the members, a dulness of the eyes, violet coloured spots on the skin of the body, and particularly by a putrefaction, which had begun at the belly, the scrotum, and within-side the thighs.

We remarked, before we proceeded

ceeded to the opening of the body, a general leanness, which proceeds from a marasmus; the belly was swelled; in the inside of the right knee we remarked a swelling, which had not changed the colour of the skin, and another swelling not so large, on the *os radius*, near the right wrist. The swelling of the knee contained about two ounces of a greyish coloured matter, pure and clean, situated between the *periosteum* and the muscles; the swelling of the wrist contained matter of the same kind, but thinner.

On opening the body, a pint of purulent serum flowed out, yellow and extremely fetid; the intestines were pale, and adhered together, as well as to the partitions of that cavity; they were sprinkled with a great quantity of pimples of different sizes, each of which contained the same matter that was found in the swellings of the knees and feet.—The intestines, which we opened, were internally very sound, and contained a very small quantity of bilious matter. The stomach was in the same state; it adhered to all the surrounding parts, was pale on the outside, and sprinkled with lymphatic pimples similar to those on the surface of the intestines.—The internal membrane was found, as well as the pylorous or lower orifice of the stomach, and the *œsophagus*, or wind-pipe; the liver adhered by its convexity to the diaphragma, and by its concavity to the viscera which it covered.

Its substance was found; its size not larger than common. The gall-bladder was moderately filled with a bile of a greenish colour. The spleen, the pancreas, the reins, and the bladder were found. The *epiploon* and the mesentery, not

fat, were covered with lymphatic pimples, like those of which we have already spoken. Similar tumours were dispersed over the *peritonæum*, and the interior of the *diaphragma*: this muscle was found.

The lungs adhered to the pleura, to the diaphragma, and to the pericardium, found in substance, and without any pimples: there were a few only near the trachean artery and the *œsophagus*; the pericardium contained the usual quantity of serum; the heart was pale, but in its natural state. The brain, and its dependent parts, were in a perfectly good condition.

All the disorders, of which we have given a detail, are evidently the effect of a scrophulous habit, of a long standing, to which we decidedly attribute the death of the infant.

The present *procès verbal* has been drawn up at Paris by the undersigned, at half past four o'clock, on the day above mentioned.

Signed by us, P. J. PELLETAN,
P. LASSUS,
N. JEANROY,
J. B. E. DUMANJIN.

Speech of George Washington, President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, Nov. 19, 1794.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives.

When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven, by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power,

power, and happiness to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the states, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known that congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented; and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved—the arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals. The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a mere formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the

tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued, was unavailing; and that farther delay could only create an opinion of impotency, or irresolution, in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshal against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other processes on the west side of the Alleghany Mountain; and a deputation was afterward sent to him, to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed by fire his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government, it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector; to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me, "That in the

counties of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania, the laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one-hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and over-awed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen; to publish the dishonour of such excesses; to encounter the expence, and other embarrassments, of so distant an expedition—were steps too delicate—too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last, was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the insurrec-

tion. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion: to represent, however, that, without submission, coercion must be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanour of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of executive power. Pardon too was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania; upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by showing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe to the mild form which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive, to warrant the farther suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march; after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 20th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy, and the care of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish an estimate.—My great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accu-

accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion 15,000 men, as being an army which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; the governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion, an opinion which justified a requisition to the other states.

As commander in chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion, that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive; and I trust ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent; I should have caught with avidity that opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done: it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the

continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the governors of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable that, in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force, for a certain period, in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the inspector of the revenue, but other officers in the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property.—The obligations and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included,

included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is a cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican governments, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks, as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the states to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description indeed of citizens let praise be given. But let them persevere in their affec-

tionate vigilance over that precious repository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who from every clime are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection; let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance, or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took when I entered into office, "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States;" on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you were deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements, to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Beside the extraordinary expence and waste, which are not the least of defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt on its success.

The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia, would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope, that the present session will not pass, without carrying to its full energy the power of organizing,
arming,

arming, and disciplining the militia: and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

As auxiliary to the state for our defence, to which congress cannot too frequently recur, they will not omit to enquire, whether the fortifications, which have been already licensed by law, be commensurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of general Wayne, is a happy preface to our military operations against the hostile Indians north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made must have damped the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States. And yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Toward none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks in particular are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the general government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the six nations, a settlement, meditated at Presqu'isle on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconception into which they have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading

houses, upon the principles then expressed.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

The time which has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources so as to open the way for a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt. It is believed, that the result is such, as to encourage congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing could be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit, cannot be benefited by procrastination, and, as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt which ultimately must endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to congress.

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

The mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals; and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to congress. However,
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it may not be unreasonable to announce, that my policy in our foreign transactions has been; to cultivate peace with all the world; to observe treaties with true and absolute faith; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality; to explain what may have been misapprehended; and correct what may be injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations to spread his holy protection over these United States, to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution, to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

G. WASHINGTON.

Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, by their President, with the Advice and Consent of their Senate, Nov. 19, 1794.

His Britannic majesty and the United States of America being desirous by a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to terminate their differences in such a manner, as, without reference to the merits of their respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding; and also to regulate the

commerce and navigation between their respective countries, territories, and people, in such a manner as to render the same reciprocal, beneficial, and satisfactory; they have respectively named their plenipotentiaries, and given them full powers to treat of, and conclude the said treaty; that is to say, his Britannic majesty has named for his plenipotentiary, the right hon. William Wyndham, baron Grenville of Wotton, one of his majesty's privy council, and his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, hath appointed for their plenipotentiary, the hon. John Jay, chief justice of the said United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his majesty, who have agreed on, and concluded the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship, between his Britannic majesty, his heirs and successors, and the United States of America; and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people of every degree, without exception of persons or places.

2. His majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June 1796, and all the proper measures shall in the interval be taken by concert between the government of the United States, and his majesty's governor-general in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United

United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unimolested, all their property of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses, or effects, or to retain the property thereof at their discretion: such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines, shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof, but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper, and they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons, who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year without having declared their intention of remaining subjects of his Britannic majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.

3. It is agreed, that it shall at all times be free to his majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians, dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and

commerce with each other. But it is understood, that this article does not extend to the admission of vessels of the United States into the sea-ports, harbours, bays, or creeks, of his majesty's said territories; nor into such parts of the rivers in his majesty's said territories as are between the mouth thereof and the highest port of entry from the seas, except in small vessels trading *bona fide* between Montréal and Québec, under such regulations as shall be established; to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect; nor to the admission of British vessels from the sea into the rivers of the United States beyond the highest ports of entry for foreign vessels from the sea. The river Mississippi shall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports or places on its eastern side, to whichsoever of the parties belonging may freely be resorted to, and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his majesty in Great Britain.

All goods and merchandize, whose importation into his majesty's said territories in America shall not be entirely prohibited, may freely, for the purpose of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by the citizens of the United States, and such goods and merchandize shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by his majesty's subjects on the importation of the same from Europe into the said territories. And, in like manner, all goods and merchandize, whose importation into the United States shall not be wholly prohibited, may freely, for the purpose

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pose of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by his majesty's subjects; and such goods and merchandize shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by the citizens of the United States on the importation of the same in American vessels into the Atlantic ports of the said States. And all goods, not prohibited to be exported from the said territories respectively, may, in like manner, be carried out of the same by the two parties respectively, paying duty as aforesaid.

No duty or entry shall ever be levied by either party on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the said territories respectively; nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects, of whatever nature, pay for the same any impost or duty whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages, unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

No higher or other tolls or rates of ferriage than what are or shall be payable by natives, shall be demanded on either side; and no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying-places on either side, for the purpose of being immediately re-imbarked and carried to some other place or places. But as, by this stipulation, it is only meant to secure to each party a free passage across the portages on both sides, it is agreed, that this exemption from duty shall extend only to such goods as are carried in the usual and direct roads across the portage, and are not attempted to be in any manner sold or exchanged, during their passage across the same; and proper regulations may be establish-

ed to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect.

As this article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantages of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a disposition favourable to friendship and good neighbourhood, it is agreed, that the respective governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourse, by causing speedy and impartial justice to be done, and necessary protection to be extended to all who may be concerned therein.

4. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the northward, as to be intersected by a line to be drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods, in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between his majesty and the United States, it is agreed, that measures shall be taken, in concert, by his majesty's government in America and the government of the United States, for making a joint survey of the said river, from one degree of latitude below the fall of St. Anthony, to the principal source or sources of the said river, and also of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if, on the result of such survey, it should appear that the said river would not be intersected by such a line as is above-mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjusted between the said parties, according to justice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of the said treaty.

5. Whereas doubts have arisen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the said treaty of peace, as forming a part of the boundary

boundary therein described, that question shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.

One commissioner shall be named by his majesty, and one by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof; and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third: or, if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person, and of the two names proposed, one shall be drawn by lot, in the presence of the two original commissioners. And the three commissioners so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the said question, according to such evidence as shall respectively be laid before them on the part of the British government and of the United States. The said commissioners shall meet at Halifax, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. They shall have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors, or other persons, as they shall judge necessary. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration under their hands and seals, decide what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty. The said declaration shall contain a description of the said river, and shall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth, and of its source. Duplicates of this declaration, and of the statements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agent of his majesty, and to the agent of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of the respective governments. And

both parties agree to consider such decision as final and conclusive, so as that the same shall never thereafter be called into question, or made the subject of dispute or difference between them.

6. Whereas it is alleged by divers British merchants and others his majesty's subjects, that debts to a considerable amount, which were, *bona fide*, contracted before the peace, still remain owing to them by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, and that, by the operation of various lawful impediments since the peace, not only the full recovery of the said debts has been delayed, but also the value and security thereof been, in several instances, impaired and lessened, so that, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the British creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compensation for the losses and damages which they have thereby sustained, it is agreed, that in all such cases, where full compensation for such losses and damages cannot, for whatever reason, be actually obtained, had, and received by the said creditors, in the ordinary course of justice, the United States will make full and complete compensation for the same to the said creditors: but it is distinctly understood, that this provision is to extend to such losses only as have been occasioned by the lawful impediments aforesaid, and is not to extend to losses occasioned by such insolvency of the debtors, or other causes, as would equally have operated to produce such loss, if the said impediments had not existed; nor to such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission of the claimant.

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For the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorised to meet and act, in manner following, viz. Two of them shall be appointed by his majesty, two of them by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four; and if they should not agree in such choice, then the commissioners named by the two parties, shall respectively propose one person; and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot, in the presence of the four original commissioners.

When the five commissioners thus appointed shall first meet, they shall, before they proceed to act, respectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the presence of each other; which oath or affirmation being so taken and duly attested, shall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz. "I A. B. one of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will honestly, diligently, impartially, and carefully examine, and to the best of my judgment, according to justice and equity, decide all such complaints, as under the said article shall be preferred to the said commissioners; and that I will forbear to act as a commissioner in any case in which I may be personally interested."

Three of the said commissioners shall constitute a board, and shall have power to do any act appertaining to the said commission,

provided that one of the commissioners named on each side, and the fifth commissioner shall be present: and all decisions shall be made by the majority of the voices of the commissioners then present. Eighteen months from the day on which the said commissioners shall form a board, and be ready to proceed to business, are assigned for receiving complaints and applications; but they are nevertheless authorised, in any particular cases in which it shall appear to them to be reasonable and just, to extend the said term of eighteen months, for any term not exceeding six months after the expiration thereof. The said commissioners shall first meet at Philadelphia, but they shall have power to adjourn from place to place, as they shall see cause.

The said commissioners, in examining the complaints and applications so preferred to them, are empowered, in pursuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into their consideration all claims, whether of principal and interest, or balances of principal and interest, and to determine the same respectively, according to the merits of the several cases; due regard being had to all the circumstances thereof, and as equity and justice shall seem to them to require. And the said commissioners shall have power to examine all such persons as shall come before them, on oath or affirmation, touching the premises; and also to receive in evidence, according as they may think most consistent with equity and justice, all written depositions, or books, or papers, or copies, or extracts thereof; every such deposition, book, or paper, or extract, being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms
now

now respectively existing in the two countries, or in such other manner as the said commissioners shall see cause to require or allow.

The award of the said commissioners, or of any three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and to the amount of the sum to be paid to the creditor and claimant: and the United States undertake to cause the sum so awarded to be paid in specie to such creditor or claimant, without deduction; and at such time or times, and at such place or places, as shall be awarded by the said commissioners; and on condition of such releases or assignment, to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the said commissioners may be directed: provided always, that no such payment shall be fixed by the said commissioners, to take place sooner than twelve months, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

7. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that, during the course of the war in which his majesty is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damage, by reason of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels or other property, under colour or authority of commissions from his majesty; and that, from various circumstances belonging to the said cases, adequate compensation for the losses and damages so sustained cannot now be actually obtained, had, and received, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; it is agreed, that in all such cases, where adequate compensation cannot, for whatever reason, be now actually obtained, had, and received, by said merchants

and others, in the ordinary course of justice, full and complete compensation for the same will be made by the British government to the said complainants. But it is distinctly understood, that this provision is not to extend to such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission, of the claimants.

That for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorised to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article, and after taking the same oath or affirmation (*mutatis mutandis*): the same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorised to extend the same in particular cases. They shall receive testimony, books, papers, and evidence in the same latitude, and exercise the like discretion and powers respecting that subject; and shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commissioners, or any such three of them as aforesaid, shall, in all cases, be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimant; and his Britannic majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimant in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times, as shall be awarded by the same commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

And whereas certain merchants
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and others, his majesty's subjects, complain, that in the course of the war they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of the vessels and merchandize taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the states, and brought into the ports of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the said states; it is agreed, that in all such cases where restitution shall not have been made, agreeable to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty, the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are, referred to the commissioners, to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants or claimants, in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said awards may be directed. And it is further agreed, that not only the now existing cases of both descriptions, but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered within the provisions, intent, and meaning of this article.

8. It is further agreed, that the commissioners mentioned in the two preceding articles, shall be respectively paid in such a manner as shall be agreed between the two parties; such agreement being to

be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expences attending the said commissions shall be defrayed jointly by the two parties, the same being previously ascertained and allowed by the majority of the commissioners. And in the case of death, sickness, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively, shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was appointed, and the new commissioners shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

9. It is agreed that British subjects, who now hold lands in the territories of the United States; and American citizens, who now hold lands in the dominions of his majesty; shall continue to hold them, according to the nature and tenure of their respective states and titles therein; and may grant, sell, or devise the same, to whom they please, in like manner as if they were natives; and that neither they, nor their heirs or assigns, shall, so far as may respect the said lands, and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens.

10. Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to individuals of the other, nor shares, nor monies which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, shall ever, in any event of war or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated, it being unjust and impolitic, that debts and engagements, contracted and made by individuals, having confidence in each other, and in their respective governments, should ever be destroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and discontents.

11. It is agreed between his majesty and the United States of America, that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between their respective people, in the manner, under the limitations and on the conditions specified in the following articles.

12. His majesty consents, that it shall and may be lawful, during the time herein after limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his majesty's islands and ports in the West Indies from the United States, in their own vessels, not being above the burden of 70 tons, any goods or merchandises, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said states, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the said islands or ports from the said states in British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher tonnage duties or charges than shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher duties or charges than shall be payable on the like articles, if imported there from the said states in British vessels.

And his majesty also consents that it shall be lawful for the said American citizens to purchase, load, and carry away in their said vessels, to the United States, from the said islands and ports, all such articles, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said islands, as may now by law be carried from thence to the said states in British vessels, and subject only to the same duties and charges on exportation to which British vessels and their cargoes are or shall be subject in similar circumstances.

Provided always that the said American vessels do carry and land their cargoes in the United States only, it being expressly agreed and declared, that, during the continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit and restrain the carrying any molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or cotton, in American vessels, either from his majesty's islands or from the United States, to any part of the world, except the United States, reasonable sea stores excepted.

Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during the same period, for British vessels to import from the same islands into the United States, and to export from the United States to the said islands, all articles whatever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said islands, or of the United States respectively, which now may, by the laws of the said states be so imported and exported. And that the cargoes of the said British vessels, shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges, than shall be payable on the same articles, if so imported or exported in American vessels.

It is agreed that this article and every matter and thing therein contained, shall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war in which his majesty is now engaged; and also for two years, from and after the day of the signature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the same may be terminated.

And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the said term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this respect, according to the situation in which his majesty may then find himself with respect to the West Indies, and

with a view to such arrangements, as may best conduce to the mutual advantage and extension of commerce.

And the said parties will then also renew their discussion, and endeavour to agree, whether in any or what cases, neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property; and in what cases, provisions and other articles, not generally contraband, may become such. But in the mean time, their conduct toward each other in these respects, shall be regulated by the articles herein after inserted on those subjects.

13. His majesty consents that the vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America shall be admitted and hospitably received in all the sea ports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies. And that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on a trade between the said territories and the said United States in all articles of which the importation or exportation respectively to or from the said territories, shall not be entirely prohibited. Provided only, that it shall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the British government and any other power or state whatever, to export from the same territories, without the special permission of the British government there, any military stores, naval stores, or rice. The citizens of the said United States shall pay for their vessels, when admitted into the said ports, no other or higher tonnage duty than shall be payable on British vessels when admitted into the ports of the United States. And they shall pay no other or higher duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the said vessels, than shall be payable

on the same articles when imported or exported in British vessels. But it is expressly agreed, that the vessels of the United States shall not carry any of the articles exported by them from the said British territories to any port or place except to some port or place in America, where the same shall be unladen; and such regulations shall be adopted by both parties, as shall from time to time be found necessary to enforce the due and faithful observance of this stipulation.

It is also understood, that the permission granted by this article, is not to extend to allow the vessels of the United States to carry on any part of the coasting trade of the said British territories; but vessels going with their original cargoes, or part thereof, from one port of discharge to another, are not to be considered as carrying on the coasting trade. Neither is this article to be construed to allow the citizens of the said states to settle or reside within the said territories, or to go into the interior parts thereof, without the permission of the British government established there; and if any transgression should be attempted against the regulations of the British government in this respect, the observance of the same shall and may be enforced against the citizens of America, in the same manner as against British subjects, or others transgressing the same rule. And the citizens of the United States, whenever they arrive in any port or harbour in the said territories, or if they should be permitted in manner aforesaid to go to any other place therein, shall always be subject to the laws, government, and jurisdiction, of whatever nature, established in such harbour, port, or place, according as the same may be;

be: the citizens of the United States may also touch for refreshment at the island of St. Helena, but subject in all respects to such regulations as the British government may from time to time establish there.

14. There shall be between all the dominions of his majesty in Europe and the territories of the United States a reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce and navigation. The people and inhabitants of the two countries respectively shall have liberty freely and securely, and without hindrance and molestation, to come with their ships and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places, and rivers, within the dominions and territories aforesaid, to enter into the same, to resort there, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time: and also to hire and possess houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce; and generally the merchants and traders on each side shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce, but subject always, as to what respects this article, to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

15. It is agreed, that no other or higher duties shall be paid by the ships or merchandise of the one party in the ports of the other, than such as are paid by the like vessels or merchandise of all other nations. Nor shall any other or higher duty be imposed in one country on the importation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other country, than on the importation of the like articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of any other foreign country. Nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the exportation or importation

of any articles to or from the territories of the two parties respectively, which shall not equally extend to all other nations.

But the British government reserves to itself the right of imposing on American vessels entering into the British ports in Europe a tonnage duty equal to that which shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of America; and also such duty as may be adequate to countervail the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Asiatic goods when imported into the United States in British or in American vessels.

The two parties agree to treat for the more exact equalization of the duties on the respective navigation of their subjects and people in such manner as may be most beneficial to the two countries. The arrangements for this purpose shall be made at the same time with those mentioned at the conclusion of the 14th article of this treaty, and are to be considered as a part thereof. In the interval it is agreed that the United States will not impose any new or additional tonnage duties on British vessels, nor increase the now subsisting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any article in British or American vessels.

16. It shall be free for the two contracting parties, respectively, to appoint consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions and territories aforesaid, and the said consuls shall enjoy those liberties and rights which belong to them by reason of their function. But before any consul shall act as such, he shall be in the usual forms approved and admitted by the party to whom he is sent; and it is hereby declared to be lawful and proper, that in case of illegal or improper

per conduct toward the laws or government, a consul may either be punished according to law, if the laws will reach the case, or be dismissed, or even sent back; the offended government assigning to the other the reasons for the same.

Either of the parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as such party shall judge proper to be excepted.

17. It is agreed, that in all cases where vessels shall be captured or detained on just suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war; the said vessel shall be brought to the nearest or most convenient port; and if any property of an enemy should be found on board such vessel, that part only which belongs to the enemy shall be made prize, and the vessel shall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed, that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay, in deciding the cases of ships or cargoes so brought in for adjudication; and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships.

18. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed, that under the said denomination shall be comprised all arms and implements serving for the purposes of war, by land or by sea, such as cannon, muskets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, carcases, saucisses, carriages for cannon, musket rests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head pieces, cuirasses, halberds, lances, javelins, horse furniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war; as also timber

for ship-building, tar or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be just objects of confiscation, whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases, in which alone provisions and other articles not generally contraband may be regarded as such, renders it expedient to provide against the inconveniencies and misunderstandings which might thence arise: It is further agreed, that whenever any such articles so becoming contraband according to the existing laws of nations, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall be speedily and completely indemnified; and the captors, or in their default the government under whose authority they act, shall pay to the masters or owners of such vessel the full value of all articles, with a reasonable mercantile profit thereon, together with the freight, and also the demurrage incident to such detention.

And whereas it frequently happens, that vessels sail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded or invested; it is agreed, that every vessel so circumstanced may be turned away from such port or place, but shall not be detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated, unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter: but she shall be permitted to go to any other port or place she may think proper; nor shall any vessels or goods of either party, that may have entered into such

such port or place, before the same was besieged, blockaded, or invested by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or surrender of such place, be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

19. And that more abundant care be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men-of-war, or privateers of either party, all commanders of ships of war and privateers, and all others the said subjects and citizens, shall forbear to do any damage to those of the other party, or commit any outrage against them; and if they act to the contrary, they shall be punished, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be.

For this cause all commanders of privateers before they receive their commissions shall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, sufficient security by at least two responsible sureties, who have no interest in the said privateer, each of whom, together with the said commander, shall be jointly and severally bound in the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, in the sum of three thousand pounds sterling, to satisfy all damages and injuries which the said privateer, or officers, or men, or any of them, may do or commit during their cruise, contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the law and instructions for regulating their conduct; and further, that in all

cases of aggression the said commissions shall be revoked and annulled.

It is also agreed, that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties shall pronounce sentence against any vessel of goods or property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other party, a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cause, and of the said sentence, shall, if required, be delivered to the commander of the said vessel, without the smallest delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the same.

20. It is further agreed, that both the said contracting parties shall not only refuse to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal or assist them in any manner, but will bring to condign punishment all such inhabitants as shall be guilty of such acts or offences.

And all their ships with the goods or merchandises taken by them, and brought into the port of either of the said parties, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or the factors, or agents duly deputed and authorised in writing by them (proper evidence being first in the court of admiralty for proving the property) even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reason to believe, or suspect that they had been piratically taken.

21. It is likewise agreed, that the subjects and citizens of the two nations, shall not do any acts of hostility or violence against each other, nor accept commissions or instructions

instructions so to act from any foreign prince or state, enemies to the other party; nor shall the enemies of one of the parties be permitted to invite, or endeavour to enlist in the military service any of the subjects or citizens of the other party; and the laws against all such offences shall be punctually executed. And if any subject or citizen of the said parties respectively, shall accept any foreign commission, or letters of marque, for arming any vessel to act as a privateer against the other party, and be taken by the other party, it is hereby declared to be lawful for the said party to treat and punish the said subject or citizen, having such commission or letters of marque, as a pirate.

22. It is expressly stipulated that neither of the said contracting parties will order or authorise any acts of reprisal against the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the said party shall first have presented to the other a statement thereof, verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanding justice and satisfaction, and the same shall either have been refused or unreasonably delayed.

23. The ships of war of each of the contracting parties shall, at all times, be hospitably received into the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due respect to the laws and government of the country. The officers shall be treated with that respect which is due to the commissions which they bear; and if any insult should be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this respect shall be punished as disturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And his majesty consents, that in case an American

vessel should, by stress of weather, danger from enemies, or other misfortunes, be reduced to the necessity of seeking shelter in any of his majesty's ports, into which such vessel could not in ordinary cases claim to be admitted, she shall, on manifesting that necessity to the satisfaction of the government of the place, be hospitably received, and permitted to refit, and to purchase at the market price such necessaries as she may stand in need of, conformably to such orders and regulations as the government of the place, having respect to the circumstances of each case, shall prescribe. She shall not be allowed to break or unload her cargo, unless the same shall be *bona fide* necessary to her being refitted: nor shall she be permitted to sell any part of her cargo, unless so much only as may be necessary to defray her expences, and then not without the express permission of the government of the place; nor shall she be obliged to pay any duties whatever, except only on such articles as she may be permitted to sell for the purpose aforesaid.

24. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being subjects or citizens of either of the said parties) who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said parties, nor sell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the same; nor shall they be allowed to purchase more provisions than shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port of that prince or state from whom they obtained their commissions.

25. It shall be lawful for the ships of war and privateers belonging to the said parties respectively,

to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor shall the said prizes, when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the said parties, be detained or seized, neither shall the searchers or other officers of those places visit such prizes (except for the purpose of preventing the carrying of any part of the cargo thereof on shore in any manner contrary to the established laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce) nor shall such officers take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail, and depart as speedily as may be, and carry their said prizes to the place mentioned in their commissions or patents, which the commanders of the said ships of war or privateers shall be obliged to show.

No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made a prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of the said parties; but, if forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire as soon as possible. Nothing in this treaty contained shall however be construed or operate contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereigns or states. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that shall be inconsistent with this or the preceding article.

Neither of the said parties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon shot of the coast, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their

territories by ships of war, or others having commission from any prince, republic, or state whatever. But in case it should so happen, the party, whose territorial rights shall thus have been violated, shall use his utmost endeavours to obtain from the offending party, full and ample satisfaction for the vessel or vessels so taken, whether the same be vessels of war or merchant vessels.

26. If at any time a rupture should take place (which God forbid) between his majesty and the United States, the merchants and others of each of the two nations, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, so long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence against the laws; and in case their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should think proper to order them to remove, the term of twelve months, from the publication of the order, shall be allowed them for that purpose, to remove with their families, effects, and property, but this favour shall not be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws; and for greater certainty, it is declared that such rupture shall not be deemed to exist, while negotiations for accommodating differences shall be depending, nor until the respective ambassadors or ministers, if such there should be, shall be recalled, or sent home on account of such differences, and not on account of personal misconduct, according to the nature and degree of which, both parties retain their rights, either to request the recall, or immediately to send home the ambassador or minister of the other, and that without prejudice to

to their mutual friendship and good understanding.

27. It is further agreed that his majesty and the United States, on mutual requisitions, by them respectively, or by their respective ministers or officers authorised to make the same, will deliver up to justice all persons, who being charged with murder or forgery, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, provided that this shall only be done on such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed. The expence of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition and receive the fugitive.

28. It is agreed, that the first ten articles of this treaty shall be permanent, and that the subsequent articles, except the twelfth, shall be limited in their duration to twelve years, to be computed from the day on which the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, but fully subject to this condition—that whereas the said twelfth article will expire by the limitation therein contained at the end of two years from the signing the preliminary or other articles of peace, which shall terminate the present war in which his majesty is engaged, it is agreed, that proper measures shall by concert be taken for bringing the subject of that article into amicable treaty and discussion, so early before the expiration of the said term, as that new arrangements on that head may by that time be perfected, and ready to take place. But if

it should unfortunately happen; that his majesty and the United States should not be able to agree on such new arrangements, in that case all the articles of this treaty, except the first ten, shall then cease and expire together.

Lastly, This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified by his majesty, and by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory on his majesty, and on the said states, and shall be by them respectively executed and observed with punctuality, and the most sincere regard to good faith; and whereas it will be expedient, in order the better to facilitate intercourse and obviate difficulties, that other articles be proposed and added to this treaty, which articles, from want of time and other circumstances, cannot now be perfected—it is agreed, that the said parties will, from time to time, readily treat of and concerning such articles, and will sincerely endeavour to form them, as that they may conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual satisfaction and friendship; and that the said articles, after having been duly ratified, shall be added to, and make a part of this treaty. In faith whereof, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and the United States of America, have signed this present treaty, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at London, this nineteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

GRENVILLE. (Seal.)
JOHN JAY. (Seal.)
The

The following is the Letter alluded to in the 7th Article of the above Treaty:

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793.

Sir,

I am honoured with yours of August 30. Mine of the 7th of that month assured you, that measures were taken for excluding from all further asylum in our ports, vessels armed in them to cruise on nations with which we are at peace, and for the restoration of the prizes, the *Lovely Lass*, *Prince William Henry*, and the *Jane*, of Dublin; and that should the measures for restitution fail in their effect, the president considered it as incumbent on the United States to make compensation for the vessels.

We are bound by our treaties with three of the belligerent nations, by all the means in our power to protect and defend their vessels and effects in our ports or waters, or on the seas near our shores, and to recover and restore the same to the right owners when taken from them. If all the means in our power are used, and fail in their effect, we are not bound by our treaties with these nations to make compensation.

Though we have no similar treaty with Great Britain, it was the opinion of the president, that we should use toward that nation the same rule, which, under this article, was to govern us with the other nations; and even to extend it to captures made on the high seas, and brought into our ports, if done by vessels which had been armed within them.

Having, for particular reasons, forbore to use all the means in our power for the restitution of the three vessels mentioned in my letter of August 7, the president

thought it incumbent on the United States to make compensation for them. And though nothing was said in that letter of other vessels taken under like circumstances, and brought in after the fifth of June, and before the date of that letter, yet when the same forbearance had taken place, it was and is his opinion, that compensation would be equally due.

As to prizes made under the same circumstances, and brought in after the date of the above letter, the president determined, that all the means in our power should be used for their restitution. If these fail, as we should not be bound by our treaties to make compensation to the other powers in the analogous case, he did not mean to give an opinion that it ought to be done to Great Britain. But still, if any case shall arise subsequent to that date, the circumstances of which shall place them on similar ground with those before it, the president would think compensation equally incumbent on the United States.

Instructions are given to the governors of the different states, to use all the means in their power for restoring prizes of this last description, found within their ports. Though they will of course take measures to be informed of them, and the general government had given the aid of the custom-house officers for this purpose, yet you will be sensible of the importance of multiplying the channels of their information, as far as shall depend on yourself, or any person under your direction, in order that the governors may use the means in their power for making restitution.

Without knowledge of the capture they cannot restore it. It will always be best to give the notice to them

them directly; but any information which you shall be pleased to send to me at any time shall be forwarded to them as quickly as distance will permit.

Hence you will perceive, sir, that the president contemplates restitution or compensation in the cases before the 7th of August; and after that date, restitution if it can be effected by any means in our power. And that it will be important that you should substantiate the fact, that such prizes are in our ports or waters.

Your list of the privateers illicitly armed in our ports, is, I believe, correct.

With respect to losses by detention, waste, or spoliation, sustained by vessels taken as before mentioned, between the dates of June 5th and August 7th, it is proposed as a provisional measure, that the collector of the customs of the district, and the British consul, or any other person you please, shall appoint persons to establish the value of the vessel and cargo, at the time of her capture, and of her arrival in the port, into which she is brought, according to their value in that port. If this shall be agreeable to you, and you will be pleased to signify it to me, with the names of the prizes understood to be of this description, instructions will be given accordingly to the collector of the customs where the respective vessels are.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

George Hammond, esq.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and house of representatives,

I trust I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion, that I have never met at any period, when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause of mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded, provisionally, with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. This object has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the senate, for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken: but we have to lament that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger, which will be productive of further

ther expence, and may occasion further effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert a general hostility.

A letter from the emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father the late emperor; and consequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of the treaty with the dey and regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which, securing amicably the very essential interests of the United States, will, at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power, whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the house of representatives, you, gentlemen, are apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of

one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours with whom we have been in a state of enmity and misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country?

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations, of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsions and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense

of heavy and accumulating burdens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government;—our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity—the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expence of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being over-balanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine expectations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws; is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that

the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society.—These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveness to those who have been adjudged to capital punishment.—For, although I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested; yet it appeared to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

Gentlemen,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change, the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers, are not yet finally adjusted; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connect-

ed that of the militia. It will merit enquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment, in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed until the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes; it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations; namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of the frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated, that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained, by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians, will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expence to drain the treasury of the union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of congress, and especially if there can be added

an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them, they urge it with solicitude,) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

The state of our revenue, with the sums that have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to the different acts of congress, will be submitted from the proper departments; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination.—Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interests of our country, as with the general sense of our constituents.

Gentlemen of the senate, and house of representatives,

The statement which will be laid before you, relative to the mint, (M 2) will

will shew the situation of that institution, and the necessity of some further legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken toward the

execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session; and mutual forbearance, where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States,

Dec. 8, 1795.

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1795.

N A V Y.

	JAN. 8.	£.	s.	d.
FOR 100,000 men, including 15,000 marines,		5,200,000	0	0
	FEB. 17.			
Ordinary of the navy,	-	580,683	3	9
Extra navy,	-	525,840	0	0
		<u>£. 6,315,523</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>

A R M Y.

	JAN. 22.			
For 119,380 men, as guards and garrisons,	-	2,777,534	19	1
Forces in the plantations,	-	691,307	15	7
Difference between British and Irish pay,	-	40,096	9	9
Troops in the East Indies,	-	8,323	17	10½
Recruiting land-forces, contingencies, &c.	-	385,000	0	0
Levy money, &c. for augmentation to the forces,	-	480,000	0	0
General and staff-officers, &c.	-	115,820	0	3
Full pay to supernumerary officers,	-	79,978	4	4
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	-	110,820	18	3
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines,	-	128,864	3	9
Reduced horse-guards,	-	135	16	3
Officers late in the service of the states-general,	-	1,000	0	0
Reduced officers of British American forces,	-	60,000	0	0
Widows' pensions,	-	10,387	13	3½
Scotch roads and bridges,	-	4,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry,	-	930,047	12	3
Contingencies, &c. for ditto,	-	210,000	0	0
Clothing for militia,	-	107,137	11	6
Fencible cavalry,	-	280,048	8	3
Bread and necessaries for ditto,	-	80,000	0	0
Hanoverian troops,	-	495,655	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Cassel,	-	333,253	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Darmstadt,	-	76,076	0	0
Brunswick troops,	-	92,242	0	0
	FEB. 23.			
Extraordinaries,	-	3,063,968	12	4
Regiments and corps to be raised,	-	427,269	1	6
	FEB. 26.			
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia,	-	200,000	0	0

	APRIL 27.	£.	s.	d.
Augmentations to the militia,	-	23,806	11	5
Corps transferred from the Irish to the British establishment,	- - - - -	246,877	15	0
Chelsea pensioners,	- - - - -	149,856	15	1
		<u>£. 11,610,008</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8½</u>

O R D N A N C E.

	JAN. 22.	£.	s.	d.
Land service, not provided for in 1793,	- - - - -	34,155	1	9
Sea service, ditto,	- - - - -	25,357	14	5
Land service, ditto in 1794,	- - - - -	1,045,305	19	8
Sea service, ditto,	- - - - -	39,387	0	3
Ordnance for 1795,	- - - - -	1,176,804	17	9
		<u>£. 2,321,010</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	JAN. 6.	£.	s.	d.
To discharge Exchequer bills,	- - - - -	£. 6,000,000	0	0
	FEB. 19.			
Civil establishment of Upper Canada,	- - - - -	7,175	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia,	- - - - -	4,415	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick,	- - - - -	4,550	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island,	- - - - -	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton,	- - - - -	1,800	0	0
Ditto, Newfoundland,	- - - - -	1,232	10	0
Ditto, Bahama Islands,	- - - - -	4,050	0	0
Salary of the chief-justice of the Bermuda Islands,	- - - - -	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica,	- - - - -	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales,	- - - - -	5,241	0	0
Extraordinary expense of the Mint, from Jan. 1	} to July 27, 1794,	5,682	2	4
Ditto from July 28 to Dec. 31, 1794,		1,386	2	6
	FEB. 23.			
Address money,	- - - - -	47,649	1	5
American and East Florida sufferers,	- - - - -	259,641	3	7
Expences of Mr. Hastings' Prosecution,	- - - - -	4,794	6	6
For sending articles to New South Wales,	- - - - -	6,958	8	4
Convicts on the Thames,	- - - - -	11,463	13	8
Ditto at Langstone and Portsmouth,	- - - - -	15,440	5	11½
Allowances for the relief of American civil officers,	} sufferers,	24,500	0	0
French proprietors of St. Domingo,		1,059	14	0
Relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France,	- - - - -	98,410	0	0

His majesty's service abroad, - - - - -	24,335	18	0
To discharge fees on estcheats and forfeitures in } Nova Scotia, - - - - -	468	16	1
For business arising out of the Alien's Act, - - -	1,089	16	2
For perfecting the index to the journals of the house } of lords, - - - - -	869	19	0
For business done relative to Penitentiary Houses, -	2,823	10	5
For the board of agriculture, - - - - -	3,000	0	0
FEB. 26.			
For the reduction of the national debt, - - -	200,000	0	0
MAR. 3.			
African forts, - - - - -	20,000	0	0
Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for extraordinary in- } curred during the late war in America, by the } Hessian troops in his majesty's service, - - -	68,850	12	0½
To the representatives of Richard Oswald, esq. as } contractor for bread, forage, &c. for the allied } army in Germany, between the years 1758 and } 1763, - - - - -	41,688	14	6½
APRIL 27.			
To Mr. Mash, for money advanced by him for the } first five payments towards the lottery for 1794, } and forfeited by omitting to make the future } payments, - - - - -	525	16	8
MAY 14.			
For forming an establishment in Africa, - - -	4,069	2	0
For the suffering clergy and laity of France, - -	37,500	0	0
JUNE 10.			
Veterinary college, - - - - -	1,500	0	0
JUNE 15.			
Preparations for the prince of Wales's marriage, -	27,500	0	0
Completing the works at Carlton House, - -	25,000	0	0
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	£. 7,467,750	12	2½

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 20.			
Deficiency of grants in 1794, - - - - -	744,057	11	1
To complete money granted out of the consolidated } fund, - - - - -	848,915	4	2½
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	£. 1,592,972	15	3½
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Navy, - - - - -	6,315,523	3	9
Army, - - - - -	11,610,008	5	8½
Ordnance, - - - - -	2,321,010	13	10
Miscellaneous services, 7,467,750	12	2½	
Deficiencies, - - - - -	1,592,972	15	3½
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	£. 29,307,265	10	9½
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WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1795.

JAN. 8.

	£.	s.	d.
Land and malt-tax,	2,750,000	0	0
ANNUITIES,	18,000,000	0	0
EXCHEQUER bills,	3,500,000	0	0
Profit of a lottery, 55,000 tickets, at £13 15s. 10d.	258,541	13	4
EXCHEQUER bills,	3,500,000	0	0
SURPLUS of consolidated fund,	2,895,000	0	0
	£. 29,903,541	13	4

*Principal Public Acts passed in the Fifth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.**January 21.*

Land and malt-tax bills.

Feb. 5.

An act to continue, for a limited time, an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government."

March 5.

An act for raising a certain number of men, in the several counties of England, for the service of the navy.

The mutiny bill.

The marine mutiny bill.

April 16.

An act for procuring a supply of men, from the several ports of this kingdom, for the service of the navy.

April 28.

An act further to continue the act respecting aliens.

The American intercourse bill.

An act to enable petty officers in the navy, and seamen, non-commissioned officers of marines, &c. to allot part of their pay, for the maintenance of their wives and families.

An act to enable magistrates in the several counties of Great Britain, to raise and levy such able-bodied and idle persons as shall be found in the said counties, to serve in the navy.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

An act for raising a certain number of men, in the several counties, &c. of Scotland, to serve in the navy.

May 19.

An act for making part of certain principal sums, or stock and annuities,

annuities, created by the parliament of the kingdom of Ireland, &c. transferable and the dividends payable, at the bank of England.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers, for a limited time.

An act to render more effectual an act 1 James I. against bigamy.

June 22.

An act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of four millions six hundred thousand pounds to the emperor of Germany.

An act for establishing a more easy and expeditious method for the punctual and frequent payment of the wages of certain officers belonging to the navy.

An act for enabling boatwains, gunners, and carpenters in the navy, to allot part of their pay for the maintenance of their families.

An act for the further relief of persons imprisoned for want of bail, in certain cases relating to the revenue.

An act for the more effectual prevention of the use of defective weights, and of false and unequal balances.

June 26.

An act to prevent the accumu-

lation of debts by any future heir apparent of the crown; and for regulating the mode of expenditure, from the time when a separate establishment shall be made for such future heir apparent.

An act to enable his majesty to erect independent burghs of barony, &c. in Scotland.

An act for the more easy and expeditious recovery of small debts in Scotland.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution an act, 33 Geo. III. for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

An act for enabling woolcombers to exercise trades in any town of Great Britain.

An act for widening and improving the entrance into the city of London by Temple Bar and Snow Hill, &c.

July 27.

An act for enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on the prince of Wales; for making provision, out of his revenues, for the payment of debts due from his royal highness; for preventing the accumulation of debts in future; and for regulating the mode of expenditure of the said revenues.

An act for making provision for a jointure for the princess of Wales.

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1795.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1795	Bank Stock	3 per c. red.	3 ditt. conf.	4 p. c. 5 per conf.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequer Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 155½ 150½ }	65½ 62½ }	65 61	80½ 78½ }	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	189½ 180½ }	10 pre. Par.	69½ 65	65 63½ }	63½ 61½ }	3½ dif. 2½	118. pre. 3s.	20 9 0 19 17 0
Feb.	{ 153½ 151 }	64½ 62½ }	63½ 61½ }	79½ 79	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	184½ 180½ }	11 pre. 3 pre.	66 66	62½		2½ dif. 2½	108. pre. 3s.	20 0 0 18 3 0
Mar.	{ 154½ 153½ }	64½ 63½ }	63 61½ }	79½ 78½ }	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	182½ 181½ }	7 pre. 6 dif.	66½ 66½ }		62½	4 dif. 2½	108. pre. 108. dif.	
Apr.	{ 162 152½ }	67 65½ }	66 61½ }	80 77½ }	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	193 180½ }	Par. 6 dif.		65 63½ }		3½ dif. 2½	118. pre. 68. dif.	
May	{ 164½ 158½ }	67 64½ }	64½ 61½ }	80 78½ }	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	195½ 190	Par. 4 dif.		66½ 64½ }	65½ 65	3½ dif. 2½	38. pre. 38. dif.	
June	{ 168½ 162½ }	68½ 66	68½ 66	81½ 79½ }	181½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	200½ 194	1 pre. 8 dif.		66½ 66½ }		4 dif. 2½	48. pre. 58. dif.	
July	{ 171½ 165½ }	70½ 67½ }	70½ 66½ }	83½ 81½ }	19½ 181½ }	81½ 81½ }	204½ 196½ }	5 pre. 5 dif.		69 69		3½ dif. 2½	48. pre. 38. dif.	
Aug.	{ 174½ 166½ }	71½ 68½ }	70 66½ }	85½ 82½ }	20½ 19	9½ 8½ }	203 196	10 pre. 5 pre.	73 72½ }	70½ 68½ }	69½ 68½ }	2½ dif. 1½	68. pre. 28.	
Sept.	{ 171½ 168½ }	70½ 68½ }	69½ 67½ }	86 84½ }	20½ 19½ }	9½ 8½ }	201½ 198½ }	15 pre. 4 pre.	73 72½ }	70½ 68½ }	68½ 68½ }	2½ dif. 1½	148. pre. 38.	14 6 0 14 3 0
Oct.	{ 170 166 }	70½ 67½ }	69½ 67	85½ 82½ }	19½ 18½ }	9½ 8½ }	200 196½ }	10 pre. 3 pre.	72½ 71½ }	68½ 67½ }	69	3 dif. 2½	88. pre. 28.	14 3 0 13 18 0
Nov.	{ 168½ 162 }	68½ 66	69½ 67½ }	86 82½ }	19½ 18½ }	8½ 8½ }	204 199½ }	6 pre. 2 dif.	72½ 72	67½ 67½ }	68½	3½ dif. 2½	38. pre. 58. dif.	14 7 0 13 19 0
Dec.	{ 180 165½ }	71½ 66½ }	72 67½ }	87½ 82½ }	19½ 18½ }	8½ 8½ }	219 200	5 dif. 11		68½ 68½ }		4½ dif. 3½	138. dif. 48.	14 18 0 14 2 0

BIOGRAPHICAL
A N E C D O T E S
AND
C H A R A C T E R S.



BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

ANECDOTES OF CARDINAL ALBERONI.

[From the second Volume of ANECDOTES of some DISTINGUISHED PERSONS, chiefly of the Present and two Preceding CENTURIES.]

“CARDINAL Alberoni was the son of a gardener near Parma, and when a boy, officiated as bell-ringer, and attended upon the parish church of his village. The rector, finding him a shrewd sharp lad, taught him Latin. Alberoni afterwards took orders, and had a small living, on which he resided, little thinking of the great fortune that was one day to await him. M. Campistron, a Frenchman, secretary to the duke of Vendôme, who commanded Louis the Fourteenth's armies in Italy, was robbed, and stripped of his cloaths, and of all the money that he had about him, by some ruffians, near Alberoni's village. Alberoni hearing of his misfortune, took him into his house, furnished him with cloaths, and gave him as much money as he could spare for his travelling expences.

“Campistron, no less impressed with his strength of understanding than with the warmth of his benevolence, took him to the headquarters, and presented him to his

general, as a man to whom he had very great obligations. M. de Vendôme finding Alberoni to be a man of parts, gave him a petty employment under him, and took him with him to Spain. By degrees he obtained the marshal's confidence, and proposed the daughter of his sovereign the duke of Parma to him, as a fit match for the king of Spain. Alberoni's proposal was attended to, and the princess was demanded in marriage by that monarch, then Philip the Fifth. The duke of Parma consented with great readiness to a match that was to procure for his daughter the sovereignty of so great a kingdom as that of Spain. When every thing was settled, and immediately before the princess was to set out for her new dominions, the ministry of Spain had heard that the princess was a young woman of a haughty imperious temper, and extremely intriguing and ambitious. They therefore prevailed upon the king to write to the duke, to request another of his daughters in marriage, to whose quiet disposition they

could

could not possibly have any objections. The king did as he was desired, and sent his letter by a special messenger, Alberoni, who was then at Parma, hearing of this, and afraid that all his projects of ambition would come to nothing, unless the princess whom he recommended, and who of course would think herself highly obliged to him for her exalted situation, became queen of Spain, had the messenger stopped at one day's journey from Parma, and gave him his choice, either to delay his coming to Parma for a day, or to be assassinated. He of course chose the first of these alternatives, and the princess set out upon her journey to Spain, and became queen of that country.

"Alberoni was soon made prime minister of Spain; a cardinal, and archbishop of Valentia; and exercised his ministry with the most complete despotism. One of Alberoni's projects was to dispossess the duke of Orleans of the regency of France, and to bestow it upon his own sovereign, as the oldest representative of the house of Bourbon; to place the pretender on the throne of England, and add to Spain the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. His project was, however, discovered by the regent, and one of the conditions he made with the king of Spain was, the banishment of Alberoni from his councils and his kingdom. With this he was obliged to comply, and the cardinal received orders to leave Madrid in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom of Spain in fifteen days.

"Alberoni, who took with him great wealth, was upon the second day of his journey, when it was perceived that he was carrying out of the kingdom with him the celebrated will of Charles the Second of Spain, which gave that king-

dom to its then sovereign. Persons were detached from Madrid to wrest this serious and important document from him, which it was supposed he intended to take to the emperor of Germany, to ingratiate himself with him. With some violence they effected their purpose, and the cardinal proceeded on his journey to the frontiers of France, where he was received by an officer, sent by the regent to conduct him through that kingdom as a state prisoner. As a true politician, however, yields to circumstances, and is never embarrassed by any change of affairs, Alberoni, on his arrival in France, wrote to the regent, to offer him his services against Spain. To this letter, however, his highness disdained to return any answer.

"The cardinal's disgrace happened in 1720, and he retired to Parma for some time, till he was summoned by the pope to attend a consistory, in which his conduct was to be examined by some of the members of the sacred college, respecting a correspondence he was supposed to have kept up with the grand seignior. He was sentenced to be confined one year in the Jesuits' college at Rome. After this he returned to Parma, near which city he founded, at a very great expence, an establishment for the instruction of young men destined for the priesthood. In the disastrous campaign of 1746, the buildings were destroyed by the three armies that were in the neighbourhood; and as the cardinal was not supposed to have been over-delicate in his acquirement of the means by which his establishment was to have been supported, his countrymen did not appear to express much dissatisfaction at the demolition of it. Alberoni, soon after this, went to Rome, and

and was made Legate of Romagna, by Clement the Twelfth. He died at Rome in 1752, at the age of eighty-seven years. He preserved intire, to the last, the powers of his mind and of his body. He is thus described in his old age by a person who was well acquainted with him:

‘He was very chatty in conversation, and talked in so lively and so agreeable a manner, that it made even the very curious facts he had to tell, more interesting to those who heard him. His stories were interlarded with French, Spanish, or Italian, as the circumstances required. He was continually applying some maxim of Tacitus, in Latin, to corroborate his own observations, or to come in aid of those of others. His general topics of conversation were either the campaigns in which he attended M. de Vendôme, his ministry in Spain, or the common political events of the day. He was rather impatient of contradiction, and expected that in argument or in narration the company should defer to him.’

“Alberoni’s spirit was always very high, and his temper very violent. During the time that he was prime minister of Spain, lord Harrington, the English minister, carried him a list of the ships of his country that were then before Barcelona, and would act against it, if he persisted in his endeavours to embroil the peace of Europe, by arming the porte against the emperor, and by making the czar and the king of Sweden go to war with England, in order to establish the pretender upon the throne of that country. Alberoni snatched the paper which contained the numbers out of the minister’s hands, and tore it in a thousand pieces. Lord Harrington, nothing abashed, went on coolly with the thread of

his conversation, ‘*Et comme je disois, monseigneur.*’

“When the marshal de Maillebois commanded the French troops at Parma, in the year 1746, Alberoni waited upon him upon some business, but was refused admittance to him by his secretary, who told him the marshal was engaged with some affairs of importance, and could not see him. ‘*Mon ami,*’ replied the cardinal very indignantly, and opening the door of the marshal’s apartment at the same time, ‘*sachez que M. de Vendôme me recevoit sur sa chaise percée.*’

“That Alberoni wrote with the same spirit with which he acted, the three following letters of his to lord Melcombe, then envoy extraordinary from the court of England to the court of Spain, will evince. They were kindly communicated to the compiler by Penruddock Wyndham, esq. member of parliament for the county of Wilts; a gentleman on whom the unanimous suffrages of his own county have lately conferred that honour; an honour long merited by his pleasing manners, his social talents, and his elegant hospitality.

“*Du Palais, ce 9 Mars, 1717.*

‘J’ay l’honneur monsieur de vous envoyer la permission que vous avez demandé depuis un si long tems. Vous sçavez que ce climat n’inspire qu’avec lenteur l’execution des affaires; nous aurons de la peine a le changer, de sorte que il y a de la prudence a le prendre tel qu’il est. J’ay l’honneur d’être

‘Votre tres humble et

‘tres obeissant serviteur,

‘ALBERONI.’

‘*A monsieur monsieur Bubb,*
‘*envoye extraordinaire du*
‘*Roi de la Grande Bretagne*
‘*en ses Mains.*’

‘ ENFIN monsieur Bubb trouve
‘ bon que je vous dise, que tous les
‘ cabinets d’Europe ont perdu la
‘ tramontane, puisque la raison d’
‘ estat est abandonné aux caprices
‘ de quelques particuliers, lesquels
‘ sans rime et sans raison et peut-
‘ etre par des fins particuliers, cou-
‘ pent et rognent des estats et des
‘ royaumes comme s’ils étoient des
‘ fromages d’Holande. Soyez per-
‘ suadé monsieur que personne ne
‘ vous estime et ne vous honore
‘ plus que

‘ LE CARD. ALBERONI.’

‘ *A Madrid, ce 5 April, 1718.*

‘ J’ai été tres ravi monsieur d’ap-
‘ prendre votre arrivée a Londres
‘ apres avoir essuie un long et pe-
‘ nible voyage. Quant a ce que
‘ vous m’escrivez touchant le re-
‘ glement du commerce, je vous di-
‘ ray, avec la franchise et la pro-
‘ bité que vous avez experimenté
‘ dans tout ce que nous avons traité
‘ ensemble, que le roi cath. ne pren-
‘ dra aucune resolution la dessus
‘ avant qu’il ne voye le denouement
‘ de la piece. Vous estes un bon
‘ temoin de la sincerité des inten-
‘ tions de sa majesté cathol. et des
‘ miennes a l’egard de l’Angleterre.
‘ Vous savez qu’on n’a pas balance
‘ ici de sacrifier par deux nouveaux
‘ traitées tous les avantages qu’on
‘ avoit emportez par le traitée d’
‘ Utrecht, voulant oublier le roi
‘ cath. qu’il avoit été depouillé par
‘ le moyen d’Angleterre contre
‘ toutes sortes de raisons de ses
‘ estats provinces et royaumes; in-
‘ justice qui crie toujours vengeance,
‘ puisque elle est contre les loix di-
‘ vines et humaines. Par un si au-
‘ guste sacrifice le roi cath. a cru,
‘ qu’il obligeroit le roi de la Grande
‘ Bretagne a une juste reconnois-
‘ sance, et la nation Angloise a
‘ maintenir une bonne union avec

‘ l’Espagne, et qu’a l’occasion s’il
‘ n’auroit un et l’autre dans ses in-
‘ terets au moins qu’ils demeure-
‘ roient dans l’indifference. Ce-
‘ pendant je vois avec un mortel
‘ chagrin qu’il n’arrivera ni l’un ni
‘ l’autre, et que je me verray exposé
‘ aux justes reproches de leurs ma-
‘ jestés. Il n’y a une seule Gazette
‘ qui me dise, que votre ministere
‘ n’est plus Anglois mais Allemand,
‘ et qu’il est vendus laschement a la
‘ Cour de Vienne, et que par les
‘ brigues inconnus dans votre pays,
‘ on tache de faire donner dans le
‘ panneau la nation aussi. C’est
‘ une bonne marque de ce que je
‘ vous dise qu’apres de s’etre es-
‘ puisée l’Angleterre d’hommes et
‘ de l’argent pour acquerir a l’archi-
‘ duc des Estats et des Royaumes,
‘ on vient de lui payer une grosse
‘ somme. Les sentimens d’estime
‘ et d’amittie que j’ay eu pour vous,
‘ et que je conserverai toujours,
‘ m’obligent de vous parler avec
‘ cette sincerité, vous assurent mon-
‘ sieur que personne ne vous honore
‘ et ne vous respecte plus que

‘ LE CARD. ALBERONI.’

‘ *La Reine vient d’accoucher d’une
‘ belle et charmante Princeesse.*

“ When the celebrated cardinal de Polignac, a man who with the extremest polish of manners united the more solid *fond* of benevolence, was minister from the court of France to that of Rome; he met with Alberoni living in that city in no very great opulence. He procured for him a very handsome present in money from his sovereign Louis the Fifteenth, and afterwards prevailed upon Louis to settle a pension of 17,000 livres a-year upon him; with great reluctance, however, on the part of Alberoni to accept it. Polignac had in vain endeavoured to put the court of Spain

Spain in good humour with Alberoni, and to procure him from that court a pension upon his rich benefice of the archbishopric of Malaga, which he had been obliged to give up.

“Alberoni’s amusement, whilst he was at Rome, consisted in building and managing a small estate he had in the Campagna.

“Alberoni had written a letter of thanks to Voltaire for the handsome manner in which he had spoken of him in his general history. Voltaire in answer says, ‘The letter with which your eminence has honoured me, is as flattering a reward of my works as the esteem of all Europe is of your actions. You owe me no thanks: I have been only the organ of the public in speaking of you. That liberty and that truth which have always guided my pen have procured me your good opinion. These qualities must ever please a man of a genius like yours. Whoever does not esteem them, may very probably be a man of consequence, but he can never be a great man.’

“As a politician is ever recurring to his old trade, Alberoni, when he was legate of Romagna, and at the age of seventy, endeavoured to bring the little republic of San Marino, which confined upon his government, under the dominion of the pope. The cardinal had intrigued so successfully with some of the principal inhabitants, that the

day was fixed on which these republicans were to swear allegiance to the sovereign under whose protection they had put themselves. On the day appointed, Alberoni rides up the mountain with his suite, and is received at the door of the principal church by the priests and the principal inhabitants of the place, and conducted to his seat under a canopy, to hear high mass and *Te Deum* sung (a ceremony usual in all catholic countries upon similar occasions). Unluckily however for poor Alberoni, the mass began, as usual I suppose in that republic, with the word *Libertas*. This word had such an effect upon the minds of the hearers, who began then, for the first time perhaps, to recollect that they were about to lose the thing itself, that they fell upon the cardinal and his attendants, drove them out of the church, and made them descend the very steep mountain of San Marino with more rapidity than that with which they had ascended it, and the popes have ever since that time left the inhabitants of San Marino to their old form of government. This singular event took place in the year 1740. A *bon mot* of Benedict the Fourteenth on the occasion was current in every mouth: ‘Alberoni is like a glutton, who after having eaten a large salmon, cannot help casting a wistful eye at a minnow.’

PARTICULARS relative to the Rev. WILLIAM MOMPESSEON, and the RAVAGES of the PLAGUE at EYAM, in the Year 1666.

[From the same Volume.]

“ANTIENT France may, with justice, boast of a prelate in ‘Marseilles’ good bishop,’ who was

the benefactor and the preserver of mankind: England, however, may congratulate herself in having cherished

rished in her bosom a parish-priest, who, without the dignity of character, and the extent of persons over whom M. de Belfunce distributed the blessings of his pastoral care, watched over the smaller flock committed to his charge at no less risque of life, and with no less fervour of piety and activity of benevolence.

"The Rev. Mr. Mompesson was rector of Eyam in Derbyshire during the time of the plague that nearly depopulated the town in the year 1666, the year after the plague of London. He married Catherine the daughter of Ralph Carr, esq. of Cowpon, in the county of Durham, by whom he had two children living at the time of this dreadful visitation. He in vain intreated Mrs. Mompesson to quit Eyam at the time of the plague, and to take her two children with her.—He told her, that though it was his duty to stay amongst his parishioners during their affliction, it was by no means her's, and that she by these means would save her children from being infected with the reigning distemper. She said, that she would live and die with him. The children were at last sent away. A monument has been erected to her with this inscription:

'CATHARINA,

'Uxor GULIELMI MOMPESSEON,

'Hujus Ecclesiæ Rectoris;

'FILIA RODOLPHI CARR,

'Nuper de Coupon in Comitatu. Dunelm.

'Armig.

'Sepulta est xxiii. Dio Mens. August.

'Anno Domini 1666.'

"Under a death's-head on one side of the tomb is this inscription:

'Mors mihi lacrum.'

"On the other is an hour-glass, with these words:

'Cavete! Nescitis horam.'

"Mr. Mompesson, who appears to have been an ailing man, never caught the plague, and was enabled, during the whole time of the calamity, to perform the functions of the physician, the legislator, and the priest of his afflicted parish, assisting the sick with his medicines, his advice, and his prayers. Veneration, no less than curiosity, must lament that so little is known of this venerable pastor after the plague. Tradition still shews a cavern near Eyam, called at this day Cucklett's Church, and formerly called Cucklett's Fields, where this respectable man used to preach and to pray to those of his parishioners who had not the distemper. This fatal disease visited seventy-six families, out of which two hundred and fifty-six persons died. The church-yard not being able to contain the bodies of those that perished by the plague, many persons were buried in the hills and the fields adjoining. Many of the tomb-stones erected to their memory are still visible, particularly those of the family of Hancock, one of whom is said to have set on foot the plating trade at Sheffield. The plague broke out in the spring of 1666, and ceased at the beginning of October in the same year. It was supposed to have been brought from the metropolis in some woollen cloths that were purchased in that city soon after the plague of 1665, and which had not been sufficiently ventilated and fumigated.

"To prevent the contagion from spreading into the neighbourhood of Eyam, the earl of Devonshire, then resident at Chatsworth, fix or seven

seven miles from Eyam, caused provisions and the necessaries of life to be placed upon the hills at regular times, and at appointed places, to which the inhabitants resorted, and carried off what was left for them. By the persuasion and authority of the excellent rector, the inhabitants were prevailed upon to remain within a certain district.—Mr. Seward, the last rector, the father of the elegant poetess of his name, preached a centenary sermon upon the plague in 1766, in the parish-church of Eyam, composed with such power of description, and such a pathetic appeal to the feelings of his auditors (many of whom had lost their ancestors by that dreadful visitation), that he was continually interrupted by the exclamations and tears of his audience.

“By the kindness of a gentleman of Eyam, the public is presented with three original letters of the rev. Mr. Mompeeson, written during the time of the plague. I hope that neither I nor my friends shall ever know that person who can read them without tears.

LETTER I.

To my dear Children GEORGE and ELIZABETH MOMPESSEON, these present with my Blessing.

Eyam, August 1666.

‘Dear Hearts,

‘This brings you the doleful news of your dear mother’s death, the greatest loss that ever yet befel you! I am not only deprived of a kind and loving consort, but you also are bereaved of the most indulgent mother that ever dear children had. But we must comfort ourselves in God with this consideration, that the loss is only ours, and that what is our sorrow

‘is her gain: the consideration of her joys, which I do assure myself are unutterable, should refresh our drooping spirits.

‘My dear hearts, your blessed mother lived a most holy life, and made a most comfortable and happy end, and is now invested with a crown of righteousness. I think that it may be useful to you to have a narrative of your dear mother’s virtues, that by the knowledge thereof you may learn to imitate her excellent qualities.

‘In the first place, let me commend to you her piety and devotion (which were according to the exact principles of the church of England). In the next place, I can affirm of her, that she was composed of modesty and humility, which virtues did possess her dear soul in a most eminent manner. Her discourse was ever grave and meek, yet pleasant withal; a vaunting immodest word was never heard to come out of her mouth. Again, I can set out in her two other virtues, *i. e.* charity and frugality. She never valued any thing she had, when the necessity of her poor neighbours did require it, but had a bountiful heart to all indigent and distressed persons. And again, she was never lavish or profuse, but was commendably frugal; so that I profess in the presence of God, I never knew a better housewife. She never delighted in the company of tattling women, and abhorred as much a wandering temper, of going from house to house to the spending of precious time, but was ever busied in useful occupation. In all her ways she was extremely prudent, kind, and affable; yet to those from whom she thought no good could be reaped from their company, she would

‘not

‘not unbofom herself, but in civi-
lity would difmifs their fociety.

‘I do believe, my dear hearts,
‘upon fufficient grounds, that ſhe
‘was the kindeſt wife in the world;
‘and I do think from my foul that
‘ſhe loved me ten times more than
‘herſelf. Of this I will give you
‘a notable inſtance: Some days
‘before it pleaſed God to viſit
‘my houſe, ſhe perceived a green
‘matter to come from the iſſue in
‘my leg (which ſhe fancied to be a
‘ſymptom of the raging diſtemper
‘amongſt us), and that it had got
‘vent, and that I was paſt the ma-
‘turity of the diſeaſe, whereat ſhe
‘rejoiced exceedingly. Now I will
‘give you my thoughts of this buſi-
‘neſs: I think that ſhe was miſ-
‘taken in her apprehenſions of the
‘matter, for certainly it was the
‘falve that made it look ſo green;
‘yet her rejoicing on that account
‘was a ſtrong teſtimony of her love
‘to me; for I am clear that ſhe
‘cared not (if I were ſafe) though
‘her own dear ſelf was in ever ſo
‘much pain and jeopardy. Far-
‘ther I can aſſure you, my ſweet
‘babes, that her love to you was
‘little inferior to her’s to me; for
‘why ſhould ſhe be ſo deſirous
‘for my living in this world of ſor-
‘rows, but that you might have the
‘comfort of my life? You little
‘imagine with what delight ſhe was
‘wont to talk of you both, and the
‘pains that ſhe took when you
‘ſucked on her breaſts is almoſt in-
‘credible. She gave a large teſti-
‘mony of her love to you upon
‘her death-bed. For, ſome hours
‘before ſhe died, I brought her
‘ſome cordials, which ſhe plainly
‘told me ſhe was not able to take.
‘I deſired her to take them for your
‘dear ſakes. Upon the mention
‘of your dear names ſhe liſted up
‘herſelf, and took them, which

‘was to let me underſtand that
‘(whiſt ſhe had any ſtrength left)
‘ſhe would embrace any opportu-
‘nity ſhe had of teſtifying her af-
‘fection to you.

‘Now I will give you an account
‘of her death.—It is certain that
‘ſhe had a ſad conſumption upon
‘her, and her body was then much
‘waſted and conſumed; however,
‘we being ſurrounded with infect-
‘ed families, ſhe undoubtedly got
‘the diſtemper from them: Her
‘bodily ſtrength being much im-
‘paired, ſhe wanted not to ſtrug-
‘gle with the diſeaſe, which made
‘her illneſs ſo very ſhort, all which
‘time ſhe ſhewed much ſorrow for
‘the errors of her ſoul, and often
‘cried out, One drop of my Sa-
‘viour’s blood to ſave my ſoul!
‘At the beginning of her ſickneſs
‘ſhe intreated me not to come near
‘her, for fear that I ſhould receive
‘harm thereby; but I can aſſure
‘you that I did not deſert her, but
‘(thank God) I ſtood to my reſolu-
‘tion not to be from her in all
‘her ſickneſs, who had been ſo
‘tender a nurſe to me in her health.
‘Bleſſed be God, that he enabled
‘me to be ſo helpful to her in her
‘ſickneſs, for which ſhe was not
‘a little thankful. No worldly bu-
‘ſineſs in her ſickneſs was any diſ-
‘turbance to her, for ſhe minded
‘nothing but the making her call-
‘ing and election ſure; and ſhe ask-
‘ed forgiveness of her maid for giv-
‘ing her ſometimes an angry word.
‘I gave her ſeveral ſweating anti-
‘dotes, which had no kind of ope-
‘ration, but rather ſcalded and in-
‘flamed her more; whereupon her
‘dear head became diſtempered,
‘which put her upon impertinen-
‘cies, and indeed I was troubled
‘thereat; for I propounded ſeveral
‘queſtions in divinity to her; as—
‘by whom, and on what account,
‘ſhe

‘ the expected salvation? and, What
‘ assurance she had of the certainty
‘ thereof? Though in other things
‘ she talked at random, yet at the
‘ same time to such questions as
‘ these she gave me as good an an-
‘ swer as I could possibly desire or
‘ expect; and at these times I bid
‘ her repeat after me certain prayers
‘ and ejaculations, which she al-
‘ ways did with much devotion,
‘ which was no little comfort and
‘ admiration to me, that God should
‘ be so good and gracious to her.

‘ A little before her dear soul de-
‘ parted, I was gone to bed; she
‘ sent for me to pray with her; I got
‘ up and went to her, and asked her
‘ how she did. Her answer was,
‘ that she was but looking when
‘ the good should come, and there-
‘ upon we went to prayers.

‘ She had her answers in the
‘ Common Prayer-book as perfect
‘ as if she had been in perfect health,
‘ and an Amen to every pathetic ex-
‘ pression. When we had ended
‘ our prayers for the visitation of
‘ the sick, we made use of those
‘ prayers which are in the book
‘ called The Whole Duty of Man;
‘ and when I heard her say nothing,
‘ I urged her, and said, My dear,
‘ dost thou mind?—Yes, was the
‘ last word which she spoke. I
‘ question not, my dear hearts, but
‘ that the reading of these lines will
‘ cause many salt tears to spring
‘ from your eyes. Yet this may be
‘ some comfort to you, to think (as
‘ I conclude) your dear mother a
‘ glorious saint in heaven.

‘ I could have told you of many
‘ more of your dear mother’s ex-
‘ cellent virtues, but I hope that
‘ you will not in the least question
‘ my testimony, if in a few words
‘ I tell you that she was pious and
‘ upright in her conversation.

‘ Now to that God who bestow-

‘ ed these graces on her, be a-
‘ scribed all honour, glory, and do-
‘ minion, the just tribute of all
‘ created beings, for evermore.—
‘ Amen.

‘ WILLIAM MOMPESSEON.’

LETTER II.

To Sir GEORGE SAVILLE, Bart.

Eyam, Sept. 1, 1666.

‘ Honoured and dear Sir,

‘ This is the saddest news that
‘ ever my pen could write! The
‘ destroying angel having taken up
‘ his quarters within my habitation,
‘ my dearest dear is gone to her
‘ eternal rest, and is invested with
‘ a crown of righteousness, having
‘ made a happy end.

‘ Indeed, had she loved herself
‘ as well as me, she had fled from
‘ the pit of destruction with her
‘ sweet babes, and might have pro-
‘ longed her days, but that she was
‘ resolved to die a martyr to my in-
‘ terest. My drooping spirits are
‘ much refreshed with her joys,
‘ which I think are unutterable.

‘ Sir, this paper is to bid you a
‘ hearty farewell for ever, and to
‘ bring you my humble thanks for
‘ all your noble favours (and I hope
‘ that you will believe a dying man).
‘ I have as much love as honour
‘ for you, and I will bend my feeble
‘ knees to the God of heaven, that
‘ you, my dear lady, and your chil-
‘ dren, and their children, may be
‘ blest with external and eternal
‘ happiness, and that the same bless-
‘ ing may fall upon my lady Sun-
‘ derland and her relations.

‘ Dear sir, let your dying chap-
‘ lain recommend this truth to you
‘ and your family, that no hap-
‘ piness nor solid comfort can be
‘ found in this vale of tears like
‘ living a pious life; and pray ever
‘ retain this rule, Never to do
‘ any

any thing upon which you dare
not first ask the blessing of God
upon the success thereof.

Sir, I have made bold in my
will with your name for an exe-
cutor, and I hope that you will
not take it ill. I have joined two
others with you, that will take
from you the trouble. Your fa-
vourable aspect will, I know, be
a great comfort to my distressed
orphans. I am not desirous that
that they may be great, but good;
and my next request is, that they
may be brought up in the fear
and admonition of the Lord.

Sir, I thank God I am content-
ed to shake hands with all the
world, and have many comfort-
able assurances that God will ac-
cept me upon the account of
his Son; and I find God more
good than ever I thought or ima-
gined, and I wish from my soul,
that his goodness were not so
much abused and contemned.

I desire, sir, that you will be
pleased to make choice of an hum-
ble pious man to succeed me in
my parsonage; and could I see
your face before my departure
from hence, I would inform you
which way I think he may live
comfortably amongst his people,
which would be some satisfaction
to me before I die.

Dear sir, I beg your prayers,
and desire you to procure the
prayers of all about you, that I
may not be daunted by all the
powers of hell, and that I may
have dying graces; that when I
come to die, I may be found in a
dying posture; and with tears I
beg, that when you are praying
for fatherless infants, that you
would then remember my two
pretty babes.

Sir, pardon the rude style of
this paper, and if my head be dis-

composed, you cannot wonder at
me. However, be pleased to be-
lieve that I am,

Dear sir,

Your most obliged,

most affectionate,

and grateful servant,

W. MOMPESSEY.

LETTER III.

To JOHN BEILBY, Esq. of _____
in YORKSHIRE.

Eyam, Nov. 20, 1666.

Dear sir,

I suppose this letter will seem
to you no less than a miracle,
that my habitation is *inter vivos*.
I was loth to affright you with a
letter from my hands, therefore I
made bold with a friend to tran-
scribe these lines.

I know that you are sensible
of my condition, the loss of the
kindest wife in the world (whose
life was truly imitable, and her
end most comfortable). She was
in an excellent posture when
death came with his summons,
which fills me with many com-
fortable assurances that she is now
invested with a crown of righte-
ousness.

I find this maxim verified by
too sad experience: *Bonum magis
cavendo quam fruendo cernitur*. Had
I been so thankful as my condi-
tion did deserve, I might yet have
had my dearest dear in my bosom.
But now farewell all happy days,
and God grant that I may repent
my sad ingratitude!

The condition of this place has
been so sad, that I persuade my-
self it did exceed all history and
example. I may truly say that
our town has become a Golgotha,
the place of a skull; and had there

not

'not been a small remnant of us
'left, we had been as Sodom, and
'like unto Gomorrah. My ears
'never heard such doleful lamenta-
'tions--my nose never smelled
'such horrid smells, and my eyes
'never beheld such ghastly specta-
'cles! Here have been seventy-
'six families visited within my pa-
'rish, out of which two hundred
'and fifty-nine persons died!

'Now (blessed be God) all our
'fears are over, for none have died
'of the infection since the eleventh
'of October, and all the pest-houses
'have been long empty. I intend
'(God willing) to spend most of
'this week in seeing all woollen
'cloaths fumed and purified, as well
'for the satisfaction as for the safe-
'ty of the country.

'Here hath been such burning
'of goods, that the like, I think,
'was never known; and, indeed,
'in this I think that we have been
'too precise. For my part, I have
'scarce left myself apparel to shel-
'ter my body from the cold, and
'have wasted more than needed,
'merely for example.

'As for my own part, I cannot
'say that I had ever better health
'than during the time of the dread-
'ful visitation; neither can I say
'that I have had any symptoms of
'the disease. My man had the
'distemper, and upon the appear-
'ance of a tumour I gave him se-
'veral chemical antidotes, which
'had a very kind operation, and,
'with the blessing of God, kept the
'venom from the heart, and after
'the rising broke he was very well.
'My maid hath continued in health,
'which is as great a temporal bless-
'ing as could befall me; for if she
'had quailed*, I should have been

'ill set to have washed, and to have
'gotten my own provisions.

'I know that I have your pray-
'ers, and question not but I have
'fared the better for them. I
'do conclude that the prayers of
'good people have rescued me from
'the jaws of death; and certainly
'I had been in the dust, had not
'omnipotency itself been conquer-
'ed by some holy violence.

'I have largely tasted the good-
'ness of the Creator, and (blessed
'be his name) the grim looks of
'death did never yet affright me.
'I always had a firm faith, that my
'dear babes would do well, which
'made me willing to shake hands
'with the unkind froward world;
'yet I hope that I shall esteem it a
'mercy, if I am frustrated of the
'hopes I had of a translation to a
'better place, and (God grant) that
'with patience I may wait for my
'chance, and that I may make a right
'use of his mercies: as the one
'hath been tart, so the other hath
'been sweet and comfortable.

'I perceive by a letter from Mr.
'Newby, that you concern your-
'self very much for my welfare. I
'make no question but I have your
'unfeigned love and affection. I
'can assure you, that during all my
'troubles you have had a great deal
'of room in my thoughts,

'Be pleased, dear sir, to accept of
'the presentments of my kind re-
'spects, and impart them to your
'good wife, and all my dear re-
'lations. I can assure you that a
'line from your hand will be wel-
'come to

'Your sorrowful and
'affectionate nephew,
'W. MOMPESON."

* Old English for *fall sick*.

BIOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON ALBERT DURER, MICHAEL ANGELO, and LEONARDO DA VINCI, by M. FUSELI.

[From the third Volume of the same Work.]

“THE indiscriminate use of the words Genius and Ingenuity has, perhaps, nowhere caused more confusion than in the classification of artists. Albert Durer was a man of great ingenuity without being a genius. He studied, and, as far as his penetration reached, established certain proportions of the human frame, but he did not create a style. He copied rather than imitated the forms that surrounded him, and without remorse tacked deformity and meagreness to fulness and beauty. He sometimes had a glimpse of the sublime, but it was only a glimpse. The expanded agony of Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the mystic mass of his figure of Melancholy have much sublimity, though the expression of the last is weakened by the rubbish he has thrown about her. His Knight, attended by Death and the Fiend, is more capricious than terrible; and his Adam and Eve are two common models shut up in a rocky dungeon. Every work of his is a proof that he wanted the power of imitation, of concluding from what he saw to what he did not see. Copious without taste, anxiously precise in parts, and unmindful of the whole, he has rather shewn us what to avoid than what we are to follow. Though called the Father of the German School, he neither reared scholars, nor was imitated by the German artists of his or the succeeding century. That the importation of his works into Italy should have effected a temporary change in the principles of some

Tuscans who had studied Michael Angelo, is a fact which proves that minds at certain periods may be subject to epidemic influence as well as bodies. That M. Angelo, when a boy, copied with a pen Michel Wolgemuth's print of the Temptation of St. Anthony, and bought fish in the market to colour the devils, may be believed; but it requires the credulity of Wagenfeil to suppose that he could want any thing of Albert Durer, when he was a man. The legend contradicts itself; for who ever before heard of the bronzes of Albert Durer?

“M. Angelo, punctilious and haughty to princes, was gentle, and even submissive to inferior artists. Guiliano Bugiardini, a man of tiny talents and much conceit, had been applied to by Messer Ottaviano de Medici to paint the portrait of M. Angelo for him. Bugiardini, familiar with M. Angelo, obtained his consent. He sat to him; desired to rise after a sitting of two hours; and perceiving at the first glance the incorrectness of the outline, What the devil, said he, have you been doing? You have shoved one of the eyes into the temples; pray look at it. Guiliano, after repeatedly looking at the picture and the original, at last replied with much gravity, I cannot see it; but pray sit down and let us examine again. M. Angelo, who knew where the cause of the blunder lay, sat down again, and patiently submitting to a long second inspection, was at last peremptorily told that the copy was correct. If that

that be the case, said he, nature has committed a mistake; go you on, and follow the dictates of your art.

"There now exists at Holkham, among the pictures collected by the late lord Leicester, and in the possession of Mr. Coke of Norfolk, the only copy ever made of the whole composition of the celebrated Cartoon of Pisa. It is a small oil picture, in chiaroscuro, and the performance of Bastiano da St. Gallo, surnamed Aristotile, from his learned or verbose descants on that surprising work. It was painted at the desire of Vasari, and transmitted to Francis the First by Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera. How it could escape the eyes of the French and English connoisseurs or artists, who had access to the collections of which it constituted the chief ornament, is a mystery, which for the honour of the art none can wish to unravel.

"Nothing is trifling in the history of genius. The following strange incident, extracted from the Life of M. Angelo, written by his pupil, or rather attendant, Ascanio Condivi, deserves notice, because it is related from the mouth of M. Angelo himself.

"Some time after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, Cardiere, a young *improvvisatore*, entertained by his son Piero, secretly informed M. Angelo, with whom he lived in habits of friendship, that Lorenzo de Medici had appeared to him in a ragged pall of black over his naked body, and commanded him to announce to his son, that in a short time he should be driven into exile and return no more. M. Angelo exhorted him to execute the commands of the vision; but Cardiere, aware of the haughty info-

lent temper of Piero, forbore to follow his advice. Some mornings after this, whilst M. Angelo was busy in the cortile of the palace, Cardiere, terrified and pale, comes again and relates, that the night before, when yet awake, Lorenzo, in the same garb, appeared to him again, and had enforced his orders with a violent blow on the cheek. M. Angelo now, with great earnestness, insisting on his immediate compliance with the commands of the vision, Cardiere set off directly for Careggi, a villa of the family about three miles distant from Florence; but having scarcely got half way met Piero with his suite returning to town, and instantly acquainted him with what he had seen, heard, and suffered. He was laughed at by Piero, and ridiculed by his attendants, one of whom, Divizio, afterwards cardinal di Bibiena, told him he was mad to fancy Lorenzo would charge a stranger with a message he might deliver himself to his son. Dismissed in this manner, he returned to M. Angelo, and prevailed on him to quit Florence and go to Bologna, where he had scarcely settled in the house of Gian Francesco Aldrovandi before the predicted revolution took place, and the expulsion of the whole family of the Medici with all their party confirmed the vision of Cardiere, whether 'fancy-bred,' or communicated by 'spirit blest or goblin damned.'

"Leonardo da Vinci, made up of all the elements, without the preponderance of any one, gave universal hints, and wasted life insatiate in experiment; now on the wing after beauty, then grovelling on the ground after deformity; now looking full in the face of terror, then

then decking it with shards, and shells, and masks: equally attracted by character and caricature, by style and common nature, he has drawn rudiments of all, but, like a stream left in ramification, vanished without a trace.

"Want of perseverance alone could make him abandon his cartoon of the celebrated group of horsemen destined for the great council-chamber at Florence, without painting the picture. For to him who could organize the limbs of that composition, Michael Angelo himself could be no object of fear. And that he was able to organize it, we may be certain from the sketch that remains of it, however pitiful, in the '*Etruria Pittrice*,' lately published, but still more from the admirable print of Edelinck, after a drawing of Rubens, who was his great admirer, and has said much to impress us with the beauties of his Last Supper at Milan, which he abandoned likewise without finishing the head of Christ, exhausted by a wild chase after models for the heads and hands of the apostles. Had he been able to conceive the center, the radii must have followed of course. Whether he considered that magic of light and shade, which he possessed in an unparalleled degree in his smaller

pictures, as an inferior principle in a work of such dignity, or was unable to diffuse it over numerous groups, cannot now be determined; but he left his fresco flat, and without that solemnity of twilight, which is more than an equivalent for those contrasts of chiaroscuro that Giorgione is said to have learnt from him. The legend which makes Leonardo go to Rome with Giuliano di Medici at the election of Leo X. to accept employment in the Vatican, whether sufficiently authentic or not, furnishes a characteristic trait of the man. The pope passing through the room allotted for the pictures, and instead of designs and cartoons finding nothing but an apparatus of distillery of oils and varnishes, exclaimed, Ah me! he means to do nothing; for he thinks of the end before he has made a beginning. From a sonnet of Leonardo, preserved by Lomazzo, he appears to have been sensible of the inconstancy of his own temper, and full of wishes at least to correct it.

"Much has been said of the honour he received by expiring in the arms of Francis the First. It was indeed an honour, by which destiny in some degree atoned to Francis for his disaster at Pavia."

ACCOUNT of some of the SINGULARITIES of the late Mr. HOWARD.

[From the first Volume of GLEANINGS through WALES, HOLLAND, and WESTPHALIA, by Mr. PRATT.]

"HOWARD had many singularities, but very few affectations. It was singular for mere mortal man to go about doing good for the sake of doing it: to devote his

fortune, and his life, to explore the most neglected, and the most forlorn of the wretched, and to relieve them 'according to their several necessities'—to begin the work
of

of benevolence, where other people's bounty commonly ends it—in a prison. All this, I say, was very singular, but wholly pure of affectation. Further, it was singular, deserving that word, indeed, inasmuch as in human history—it is without a parallel—to put himself to the greatest personal inconveniences, and to encounter the greatest dangers, often of life itself, to accomplish the proposed ends of his philanthropy, since it is notorious that he traversed the earth, without any consideration of political distinctions, or the nature of climate, in search of his objects, by which perseverance and intrepidity of resolution, he overcame all impediments that would have deterred many excellent persons from attempting the like enterprises; and made even those faint by the way, who, with like good hearts, but with less firm minds, would have found themselves unequal to like undertakings: yet in Howard this was altogether unaffected: and before any man sets down any part of it to a love of being particular, or to a love of fame, arising therefrom, let him well and truly examine his own heart, his own disposition, and see that he is not hunting about for an excuse to his own want of benevolence, or to his own vanities, in being bountiful, by lowering the principle of benevolence in another. Let it not be imputed to John Howard, as a dishonour, that he had enemies, who, while they could not but applaud the blessed effects of his virtue, laboured to depreciate the cause: the Saviour of the whole world, whom, perhaps, of human creatures he most correctly imitated, had the same, and to resemble his divine exam-

ple, even in the wrongs that were heaped on his sacred head, is rather glory than shame.

“He was singular in many of the common habits of life: for instance, he preferred damp sheets, linen, and cloaths, to dry ones, and both rising and going to bed swathed himself with coarse towels dipped in the coldest water he could get; in that state he remained half an hour, and then threw them off, freshened and invigorated, as he said, beyond measure. He never put on a great coat in the coldest countries; nor had been a minute under or over the time of an appointment, so far as it depended on himself, for six and twenty years. He never continued at a place, or with a person, a single day beyond the period prefixed for going, in his whole life; and he had not for the last sixteen years of his existence ate any fish, flesh, or fowl; nor sat down to his simple fare of tea, milk, and rusks, all that time. His journeys were continued from prison to prison, from one groupe of wretched beings to another, night and day, and where he could not go with a carriage he would ride, and where that was hazardous he would walk. Such a thing as an obstruction was out of the question.

“There are those who, conscious of wanting in themselves what they envy in others, brand this victorious determination of suffering no let, or hindrance, to stop him from keeping on in the right way, as madness. Ah, my friend, how much better would it be for their neighbours, and for society, were they half as mad. Distractions they doubtless have, but it is to be feared, not half so friendly to the interests of human kind. But,

B

indeed;

indeed, all enthusiasm of virtue is deemed romantic excentricity, by the cold hearted.

“With respect to Mr. Howard’s personal singularities above described, though they were certainly hazardous experiments, in the first instance, it was not useless for a man, who had pre-resolved to set his face against wind and weather, and after passing all sorts of unhealthy climes, to descend into the realms of disease and death, to make them.

“Some days after his first return from an attempt to mitigate the fury of the plague in Constantinople, he favoured me with a morning visit in London; the weather was so very terrible, that I had forgot his inveterate exactness, and had yielded up even the hope, for his own sake, of expecting him. Twelve at noon was the hour, and exactly as the clock, in my room, struck it, he entered; the wet, for it rained torrents, dripping from every part of his dress, like water from a sheep just landed from its washing. He would not even have attended to his situation, having sat himself down with the utmost composure, and begun conversation, had I not made an offer of dry cloaths, &c.

‘Yes,’ said he, smiling, ‘I had my fears, as I knocked at your door, that we should go over the old business of apprehensions, about a little rain water, which though it does not run from off my back, as it does from that of a duck, goose, or any other aquatic bird, it does me as little injury; and after a long drought is scarcely less refreshing. The coat I have now on has been as often wetted through, as any duck’s in the world, and, indeed, gets no other sort of clean-

ing. I do assure you, a good soaking shower is the best brush for broad cloth, in the universe. You, like the rest of my friends, throw away your pity upon my supposed hardships with just as much reason, as you commiserate the common beggars, who, being familiar with storms and hurricanes, necessity and nakedness, are a thousand times, so forcible is habit, less to be compassionate than the sons and daughters of Ease and Luxury, who, accustomed to all the enfeebling refinements of feathers by night, and fires by day, are taught to feel like the puny creature stigmatised by Pope, who shivered at a breeze. All this is the work of art, my good friend; nature is more independent of external circumstances. Nature is intrepid, hardy, and adventurous; but it is a practice to spoil her, with indulgencies, from the moment we come into the world—a soft dress, and soft cradle, begin our education in luxuries, and we do not grow more manly the more we are gratified: on the contrary, our feet must be wrapt in wool or silk, we must tread upon carpets, breathe, as it were, in fire, avoid a tempest, which sweetens the air, as we would a blast that putrifies it, and guarding every crevice from an unwholesome breeze, when it is the most elastic and bracing, lie down upon a bed of feathers, that relax the system more than a night’s lodging upon flint stones.’

‘You smile,’ added Mr. Howard, after a pause, ‘but I am a living instance of the truths I insist on. A more ‘puny whiffler’ than myself, in the days of my youth, was never seen. I could not walk out an evening without wrapping up
‘if

‘ if I got wet in the feet a cold succeeded, I could not put on my shirt without its being aired, I was, politely, enfeebled enough to have delicate nerves, and was, occasionally, troubled with a very genteel hectic. To be serious, I am convinced what emasculates the body, debilitates the mind, and renders both unfit for those exertions, which are of such use to us as social beings. I, therefore, entered upon a reform of my constitution, and have succeeded in such a degree, that I have neither had a cough, cold, the vapors, nor any more alarming disorder, since I surmounted the seasoning. Prior to this, I used to be a miserable dependent on wind and weather; a little too much of either would postpone, and frequently prevent —not only my amusements, but my duties; and every one knows that a pleasure, or a duty, deferred, is often destroyed. Procrastination Young very justly called the Thief of Time. And if, pressed by my affections, or by the necessity of affairs, I did venture forth in despite of the elements, the consequences were equally absurd, and incommensurable, not seldom afflictive. I muffled up even to my nostrils; a crack in the glass of my chaise was sufficient to distress me, a sudden slope of the wheels to the right or left, set me a trembling, a jolt seemed like dislocation, and the sight of a bank or precipice, near which my horse, or carriage, was to pass, would disorder me so much, that I would order the driver to stop, that I might get out and walk by the difficult places. Mullied wines, spirituous cordials, and great fires, were to comfort me, and to keep out the cold, as it is called, at every stage, and if I felt

‘ the least damp in my feet, or other parts of my body, dry stockings, linen, &c. were to be instantly put on, the perils of the day were to be baffled by something taken hot going to bed, and before I pursued my journey, the next morning, a dram was to be swallowed down to fortify the stomach. In a word, I lived, moved, and had my being, so much by rule, that the slightest deviation was a disease.’

‘ Every man,’ continued Mr. Howard, ‘ must, in these cases, be his own physician. He must prescribe for, and practise on, himself. I did this by a very simple, but as you will think, very severe regimen; namely, by denying myself almost every thing in which I had long indulged. But as it is always much harder to get rid of a bad habit than to contract it, I entered on my reform gradually; that is to say, I began to diminish my usual indulgencies by degrees. I found that a heavy meal, or a hearty one, as it is termed, and a chearful glass, that is to say, one more than does you good, made me incapable, or at best, disinclined to any useful exertions, for some hours after dinner; and if the diluting powers of tea assisted the work of a disturbed digestion, so far as to restore my faculties, a luxurious supper comes so close upon it, that I was fit for nothing but dissipation, till I went to a luxurious bed, where I finished the enervating practices, by sleeping eight, ten, and sometimes a dozen of hours on the stretch.— You will not wonder, that I rose the next morning with the solids relaxed, the nerves unstrung, the juices thickened, and the constitution weakened. To remedy all this, I ate a little less at every meal, and reduced my drink in proportion.

'tion. It is really wonderful to
'consider, how imperceptibly a sin-
'gle morsel of animal food, and a
'tea-spoonful of liquor deducted
'from the usual quantity daily, will
'restore the mental functions, with-
'out any injury to the corporeal:
'nay, with increase of vigour to
'both. I brought myself, in the
'first instance, from dining upon
'many dishes, to dining on a few,
'and then to being satisfied with
'one; in like manner, instead of
'drinking a variety of wines, I made
'my election of a single sort, and
'adhered to it alone.'

'In the next place—but I shall
'tire you.'

"I intreated him to go on till I
either shewed by words, or actions,
that I was weary.

"He proceeded thus: 'My next
'business was to eat and drink spar-
'ingly of that adopted dish and bot-
'tle. My ease, vivacity, and spirits,
'augmented. My cloathing, &c. un-
'derwent a similar reform, the effect
'of all which is, and has been for
'many years, that I am neither af-
'fected by seeing my carriage drag-
'ged up a mountain, or driven down
'a valley. If an accident happens,
'I am prepared for it, I mean to far
'as respects unnecessary terrors; and
'I am proof against all changes in
'the atmosphere, wet cloaths, wet
'feet, night air, damp beds, damp
'houses, transitions from heat to
'cold, and the long train of hypo-
'chondriac affections.'

'Believe me, we are too apt to
'invert the remedies, which we
'ought to prescribe to ourselves—
'for instance, we are for ever giv-
'ing hot things, when we should ad-
'minister cold. On my going down
'to my house last week in Bedford-
'shire, the overseer of my grounds
'met me with a pail full of comfort-

'able things, as he called them,
'which he was carrying to one of
'my cows, which was afflicted fore-
'ly with, as he called it, a *rackety*
'complaint in her bowels. I order-
'ed him to throw away his pail of
'comforts, and take to the poor
'beast, a pail of cold water. Cold
'water, your honour, exclaimed the
'man, with every mark of conster-
'nation! Would you kill the poor
'dumb creature? Why, she is in
'such *desperatious* pain, that I don't
'think a bucket of sheer brandy
'would have any more effect upon
'her, than if I were to pour it against
'a dead wall. No matter for that,
'said I, take her a pail of water!
'Suppose, honest friend, she had all
'her life run wild in a forest, and
'fell into the sickness under which
'she now labours, dost thou think
'that nature would ever carry her
'the hot comforts you have got in
'that pail? Nature, your honour,
'but with submission, Nature must
'when either man or beast is sick,
'be clapped on the back a little: if
'not, Nature will let them die. Not
'she, truly; if they are recoverable,
'she will, on the contrary, make
'them well. Depend upon it, she
'is the best physician in the world,
'though she has not taken her de-
'grees in the college; and so make
'haste to throw away what is now
'in your pail, and fill it as I di-
'rected; for whether my cow die or
'live, she shall have nothing but
'grass and cold water. Though the
'poor fellow dared not any longer
'resist, I could see plainly that he
'put me down, as having lost not
'only my senses, but my humanity.
'However, the cow did very well,
'and I am satisfied, that if we were
'to trust more to nature, and suffer
'her to supply her own remedies,
'to cure her own diseases, the for-
'midable

‘midable catalogue of human maladies would be reduced to a third of their present number. Dr. Sydenham, I think, reckons sixty different kinds of fevers, for example; of these I cannot suppose less than fifty are either brought about, or rendered worse by misapplication of improper remedies, or by our own violation of the laws of nature. And the same, I take it, may be said of other disorders.’

“He now pulled out his watch, telling me he had an engagement at half past one, that he had about three quarters of a mile to walk to it, that as he could do this in twenty minutes, and as it then wanted seven minutes and almost an half of one, he had exactly time enough still to spare, to state the object of his visit to me—‘Which is to thank you very sincerely,’ said he, taking my hand, ‘for the honour you have done me in your verses: I read them merely as a composition in which the poetical licence had been used to the utmost: poets, you know, my dear sir, always succeed best in fiction.’

“You will see by this conversation, that it was about the time when the English nation had been emulous of commemorating their respect for this great and good man, by erecting a statue, towards which, I had contributed my mite, by devoting to the fund the profits of my little poem, called “The Triumph of Benevolence;” and while I am touched very sensibly with even the recollection of the public favour, which crowned this little work, I very sincerely attribute a great deal of its success to the popularity of a subject in which every lover of humanity took such an interest.

“In reply to Mr. Howard, I as-

sured him, that he ought to be, and doubtless was, conscious, the liberty allowed a poet, was never more unnecessary, or less made use of than on the occasion alluded to, and that if an agreeable fiction was any test of the poetical art, I could pretend to none from having very closely, as his heart could not but at that moment tell him, adhered to truth: and that I assured myself he would admit that truth was the same, whether expressed in prose or verse. I added, it was my earnest hope, there was no ground for an idea that had gone forth of his refusing the offering of gratitude, which his country were preparing for him.

‘Indeed, but there is,’ answered he; with the most lively earnestness, ‘I was never more serious than in my refusal of any and every such offering, and for the simplest reason in the world; namely, my having no manner of claim to it. What I do, have done, or may hereafter do, is, has been, and will always be, matter of inclination, the gratifying which always pays itself, and I have no more merit in employing my time and money in the way I am known to do, than another man in other occupations. Instead of taking pleasure in a pack of hounds, in social entertainments, in a fine stud of horses, and in many other similar satisfactions, I have made my election of different pursuits; and being fully persuaded a man’s own gratifications are always, more or less, involved in other people’s, I feel no desire to change with any man, and yet I can see no manner of pretension, whereon to erect a statue; beside all which, I have a most unconquerable aversion, and ever had, to have public exhibitions made of me, inasmuch,

‘that I protest to you, it has cost me a great deal of trouble, and some money, to make this insignificant form and ugly face, escape a pack of draughtsmen, painters, &c. that are lying in wait for me.’—

“Unless you had personally known Mr. Howard, it is impossible you should have the smallest idea of the pleasant manner with which he spoke on his own personal subject. —‘I have detected a fellow at work upon this face of mine, ugly as it is,’ said he, ‘even as I have been walking in the streets of London; and if a hackney coach has been within call, I have popped into it, drawn up the blinds, and sat snug, till I got to my own door, and then I have leaped out, and run into my own house, as if I was apprehensive a bailiff was at my heels. Nay, I have often had my door itself infested by a lurking artist, who was literally in wait to take me off. But one day, since my return, a trick I played one of these takers off diverted me excessively. You must know I am a great gazer at the novelties that are continually presented at the print-shops in this great city; I was standing at that of Carrington Bowles, in St. Paul’s church-yard, the other day, to look at some political caricatures very pleasantly executed, when, happening to cast my eye side-long, I discovered a fellow operating on my phiz with all his might. Perceiving himself caught in the fact, he lowered his paper, and pretended to be, like myself and a number of others, looking only at the prints. I was just then in the humour to pay off this deception by another, so seeming, like him, to be wholly engrossed by a figure, called Scotch

‘Economy. well calculated to provoke the risible muscles, I threw mine into such contortions, and gave such sudden changes from one deformity to another, that had my painter etched any one of my features in its then position, the resemblance betwixt my actual self and the copy, would have been just as striking, as—I could desire it to be. The painter, however, at length perceived the stratagem, and smiling, as if he gave me credit for it, put his pencil into his pocket and went away. I own I enjoyed the joke, and have since practised it, more than once, with no less success.’

“You will, doubtless, throw these sallies amongst his singularities, my friend, but they are by no means to be stigmatised as affectations. From a very intent observation on Mr. Howard, I am perfectly satisfied, that as he had but few who acted like himself, the proportion of those who felt in the same way the ordinary results of such actions were not greater. That he was insensible to honest praise cannot be supposed, without depriving him of emotions which the most ingenuous modesty may indulge, and which are indeed amongst the most natural pleasures of the human mind; but to court the reputation of benevolence, by suffering the lucre of it to mix with any of his motives, or, still worse, to make it, as alas too many people do, a first great cause of being bountiful, argues an envy or a depravity in those who impute to him such vanities. In a word, if ever a human being could be truly said to ‘do good, and blush to find it fame,’ it was the late Mr. John Howard.

“I presume you have heard, that, amongst

amongst his other singularities, is to be enumerated his generous care of his superannuated horses. He had a range of pastures sacred to the old age of those who had carried him pleasantly, or worked for him honestly and industriously, till they were no longer fit for service. This is the moment when horses are, in general, either sold at an under price to people who are constrained to allow no touch of pity to predominate over that charity which begins at home, or else they are destroyed, and given to the dogs, their masters alledging that it is an act of humanity. Our philanthropist's humanity never leading him to kill an old servant, he turns his useless horses into the aforesaid pastures, where they remain happy pensioners on his bounty for the rest of their lives.

"I was much delighted on walking over those grounds with the generous master of them, to see twenty or thirty of these quadruped pensioners, enjoying themselves in perfect freedom from labour, and in full supply of all that old age requires. Each of the fields has a comfortable shed, where the inhabitants can resort to in the hard weather, and are sure of finding the rigours of the season softened by a well-furnished crib of the best hay, and a manger either of bran, or corn, ground, or some other nourishing food. Chelsea hospital is not better accommodated: the day on which I made the circuit of the pastures was one of the finest of August; some of the pensioners were renovating in the sun, others reposing in the shade; but on the approach of their benefactor, all of them, actuated by a spirit of gratitude worthy of imitation, that could move with

ease, came towards him, invited his attentions, and seemed very sensible of their situation. Some, whose limbs almost refused their offices, put themselves to no small difficulties to limp towards him, and even those, who, being confined to their hovels, might be fairly said to be bed-ridden, turned their languid eyes towards him, and appeared sensible of his pity, and caressings.

'These have been all very faithful creatures, sir,' said he, 'and who have strong claims upon me: that poor fellow, who has now scarce a leg to stand upon, was the constant companion of my peregrinations for six and twenty years, and was as proud and prancing, as he is now humble and decrepid; and the iron-grey invalid, which you see yonder, dragging his slow length along, was in the days of his youth such a roving, riotous fellow, that no gate or hedge could keep him within bounds, and it was a day's work sometimes to catch him; nay, when he was caught, it required more address and horsemanship than ever I was master of, to make him understand, that the philosophy of a parson's pad had more charms for me than all the flights of Bucephalus, or even of Pegafus himself. Look at him now. The morality of the contrast is obvious.'

"In this manner he went on, enumerating the several qualities, and historical anecdotes of the several pensioners. The one last described, he told me, 'was at no time a horse for him, and would not probably have been amongst his pensioners, but that he had been once rode by a relation of his, a young agreeable rake, who valued him for the very points
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‘that made him useless to me, his skittishness and impetuosity; all which, he asserted, were the sure marks, both in man and beast, of a generous spirit, high heart, and noble disposition. Now, as my little frolic-loving cousin was precisely of this character himself, and after a mad, but not vicious, career of fifteen years, consolidated into a very good man, I suffered the horse and his master to reform themselves at leisure, and wish with all my soul, that half the reformed rakes about town, had turned out so well, after sowing their wild oats, as did this young gentleman, and his favourite steed, who, for the eight last years of his servitude, was a pattern of sobriety to horses and riders.’

“I do not recollect any other singularities respecting this extraordinary man: but if what I have here set down, gives you a curiosity for more, I have no doubt but it will be amply gratified, as there needs no ghost to foretel us, there will be an historian for almost every anecdote and incident in his life! Luckily he is one of the subjects, which can never be exhausted, and as Dr. Johnson once said to me of his friend Goldsmith,— ‘he was one who cannot be too much praised or lamented.’ And never, perhaps was the famous expression of Hamlet more applicable, though quoted on ten thousand occasions, than to Howard—

‘He was a man, take him for all in all,
‘We may not look upon his like again!’

PARTICULARS of the LIFE and OPINIONS of Dr. HORNE, late LORD BISHOP of NORWICH.

[Extracted from MEMOIRS of his LIFE, STUDIES, and WRITINGS, by WM. JONES, M. A. F. R. S.]

“DOCTOR George Horne, late bishop of Norwich, and for several years president of Magdalen College in Oxford, and dean of Canterbury, was born at Otham, a small village near Maidstone in Kent, on the first of November, in the year 1730. His father was the reverend Samuel Horne, M. A. rector of Otham, a very learned and respectable clergyman, who for some years had been a tutor at Oxford. This gentleman had so determined with himself, to preserve the integrity of his mind against all temptations from worldly advantage, that he was heard to say, and used often to repeat it, he had rather be a toad-eater to a

mountebank, than flatter any great man against his conscience. To this he adhered, through the whole course of his life; a considerable part of which was spent in the education of his children, and in a regular performance of all the duties of his parish. He married a daughter of Bowyer Hendley, esq. by whom he had seven children, four sons and three daughters. The eldest son died very young. The late bishop was the next. His younger brother, Samuel, was a fellow of University College; where he died, greatly respected and lamented. He inherited the integrity of his father, and was an Israelite indeed, who never did or wished

wished harm to any mortal. Yet his character was by no means of the insipid kind: he had much of the humour and spirit of his elder brother; had a like talent for preaching; and was well attended to as often as he appeared in the university pulpit."

"The youngest brother, the reverend William Horne, was educated at Magdalen College in Oxford, and is the present worthy rector of Otham, in which he succeeded his father, as also in the more valuable rectory of Brede in the county of Suffex.

"Mr. Horne, the father of the family, was of so mild and quiet a temper, that he studiously avoided giving trouble upon any occasion. This he carried so far, that when his son George was an infant, he used to awake him with playing upon a flute; that the change from sleeping to awaking might be gradual and pleasant, and not produce an outcry; which frequently happens when children are awakened suddenly. What impression this early custom of his father might make upon his temper, we cannot say: but certainly, he was remarkable, as he grew up, for a tender feeling of music, especially that of the church.

"Under his father's tuition, he led a pleasant life, and made a rapid progress in Greek and Latin. But some well meaning friend, fearing he might be spoiled by staying so long at home, advised the sending of him to school. To this his good father, who never was given to make much resistance, readily consented; and he was accordingly placed in the school at Maidstone, under the care of the reverend Deodatus Bye, a man of good principles, and well learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; who,

when he had received his new scholar and examined him at the age of thirteen, was so surprised at his proficiency, that he asked him why he came to school, when he was rather fit to go from school? With this gentleman he continued two years; during which, he added much to his stock of learning, and among other things a little elementary knowledge of the Hebrew, on the plan of Buxtorf, which was of great advantage to him afterwards. I am a witness to the high respect with which he always spoke of his master; whom he had newly left, when my acquaintance first commenced with him at University College, to which he was sent when he was but little more than fifteen years of age. When servants speak well of a master or a mistress, we are sure they are good servants: and when a scholar speaks well of his teacher, we may be as certain he is, in every sense of the word, a good scholar."

"While Mr. Horne was at school, a Maidstone scholarship in University College became vacant; in his application for which he succeeded, and, young as he was, the master recommended his going directly to college.

"Soon after he was settled at University College, Mr. Hobson, a good and learned tutor of the house, gave out an exercise, for a trial of skill, to Mr. Horne and the present writer of his life, who was also in his first year. They were ordered to take a favourite Latin ode of Boëtius, and present it to the tutor in a different Latin metre. This they both did as well as they could: and the contest, instead of dividing, united them ever after, and had also the effect of inspiring them with a love of the lyric poetry of that author; which seems not to be sufficiently

ficiently known among scholars, though beautiful in its kind. The whole work was once in such esteem, that king Alfred, the founder of University College, and of the English constitution, translated it.

"His studies, for a time, were in general the same with those of other ingenious young men; and the vivacity of his mind, which never was exceeded, and made his conversation very desirable, introduced him to many gentlemen of his own standing, who resembled him in their learning and their manners, particularly to Mr. Jenkinson (now lord Hawkebury), Mr. Moore, (now archbishop of Canterbury), Mr. Cracherode, Mr. Benson, the honourable Hamilton Boyle, son of lord Orrery, the late reverend Jasper Selwin, and many others. Mr. Denny Martin (now Dr. Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, in Kent) was from the same school with Mr. Horne, and has always been very nearly connected with him, as a companion of his studies, a lover of his virtues, and an admirer of his writings.

"To shew how high Mr. Horne's character stood with all the members of his college, old and young, I need only mention the following fact. It happened about the time when he took his bachelor's degree, that a Kentish fellowship became vacant at Magdalen college; and there was, at that time, no scholar of the house who was upon the county. The senior fellow of University College, having heard of this, said nothing of it to Mr. Horne, but went down to Magdalen College, told them what an extraordinary young man they might find in University College, and gave him such a recommendation as disposed the society to accept of him. When the day of

election came, they found him such as he had been represented, and much more, and accordingly made him a fellow of Magdalen College."

"If we return now to the account of his studies, we shall there find something else falling in his way which he never sought after, and attended with a train of very important consequences. While he was deeply engaged in pursuit of oratory, poetry, philosophy, history, and was making himself well acquainted with the Greek tragedians, of which he was become a great admirer, an accident, of which I shall relate the account as plainly and faithfully as I can, without disguising or diminishing, drew him into a new situation in respect of his mind, and gave a new turn to his studies, before he had arrived at his bachelor's degree. I may indeed say of this, that it certainly gave much of the colour which his character assumed from that time, and opened the way to most of his undertakings and publications; as he himself would witness if he were now alive.

"It is known to the public, that he came very early upon the stage as an author, though an anonymous one, and brought himself into some difficulty under the denomination of an Hutchinsonian; for this was the name given to those gentlemen who studied Hebrew, and examined the writings of John Hutchinson, esq. the famous Mosaic philosopher, and became inclined to favour his opinions in theology and philosophy.

"About the time I am speaking of, there were many good and learned men of both universities, but chiefly in and of the university of Oxford, who, from the representation given to the public, some years before, by the right honourable

able Duncan Forbes, then lord president of the court of session in Scotland; and from a new and more promising method of studying the Hebrew language, independent of Jewish error; and from a flattering prospect also of many other advantages to the general interests of religion and learning, were become zealous advocates in favour of the new scheme of Mr. Hutchinson. Mr. Horne was led into this enquiry, partly by an accident which had happened to myself.

“ An attachment to some friends, then well known in the university for their abilities in music, of whom the principal were, Mr. Phocion Henley of Wadham College, Mr. Pixel of Queen's, and Mr. Short of Worcester, drew me often to Wadham College; which society has two Hebrew scholarships, on one of which there was a gentleman, a Mr. Catcott of Bristol, whose father, as I afterwards understood, was one of those authors who first distinguished themselves as writers on the side of Mr. Hutchinson, who possessed a very curious collection of fossils, some of which he had digged and scratched out of the earth with his own hands at the hazard of his life; a pit near Wadham College, which would have buried him, having fallen in very soon after he was out of it. This collection I was invited to see, and readily accepted the invitation, out of a general curiosity, without any particular knowledge of the subject. This gentleman, perceiving my attention to be much engaged by the novelty and curiosity of what he exhibited, threw out so many hints about things of which I had never heard, that I requested the favour of some farther conversation with

him on a future occasion. One conference followed another, till I saw a new field of learning opened, particularly in the department of natural history, which promised me so much information and entertainment, that I fell very soon into the same way of reading. Dr. Woodward the physician, who had been a fellow labourer with Hutchinson, and followed very nearly the same principles, had made the natural history of the earth, and the diluvian origination of extraneous fossils, so agreeable and so intelligible, that I was captivated by his writings: and from them I went to others; taking what I found, with a taste and appetite, which could not, at that time, make such distinctions as I may have been able to make since. In the simplicity of my heart, I communicated some of the novelties, with which my mind was now filled, to my dear and constant companion Mr. Horne, from whom I seldom concealed any thing; but found him very little inclined to consider them; and I had the mortification to see that I was losing ground in his estimation. Our college-lectures on geometry and natural philosophy (which were not very deep) we had gone through with some attention, and thought ourselves qualified to speak up for the philosophy of Newton. It was therefore shocking to hear, that attraction was no physical principle, and that a vacuum never had been, and never would be, demonstrated. Here therefore Mr. Horne insisted, that if sir I. Newton's philosophy should be false in these principles, no philosophy would ever be true. How it was objected to, and how it was defended. I do not now exactly remember; I fear, not with any profound skill on either side; but

but this I well recollect, that our disputes, which happened at a pleasant season of the year, kept us walking to and fro in the quadrangle till past midnight. As I got more information for myself, I gained more upon my companion: but I have no title to the merit of forming him into what he afterwards proved to be.

"In the same college with us, there lived a very extraordinary person. He was a classical scholar of the first rate, from a public school, remarkable for an unusual degree of taste and judgment in poetry and oratory; his person was elegant and striking, and his countenance expressed at once both the gentleness of his temper and the quickness of his understanding. His manners and address were those of a perfect gentleman: his common talk, though easy and fluent, had the correctness of studied composition: his benevolence was so great, that all the beggars in Oxford knew the way to his chamber-door: upon the whole, his character was so spotless, and his conduct so exemplary, that, mild and gentle as he was in his carriage toward them, no young man dared to be rude in his company. By many of the first people in the university he was known and admired: and it being my fortune to live in the same staircase with him, he was very kind and attentive to me, though I was much his junior: he often allowed me the pleasure of his conversation, and sometimes gave me the benefit of his advice, of which I knew the meaning to be so good, that I always heard it with respect, and followed it as well as I could. This gentleman, with all his other qualifications, was a Hebrew scholar, and a favourer of Mr. Hutcheson's philosophy; but had kept

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it to himself, in the spirit of Nicodemus; and when I asked him the reason of it afterwards, and complained of the reserve with which he had so long treated me in this respect; 'Why,' said he, 'these things are in no repute; the world does not receive them: and you being a young man, who must keep what friends you have, and make your fortune in the world, I thought it better to let you go on in your own way, than bring you into that embarrassment, which might be productive of more harm than good, and embitter the future course of your life: besides, it was far from being clear to me, how you would receive them; and then I might have lost your friendship.' It was now too late for such a remonstrance to have any effect; I therefore, on the contrary, prevailed upon him to become my master in Hebrew, which I was very desirous to learn: and in this he acquitted himself with so much skill and kind attention, writing out for me with his own hand such grammatical rules and directions as he judged necessary, that in a very short time I could go on without my guide. I remember however, that I had nearly worked myself to death, by determining, like Duns Scotus in the picture-gallery, to go through a whole chapter in the Hebrew before night.

"To this gentleman, whose name was George Watfon, I recommended Mr. Horne at my departure from Oxford; and they were so well pleased with each other, that Mr. Horne, instead of going home to his friends in the vacation, stayed for the advantage of following his studies at Oxford, under the direction of his new teacher: and in the autumn of the year 1749, he began a series of letters to his father, which

which fill above thirty pages in large quarto, very closely written; from the whole tenor of which, it is pleasant to see, how entire a friendship and confidence there was between a grave and learned father, and a son, not yet twenty years of age!"

"From the general account he gives of his studies, he appears, in consequence of his intercourse with Mr. Watson, to have been persuaded, that the system of divinity in the Holy Scripture is explained and attested by the scriptural account of created nature; and that this account, including the Mosaic Cosmogony, is true so far as it goes: and that the Bible, in virtue of its originality, is fitter to explain all the books in the world than they are to explain it. That much of the learning of the age was either unprofitable in itself, or dangerous in its effect; and that literature, so far as it was a fashion, was in general unfavourable to Christianity, and to a right understanding of the Scripture. That the Jews had done much hurt in the Hebrew; not to the text by corrupting it, but by leading us into their false way of interpreting and understanding it; and that their Rabbinical writers were therefore not to be taken as teachers by Christian scholars. That a notion lately conceived of the Mosaic law, as a mere civil or secular institution, without the doctrine of life and immortality in it, was of pernicious tendency; contrary to the sense of all the primitive writers, and the avowed doctrine of the church of England. That the sciences of metaphysics and ethics had a near alliance to Deism; and that in consequence of the authority they had obtained, the doctrine of our pulpits was in general fallen below the Christian

standard; and that the Saviour and the Redemption, without which our religion is nothing, were in a manner forgotten; which had given too much occasion to the irregular teaching of the tabernacle. That the sin of modern Deism is the same in kind with the sin of Paradise, which brought death into the world, because it aspires to divine wisdom, that is, to the knowledge of divine things, and the distinction between good and evil, independent of God.

"He had learned farther, that the Hebrew language, and the Hebrew antiquities lead to a superior way of understanding the mythology and writings of the Heathen classical authors: and that the Hebrew is a language of ideas; whose terms for invisible and spiritual things are taken with great advantage from the objects of nature; and that there can be no other way of conceiving such things, because all our ideas enter by the senses: whereas in all other languages, there are arbitrary sounds without ideas.

"It appeared to him farther, that unbelief and blasphemy were gaining ground upon us, in virtue of some popular mistakes in natural philosophy, and threatened to banish all religion out of the world. Voltaire began very early to make his use of philosophy, and corrupt the world with it. He never was fit to mount it; but he walked by the side of it, and used it as a stalking-horse. It is therefore of great consequence to scholars to know, that as the heavens and the elements of the world had been set up by the Heathens, as having power in themselves; and that as the Heathens, building on this false foundation, had lost the knowledge of God; the modern doctrine, which gives innate powers to mat-

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ter, as the followers of Democritus and Epicurus did, would probably end in Atheism. That the forces, which the modern philosophy uses, are not the forces of nature; but that the world is carried on by the action of the elements on one another, and all under God. That it is no better than raving, to give active powers to matter, supposing it capable of acting where it is not, and to affirm, at the same time, that all matter is inert, that is inactive, and that even the Deity cannot act but where he is present, because his power cannot be but where his substance is.

“He was also convinced, that infinite mischief had been done, not only by the tribe of Deists and philosophers, but by some of our most celebrated divines, in extolling the dignity of human nature and the wisdom of human reason; both of which the Scripture delivers to us under a very different character; which the experience of the world is daily confirming. That infidels and profligates should wish to establish their own opinions upon the ruins of revelation, was not to be wondered at; but that they, whose office it was to dress and defend the sacred vineyard, should fall in with them, and join with the wild boar out of the wood to root it up, was a matter of grief and surprise. A distemper must indeed be epidemical, when the physicians themselves are seized with it. This malady, when traced to its fountain head, appears to have arisen from a general neglect in schools and seminaries of the study of the Scriptures in their original languages; where they attend so much to the works of Heathens, and so little to the book of light, life and immortality. While the heads of boys are filled with tales

of Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Bacchus, and Venus, the Bible is little heard of; and so the Heathen creed becomes not only the first, but the whole study. Jews, mistaken as they are, are still diligent in teaching the Scripture to their children in their own way; while we are teaching what even Jews are wise enough to abominate. Possessed by this opinion, that all polite knowledge is in Heathen authors, and the Bible but a dull heavy book, which instead of promoting rather stands in the way of improvement, a lad is sent from school to the university. Here is a very alarming crisis. If he happen to be of a sprightly wit, he falls into loose company, and, for want of religious principles, is led into all manner of wickedness. Should he study, he obtains logic under the form of a scholastic jargon, which in its simplicity is of excellent use. Then he learns a system of ethics, which teaches morals without religious data, as the Heathens did. After which, he probably goes on to Wollaston, Shaftsbury, and others; and is at length fixed in the opinion, that reason is sufficient for man without revelation. Our young philosopher, having proceeded thus far, wants nothing but metaphysics to complete him; by setting him to reason without principles, to judge without evidence, and to comprehend without ideas. He learns to deduce the being and attributes of God *a priori*; in consequence of which he discovers, that God is not a trinity, but a single person. When a gentleman thus equipped takes the Bible into his hand and commences divine, what must become of it, and of him? Thus it appears, that, as things go now, a man may be a master of what is called human learning,

learning, and yet ignorant to the last degree of what only is worth knowing.

"The foregoing abstract, which I have taken as faithfully as I could, is sufficient to shew what great and important subjects his mind was employed upon at this early period of his life."

"When a student hath once persuaded himself that he sees truth in the principles of Mr. Hutchinson, a great revolution succeeds in his ideas of the natural world and its œconomy. Qualities in matter, with a vacuum for them to act in, are no longer venerable; and the authority of Newton's name, which goes with them, loses some of its influence. Nor is this in the present case so much to be wondered at: for Mr. Hutchinson had conceived an opinion, which possessed his mind very strongly, that sir I. Newton and Dr. Clarke had formed a design, by introducing certain speculations founded on their new mode of philosophizing, to undermine and overthrow the theology of the Scripture, and to bring in the Heathen Jupiter or stoical *anima mundi* into the place of the true God, whom we Christians believe and worship. This will seem less extravagant, when it is considered Mr. Boyle had also expressed his suspicions, many years before, that Heathenism was about to rise again out of some new speculations, and reputedly grand discoveries, in natural philosophy. Yet I am not willing to believe, that the eminent persons above mentioned had actually formed any such design. What advantage unbelievers have, since their time, taken of their speculations in divinity and philosophy, and of the high repute which has attended them, and of the exclusive honours given to mathe-

matical learning and mathematical reasoning, is another question; and it calls for a serious examination at this time, when the moral world is in great disorder, from causes not well understood.

"However these things may be, the prejudice so strongly infused by Mr. Hutchinson against an evil design in Clarke and Newton, took possession of Mr. Horne's mind at the age of nineteen; and was farther confirmed by reports which he had heard of a private good understanding betwixt them and the *sceptics* of the day, such as Collins, Toland, Tindal, &c. more than the world generally knew of."

"Our young scholar, viewing the whole matter at first on the ridiculous side, and considering it not only as a dangerous attempt upon religion, but a palpable offence against truth and reason; drew a parallel between the Heathen doctrines in the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, and the Newtonian plan of the Cosmotheoreal system: of which parallel I shall not undertake to justify the particulars. I see its faulty flights and wanderings, from a want of more mature judgment and experience. It provoked several remarks, some in print, and some in manuscript, of which remarks the judgment was not greater, and the levity not less. The question was in reality too deep for those who attempted to fathom it at that time. Mr. Horne soon saw the impropriety of the style and manner, which as a young man he had assumed for merriment in that little piece: these were by no means agreeable to the constitution of his mind and temper. He therefore observed a very different manner afterwards; and, as soon as he had taken time to bethink himself, he resumed and reconsidered the subject;

ject; publishing his sentiments in a mild and serious pamphlet, which he called *A fair, candid, and impartial State of the Case between Sir I. Newton and Mr. Hutchinson*: allowing to sir Isaac the great merit of having settled laws and rules in natural philosophy; but at the same time claiming for Mr. Hutchinson the discovery of the true physiological causes, by which, under the power of the Creator, the natural world is moved and directed."

"When a young man of a vigorous mind determines, in these latter days of the church, to make himself a scholar; he is in great danger, from the books he may read, and the company he may fall into; notwithstanding the integrity of his mind, and the purity of his intentions. If he joins himself to a party, he will be under the influence of an affection, which is very properly called *partiality*; and which inclines him to favour the measures of his party indiscriminately; and therefore does great hurt to the judgment. He is apt to praise and censure, to love and hate, not with his own spirit, but with the spirit of his party. With their singularities, whatever they may be, he will find little fault; and if they have errors, they are such as he will not soon discover. To this danger Mr. Horne was exposed, as a reader of Hutchinson; I shall therefore describe it more particularly, and shew how and by what means he escaped it in all its parts, and preserved the independency of his understanding; in doing which, if I can do it faithfully, I shall certainly make myself of some use to the public.

"Mr. Hutchinson fell into a new and uncommon train of thinking in philosophy, theology, and

heathen antiquity; and appears to have learned much of it from the Hebrew, which he studied in a way of his own: but as he laid too great a stress in many instances on the evidence of Hebrew etymology, his admirers would naturally do the same; and some of them carried the matter so far, that nothing else would go down with them; till by degrees they adopted a mode of speaking, which had a nearer resemblance to cant and jargon, than to sound and sober learning. To this weakness, those persons were most liable, who had received the fewest advantages from a learned education. This was the case with some sensible tradesmen and mechanics, who by studying Hebrew, with the assistance of English only, grew conceited of their learning, and carried too much sail with too little ballast. Of this Mr. Horne was very soon aware; and he was in so little danger of following the example, that I used to hear him display the foibles of such persons with that mirth and good humour which he had ready at hand upon all occasions. With the like discretion and candour, he allowed to the reverend Dr. Sharp of Durham all that could reasonably be allowed, when he attacked the followers of Hutchinson upon the etymological quarter, where they seemed most vulnerable, or, where they might at least be annoyed with most appearance of advantage: and he never, through the whole course of his life, was a friend to the etymological part of the controversy; as it appears from his writings; in which Hebrew etymology, however he might apply to it for himself, is rarely if ever insisted upon."

"A farther danger arose from that custom, in which some of the followers of Hutchinson had too freely

freely indulged themselves, of treating their opponents with too great asperity and contempt. Hutchinson himself was very reprehensible in this respect, as well in his conversation as in his writings, and thereby lost much of that influence with men of learning, which he might have preserved, had he considered it as a duty to be more temperate and flexible in his manner of addressing the public. But he was a man of a warm and hasty spirit, like Martin Luther; who, to certain modern speculations in philosophy and theology, could preserve no more respect than Luther did to the errors of popery. How far the circumstances they both were under, the zeal by which they were actuated, and the provocations they met with from the world, will justify them in the use of intemperate language, can be known only to God to whom they must give an account. But whatever excuses may be made for the principals, we do not see how they can be extended to those who succeeded. Some of these however did claim for themselves the like privilege, and gave great offence to persons of cooler judgment. The world will not suffer things to be forced upon them. When men are angry, it is always supposed they have but little to say, and are provoked by a sense of the insufficiency of themselves and their cause."

"There was yet another danger to be apprehended, and that of no small concern to a member of the church of England. It happened, that among the admirers of Mr. Hutchinson, there were many dissenters, who, with all the information they had acquired, did not appear (as might reasonably have been expected) to be much softened in

their prejudices against the constitution of this church.—With some of these, Mr. Horne frequently fell into company; of which it was not an improbable consequence (and he afterwards was aware of it) that he might come by degrees to be less affected than he ought to be, to the church of which he was a member: especially as there was some jealousy already in the minds of Mr. Hutchinson's readers against their superiors both in church and state, on account of the unfair and angry treatment (I may say, persecution) some of them had suffered, and the dislike and aversion which their principles had met with from persons of established reputation. The modest and civil letter to a bishop, from the lord president of the court of session in Scotland, the hon. Duncan Forbes, had met with little or no attention, which, with many other slights and provocations, contributed to keep them in no very good humour; so that it was to be feared they would be too ready to hear what others might be too ready to suggest. With some of our dissenters, it is too much the custom to turn the clergy of the church and their profession into ridicule; a sort of behaviour which should always be avoided by religious men, when religion is the subject. A piece was handed about which calls itself a Dialogue upon Bishops; a fly and malignant invective, in a strain of irony, and by no means destitute of wit, against the prelates of this church. The thing is written in the same spirit with the Martin Mar-Prelate of the old Puritans, though in a superior strain of irony, and had for its author a man whose name was Baron, a dissenting teacher of eminence, whose works are collected together, and published under the terrific

title of *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*. The church of England, whose religion is here intended by the word *priestcraft*, never had a more willing adversary than this man, unless it were Gordon, the author of the *Independent Whig*, whose writings, plentifully dispersed there, contributed not a little to the revolt of America, by rendering them more disaffected to the religion of the mother country.

"So long as a connexion remained with the non-conforming readers of Mr. Hutchinson, it was expected by them, that all church-differences would be laid aside, as matters of no signification, and that both parties would join hands against the common enemies of Christianity. Things being thus disposed, an occurrence intervened, to which Mr. Horne, as it appears from some of his letters, imputed the breach which afterwards took place, and his own deliverance, in consequence of it, from all danger of fanatical infection.

"Dr. Clayton, then bishop of Clogher in Ireland, in the year 1750, published his *Essay on Spirit*, with design to recommend the Arian doctrine, and to prepare the way for suitable alterations in the *Liturgy*. The favourers of heresy are seldom found to be the enemies of schism: this author therefore, to strengthen his party, distinguished himself as a warm friend to the cause of the sectaries, intimidating the church with the prospect of destruction, unless the safety of it were provided for by a timely compliance with the demands of its adversaries. This essay being reported to come from a person of such eminence in the church, alarmed her friends, and animated her enemies. It carried with it a shew of learning, and some subtilty of ar-

gument; an answer to it was therefore expected and wished for.

"It happened at this time, that I was settled at Finedon, in Northamptonshire, as curate to the reverend sir John Dolben, which I have reason to remember as a most happy circumstance in the early part of my life. In this situation I was frequently visited by my friend and fellow-student Mr. Horne. He came to me, possessed with a desire of seeing an answer to this *Essay on Spirit*, and persuaded me to undertake it. All circumstances being favourable, no objection was made; and accordingly down we sat together for a whole month to the business. The house of my patron sir John Dolben had an excellent library, a considerable part of which had descended from archbishop Dolben; and it was furnished with books in every branch of reading, as well antient as modern; but particularly in divinity and ecclesiastical history. In a country parish, without such an advantage, our attempt had been wild and hopeless; but with it, we had no fear of being at a loss concerning any point of learning that might arise. What bishop Clayton (supposing him to be the author of an *Essay on Spirit*) had offered in favour of the non-conformists, obliged us to look into the controversy between them and the church, which as yet we had never considered, and to consult such historians as had given a faithful account of it. This inquiry brought many things to our view, of which we had never heard, and contributed very much to confirm us in the profession to which we had been educated; but, at the same time, it raised in our minds some new suspicions against our non-conforming friends, and the occasion called

ed upon us to say some things which it could not be very agreeable to them to hear, so long as they persisted in their separation. In every controversy there will be some rough places, over which the tender-footed will not be able to pass without being hurt; and when this happens, they will probably lay upon others that fault which is to be found only in themselves. It happened as might be expected. When the answer was published, great offence was taken; and they who had argued for us, as Christians, in a common cause, began now to shew themselves as enemies to the church of England. They addressed themselves to us in such a strain, to the one by letter, to the other in conversation, as had no tendency to soften or conciliate; for it breathed nothing but contempt and defiance. It had therefore the good effect of obliging us to go on still farther in our inquiries, that we might be able to stand our ground. To this occurrence it was first owing, that Mr. Horne became so well learned in the controversy between the church and the sectaries, and was confirmed for life in his attachment to the Church of England."

"Mr. Horne having entered upon his first Hebrew studies, not without an ardent piety, he was ready to lay hold of every thing that might advance him in the knowledge and practice of the Christian life. He accordingly made himself well acquainted with the serious practical writings of the rev. William Law, which, I believe, were first recommended to him by Mr. Hamilton, afterwards archdeacon of Raphoe, in Ireland, or by the rev. doctor Patten of Corpus Christi College. He conformed himself in many respects to the

strictness of Mr. Law's rules of devotion; but without any danger of falling, as so many did, after Mr. Law's example, into the stupendous reveries of Jacob Behmen the German theosophist. From this he was effectually secured by his attachment to the doctrines and forms of the primitive church, in which he was well grounded by the writings of Leslie, and also of the primitive fathers, some of which were become familiar to him, and very highly esteemed. But being sensible how easy it was for many of those who took their piety from Mr. Law, to take his errors along with it, he drew up a very useful paper, for the security of such persons as might not have judgment enough to distinguish properly, under the title of Cautions to the Readers of Mr. Law; and excellent they are for the purpose intended. They shew the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his judgment."

"When the writings of Leslie, or Law, or Hutchinson, were before Mr. Horne, he used them with judgment and moderation, to qualify and temper each other; he took what was excellent from all, without admitting what was exceptionable from any. To his academical Greek and Latin he had added a familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew; and having found his way to the Christian fathers, I consider him now as a person furnished with every light, and secured from every danger which could possibly occur to him as a member of the church of England, and consequently well prepared for any service the times might require of him. In English divinity he had also greatly improved himself by the writings of Dr. Jackson, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor: from the latter of which I suppose him to have derived much of that

mildness and devotion, for which he was afterwards so conspicuous."

"With his mind thus furnished, the time drew near when he was to take holy orders. This was a serious affair to him; and he entered upon it as every candidate ought to do, with a resolution to apply the studies he had followed to the practice of his ministry, and, above all the rest, his study of the holy scripture. Soon after he had been ordained on Trinity Sunday 1753 by the bishop of Oxford, he related the circumstance by letter to an intimate friend, not without adding the following petition, which is well worth preserving: 'May he who ordered Peter three times to feed his lambs, give me grace, knowledge and skill to watch and attend to the flock, which he purchased upon the cross, and to give rest to those who are under the burden of sin or sorrow. It hath pleased God to call me to the ministry in very troublesome times indeed, when a lion and a bear have broken into the fold, and are making havock among the sheep. With a firm, though humble confidence, do I purpose to go forth, not in my own strength, but in the strength of the Lord God; and may he prosper the work of my hands!' He came to me, then resident upon the curacy of Finedon in Northamptonshire, to preach his first sermon; to which, as it might be expected, I listened with no small attention, under an assurance that his doctrine would be good, and that he was capable of adorning it to a high degree with beautiful language, and a graceful delivery. The discourse he then preached, though excellent in its kind, is not printed among his other works. Scrupulous critics, he thought, might be of opinion,

that he had given too great scope to his imagination, and that the text, in the sense he took it, was not a foundation solid enough to build so much upon. This was his sentiment when his judgment was more mature; and he seems to me to have judged rightly. Yet the discourse was admirable in respect of its composition and its moral tendency. Give me an audience of well disposed Christians, among whom there are no dry moralists, no fastidious critics, and I would stake my life upon the hazard of pleasing them all by the preaching of that sermon. With farther preparation, and a little more experience, he preached in a more public pulpit, before one of the largest and most polite congregations at London. The preacher whose place he supplied, but who attended in the church on purpose to hear him, was so much affected by what he had heard, and the manner in which it was delivered, that when he visited me shortly after in the country, he was so full of this sermon, that he gave me the matter and the method of it by heart, pronouncing at the end of it what a writer of his life ought never to forget, that 'George Horne was, without exception, the best preacher in England.' Which testimony was the more valuable, because it came from a person who had, with many people, the reputation of being such himself."

"Besides his talent for preaching, which from the beginning promised (and has now produced) great things, Mr. Horne had obtained so high a character at Oxford, for his humanity, condescension and piety, that his reputation came to the ears of a criminal in the castle, under sentence of death, for one of the many high-way robberies he had committed.

committed. The name of this man was Dumas; he was an Irishman by birth; and his appearance and address had so much of the gentleman, that he was a person of the first rank in his profession. This man having heard of Mr. Horne, as a person remarkable for his sense and goodness, requested the favour of his attendance; to which, on a principle of conscience, he consented; though the office was such as would probably put the tenderness of his mind to a very severe trial. And so it proved in the event; his health being considerably affected for some time afterwards."

"We are now coming to a more busy period of Mr. Horne's life, when he was called upon (in the year 1756) to be an apologist for himself and some of his friends, against the attack of a literary adversary.

"In the controversy about Hebrew names, and their doubtful interpretations, in which the learned Dr. Sharp of Durham was prevailed upon (as it is reported, much against his will) to engage, Mr. Horne never interfered; as being of opinion, that if all that part of Mr. Hutchinson's system were left to its fate, the most useful and valuable parts of it would still remain, with their evidences from the scripture, the natural world, and the testimony of sacred and profane antiquity. He was likewise of opinion, that where words are the subject, words may be multiplied without end: and the witnesses of the dispute, at least the majority of them, having no competent knowledge of so uncommon a subject, would be sure to go as fashion and the current of the times should direct."

"Another dispute soon arose,

after that of Dr. Sharp, which was of much greater concern; and so Mr. Horne thought, from the part he took in it.

"With many young scholars in the university of Oxford, the principles of Hutchinson began to be in such esteem, that some member of the university, who was in the opposite interest, or had no fancy to that way, made a very severe attack upon them in an anonymous pamphlet, intitled, *A Word to the Hutchinsonians*; and Mr. Horne being personally struck at, as the principal object of the author's animadversions, was obliged to take up the pen in defence of himself and his friends. The public in general, and Mr. Horne in particular, by some very broad hints, gave the thing to Mr. Kennicott of Exeter college, a man of parts, and a clear agreeable writer, who had very justly acquired some fame for his skill in the Hebrew language. His two dissertations, one on the Tree of Life, and the other on the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, were in many hands, and so well approved, that some farther and better fruit of his studies might reasonably be expected."

"If any person wishes to know all the particular charges brought forward by this author, and how they are answered, he will find the pamphlet at large a very curious piece, and to that I would refer him."

"After his apology, Mr. Horne took a part in the controversy with Mr. Kennicott on the text of the Hebrew Bible."

"Neither Mr. Horne nor his friends could ever be persuaded, that, under the present state of the printed Hebrew text, the labours of an Hebrew collator were at this time wanted by the Christian world;

or that the experiment, from the face with which it made its appearance, would not be attended with some danger: and it might be owing (as I have said) to their pressing remonstrances, that the plan of a new text, and new English translation, was laid aside. How far they were right in apprehending evil from it to the Christian cause, doth not appear from any consequences which have yet followed, and we hope it never will. The edition makes a very fine book, which will do honour to the memory of the editor, and, with its various readings, may be a very innocent one, if used with discretion. My learned and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst (the last edition of whose Hebrew Lexicon was patronized by Dr. Horne after he was made a bishop) speaks of it with due respect: his words are these—"The principal various readings in Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible have been carefully noted, and are submitted to the reader's consideration and judgment. And it is hoped that the use which is here made of that elaborate work cannot fail of being acceptable to every serious and intelligent inquirer into the Hebrew scriptures." See the advertisement to the third edition."

"A letter of July the 25th, 1755, informed me that Mr. Horne, according to an established custom at Magdalen College in Oxford, had begun to preach before the University, on the day of St. John the Baptist. For the preaching of this annual sermon a permanent pulpit of stone is inserted into a corner of the first quadrangle; and so long as the stone pulpit was in use (of which I have been a witness) the quadrangle was furnished round the

sides with a large fence of green boughs, that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness; and a pleasant sight it was; but for many years the custom hath been discontinued, and the assembly have thought it safer to take shelter under the roof of the chapel. Our fore-fathers, it seems, were not so much afraid of being injured by the falling of a little rain, or the blowing of the wind, or the shining of the sun upon their heads. The preacher of 1755 pleased the audience very much by his manner and style, and all agreed he had a very fine imagination: but he was not very well pleased with the compliment. As a Christian teacher, he was much more desirous that his hearers should receive and understand, and enter into the spirit of the doctrines he had delivered; but in this he found them slower than he wished, and laments it heavily in a private letter. Two sermons on the subject of John the Baptist were printed, and many others succeeded which were not printed: for the author at last, on a review of what he had done, thought it more advisable to throw the matter out of that form, and cast an abridgment of the whole into the form of considerations."

"There is a portion of the New Testament, very interesting and full of matter, on which the author of the Considerations, soon after he was in holy orders, bestowed much thought and labour; I mean the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. On this he composed at least twenty sermons; which are all excellent; but being more agreeable to the spirit of the first ages than of the present, he was not forward, though frequently

ly solicited, to give them to the world. He objected that they wanted to be reviewed with a more critical eye, and even to be recomposed; and that this would be a work of time. Toward the latter end of his life, however, he set about it, but got no farther than through the third discourse. The first is on the character of Abel, the second on Enoch, the third on Noah; of these I have the copy, and hope it will be published. Whoever looks at them, will wish he had lived to satisfy his mind about all the rest. They would certainly have been improved by such a revision; yet, perhaps, not so much as he supposed. First thoughts, upon a favourite subject, are warm and lively; and the language they bring with them is strong and natural; but prudence is apt to be cold and timorous; and, while it adds a polish, takes away something from the spirit of a composition.

"But the greatest work of his life, of which he now began to form the design, was a commentary on the whole book of Psalms."

"His Commentary on the Psalms was under his hand about twenty years. The labour, to which he submitted in the course of the work, was prodigious: his reading for many years was allotted chiefly to this subject; and his study and meditation together produced as fine a work, and as finely written, as most in the English language. There are good and learned men, who cannot but speak well of the work, and yet are forward to let us know, that they do not follow Dr. Horne as an interpreter. I believe them; but this is one of the things we have to lament: and while they may think this an honour to their judgment, I am afraid it is a symptom that we are retrograde in theo-

logical learning. The author was sensible, that after the pleasure he had received in studying for the work, and the labour of composing and correcting, he was to offer what the age was ill prepared to receive. This put him upon his guard; and the work is in some respects the better for it, in others not so good; it is more cautiously and correctly written, but perhaps not so richly furnished with matter as it might have been. Had he been composing a novel, he would have been under none of these fears; his imagination might then have taken its course, without a bridle, and the world would have followed as fast as he could wish.

"The first edition in quarto was published in the year 1776 when the author was vice-chancellor; and it happened, soon after its publication, that I was at Paris. There was then a Christian university in the place! and I had an opportunity of recommending it to some learned gentlemen who were members of it, and understood the English language well. I took the liberty to tell them, our church had lately been enriched by a commentary on the Psalms; the best, in our opinion, that had ever appeared; and such as St. Austin would have perused with delight, if he had lived to see it. At my return the author was so obliging as to furnish me with a copy to send over to them as a present; and I was highly gratified by the approbation with which it was received. With those who could read English, it was so much in request, that I was told the book was never out of hand; and I apprehend more copies were sent for. Every intelligent Christian, who once knows the value of it, will

keep it, to the end of his life, as the companion of his retirement: and I can scarcely wish a greater blessing to the age, than that it may daily be better known and more approved.

"About the time when it was published, that systematical infidel, David Hume, esquire, died. It had been the aim of his life, to invent a sort of philosophy, that should effect the overthrow of Christianity. For this he lived; and his ambition was to die, or be thought to die, hard and impenitent, yea, and even, cheerful and happy; to shew the world the power of his own principles; which however were weakly founded, and so inconsistent with common sense, that Dr. Beattie attacked and demolished them in the life-time of the author. Special pains were taken by Hume himself, and by his friends after him, to persuade the world, that his life, at the last stage of it, was perfectly tranquil and composed: and the part is so laboured and over-acted, that there is just cause of suspicion, even before the detection appears. Dr. Horne, whose mind was ever in action for some good end, could not sit still, and see the public so much imposed upon. He addressed an anonymous letter to Dr. Adam Smith from the Clarendon press; of which the argument is so clear, and the humour so easy and natural, that no honest man can keep his countenance while he reads it, and none but an infidel can be angry."

"The letter was followed in course of time, by Letters on Infidelity; which are very instructive and entertaining, and highly proper for the preventing or lessening that respect which young people may conceive unawares for unbelieving philosophers. It has been

objected by some readers of a more severe temper, that these letters are occasionally too light: and I must confess, I should have been as well pleased, if the story of Dr. Radcliffe and his man had been omitted: but there is this to be said, that these are not sermons, but familiar letters; that Dr. Horne considered the profession of infidelity, as a thing more ridiculous and insignificant in itself, than some of his learned readers might do; that, as it appeared in some persons, it was really too absurd to be treated with seriousness; and as Voltaire had treated religion with ridicule instead of argument, and had done infinite mischief by it, justice required that he and his friends should be treated a little in their own way."

"Though the imagination of Dr. Horne was sometimes at play, when the *speculum* of infidelity was in his hand, his heart was always serious: whence it came to pass, that the composition of sermons was a work never out of his mind; and it was the desire and the pleasure of his life to make himself useful in the pulpit wherever he went. The plan which he commonly proposed to himself in preaching upon a passage of the scripture, was that of giving, 1. The literal sense of it: then, 2. The interpretation or spirit of it: and, 3. The practical or moral use of it, in an application to the audience: and he was of opinion, that one discourse, composed upon this plan, was worth twenty immethodical essays; as being more instructive in the matter, more intelligible in the delivery, and more easily retained in the memory. Yet, after long practice, he came to a determination, that no method was more excellent, than that of taking some narrative of the Scripture, and

raising

raising moral observations on the several circumstances of it in their order."

"The last literary work which Dr. Horne proposed to execute, while dean of Canterbury, was a formal Defence of the Divinity of Christ against the Objections of Dr. Priestley; in which it was his intention to shew, how, that writer had mistaken and perverted the Scripture and the Liturgy."

"In the year 1786, Dr. Horne preached a sermon at the primary visitation of the archbishop at Canterbury, on the duty of contending earnestly for the faith; and when this was printed, together with another discourse on the Trinity, he subjoined an advertisement, declaring his intention to answer the objections against the divinity of Christ, which had been urged of late. 'Indulgence,' said he, 'is requested as to the article of time: I cannot write so fast as Dr. Priestley does; and I wish to execute the work with care and attention; after which it shall be left to the judgment of the learned, the pious, and the candid, of all denominations.'

"How much had been collected for this purpose, I do not find."

"The last considerable affair in which he concerned himself while dean of Canterbury, was an application from the bishops of the Episcopal church of Scotland; three of whom, in the year 1789, came up to London, to petition parliament for relief from the hard penalties under which they had long suffered. This they ventured to do, in consideration of the loyalty and attachment they had lately professed toward the king and the constitution."

"The life of Dr. Horne, dur-

ing his episcopate, affords but few incidents considerable enough to be here related: but there was one, which became the subject of much conversation between him and some of his friends. In the summer of the year 1790, he was upon a visit at the seat of a gentleman in Norfolk, for whom he had a great regard. I met his lordship there, by his appointment; and it so happened, that during our visit Mr. John Wesley was upon his circuit about the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and came to a market-town very near us. Here he had many followers; and being desirous of preaching to a large congregation, he sent some of his friends to the minister of the place, to ask for the use of the parish church for the forenoon of the next day. The clergyman was under some difficulty how to conduct himself; but recollecting that the bishop of the diocese was near at hand, he advised them to go and ask his permission. The messengers accordingly went; and the bishop, always more ready to encourage than to hinder any good work, sent them back to the clergyman with this answer; that if the minister of the parish made no objection, he should make none. So it was determined that Mr. Wesley should preach in the church the next day. As I never had an interview with that extraordinary man, and had often desired to meet him, I would have taken this opportunity; especially as there was a matter of no small importance, concerning which I had a question to ask him. But being at this time an attendant upon the bishop of the diocese, we did not know how it might appear, and were unwilling to run the hazard of such reports as might have been raised upon the occasion. But

our friend, at whose house we then were, being of the laity, was under none of our difficulties; and a more intelligent person for the purpose was no where to be found. I therefore requested him to get to the speech of Mr. Wesley in private, after the sermon should be over, and to ask him in my name the following question; "Whether it was true, as I had been assured, that he had invested two gentlemen with the episcopal character, and had sent them, in that capacity, over to America?" With some difficulty our friend obtained a private audience; and after some short civilities had passed, he put his question.

"At first, Mr. Wesley was not direct in his answer; but by degrees he owned the fact, and gave the following reason for it; that as soon as we had made peace with America, and allowed them their independence, all religious connection, between this country and the independent colonies, was at an end; in consequence of which, the sectaries fell to work to increase their several parties, and the anabaptists in particular were carrying all before them. Something therefore was to be done, without loss of time, for his poor people (as he called them) in America: and that he had therefore taken the step in question, with the hope of preventing farther disorders. The fact being not denied, the gentleman, who, for a layman, is as able a church-casualist as most of his own or any other order, began to inquire a little farther into the case, with the desire to know, how Mr. Wesley had satisfied his own mind in this matter, and what grounds he had gone upon? But as they were proceeding, some of his friends, either being impatient of any delay, or suspecting that some mischief might

be going forward, came abruptly into the room, and reminded Mr. Wesley that he had no more time to spare. Thus the conference was ended, and our friend was obliged to take his leave."

"About a year after the accident of the sermon and the conference, a Life of Mr. Wesley was published by a Mr. Hampson, in which the fact of sending out bishops is confessed. This book bishop Horne had procured; and taking it out of his pocket as we were walking together in his garden at Norwich, he turned to the passage and shewed it to me; and afterwards he put it into his Charge, which was the last work he printed before his death: and this brings me to the end of his literary life.

"For the sake of those who admire his works, and were not acquainted with his person, it may be proper, before I conclude, to say something of his natural life. When he first came to the university of Oxford, he was quite a boy; but being at a time of life when boys alter very fast, he soon grew up into a person so agreeable, that at the opening of the Radcliffe Library, when all were assembled and made their best appearance, I heard it said of him, that there was not then a handsomer young man in the theatre. But he was not of a strong and muscular constitution; and from the disadvantage of being very near-sighted (quite helpless without the use of a glass) he did not render himself more robust by the practice of any athletic exercise. Amusements of that sort gave him more trouble than they were worth, and he never pursued them with any alacrity. It is related of bishop Bull, that he was not addicted to any innocent pleasure, which is often necessary to unbend the mind,

mind, and preserve the body in health and vigour. The only diversion (if it may be called a diversion) to which this great man was addicted, was the enjoyment of agreeable conversation: and the same was the favourite amusement of Dr. Horne to the end of his life. I wish every young man, who is intended for a scholar, had some good or some necessary reason for not being led away by any sort of recreation. It was of service to his mind, that he was no fisherman, no shooter, no hunter, no horseman: the cultivation of his understanding was therefore carried on with less interruption, and his improvements were rapid. While on horseback he seemed to be in more danger than other young men: and he had a friend, who was so much concerned for his safety, that he sometimes rode after him, to watch over him, without letting him know of it. But so it happened, notwithstanding his vigilance, that he saw him suffer one bad fall, upon a dirty road, into a deep slough, and another upon very hard ground in the middle of the summer. His horse was then upon a gallop, and the fall pitched him upon his forehead; but, by the protection of a good providence, the blow only gave him a head-ach, which soon went off without any other ill effect. When he came at last to be a bishop, the friend, who had formerly been his attendant, reminded him of these accidents, and observed upon them, "My lord, I saw you fall twice, I have seen you rise three times:" meaning, that he had first risen to be president of Magdalen-College, then to be dean of Canterbury, and afterwards bishop of Norwich. The year after he came to Oxford, he fell sick of

the small-pox, which proved very favourable, and he was removed to a house upon the hill at Headington for an airing; where his recovery had raised his spirits to such a pitch, that his friends could not but observe the growing vigour of his mind, and augurate that his wits were intended for some very active part upon the stage of human life, as it afterwards proved. His health continued tolerably good, till the time of his proctorship: and here it ought in justice to be remembered, that he made one of the best proctors ever known in the University of Oxford. He was strict in the exercise of his office; but his strictness was accompanied by so much mildness and goodness, that he was equally beloved and feared. His duty called upon him to visit and inspect the houses of poor and disorderly people; in one of which he took the measles, and suffered much by that distemper. The time at which this accident happened, was in one respect rather unfortunate; for he was confined at the time when he should have resigned his office by a personal attendance in the theatre. Dr. Thurlow, the late bishop of Durham, being appointed his successor, delivered the Latin speech, at the close of which he spoke to this effect: "As to the late proctor, I shall speak of him but in few words, for the truth of which I can appeal to all that are here present. If ever virtue itself was visible and dwelt upon earth, it was in the person who this day lays down his office." Which words were followed by an universal clapping. It was fortunate in one respect that he was not present; for thus it came to pass, that full justice was done to this character.

"After he became president of Magdalen-

Magdalen-College, he adhered to the interest of Mr. Jenkinson (now Lord Hawkesbury) a little to the disturbance of his academical peace. Mr. Jenkinson had been one of his contemporaries at University-College: a gentleman, who, from his first appearance in the university, always promised to do something, and to be something, beyond other men of his time. It was not possible that two such young men as he and Mr. Horne could be near neighbours without being fond of each other's company. The friendship once formed was ever after preserved: and when Mr. Jenkinson, though well known to be of what was then called the court party, offered himself to represent the university in parliament, his two friends, the president of Magdalen, and the master of University-College, voted for him without success. Their departure on this occasion from what was then thought the old and proper interest of the university, brought upon them some animadversions from a few of the warmest advocates on the other side; and little scurrilous witticisms flew about against them both in the news-papers; which, so far as their own persons were concerned, had little effect upon either, but that of exciting their laughter; and they have often been heard to make themselves merry with several passages of that time.

“ Soon after he was advanced to the presidentship of Magdalen-College, he took to wife the only daughter of Philip Burton, esq. a lady for whom he always preserved the most inviolate affection. By her he had three daughters; of whom the eldest is married to the rev. Mr. Selby Hele, and the two younger, who are single, reside in Hertfordshire with Mrs. Horne.

The former residence of this family near Windsor introduced him to the acquaintance of several great and respectable characters in that neighbourhood, particularly sir George Howard, who received, and may probably have preserved, many of his letters.

“ His vice-chancellorship introduced him to the acquaintance of lord North, then chancellor of the university; a nobleman, who to a fine temper, and pleasant wit, had added such good principles and useful learning, that he found in Dr. Horne a person exactly suited to his own mind: and I suppose it owing to the united interest of lord North and lord Hawkesbury, that he was made dean of Canterbury. When this happened, he would willingly have quitted his cares at Oxford, and taken up his residence in Kent, his native county; but that a friend, to whose judgment he owed respect, would not agree to the prudence of such a step. As for the dean himself, worldly advantage was no object with him; he lived as he ought; and if he was no loser at the year's end, he was perfectly satisfied. This I know, because I have it under his own hand, that he laid up nothing from his preferments in the church. What he gave away was with such secrecy, that it was supposed by some persons to be little: but after his death, when the pensioners, to whom he had been a constant benefactor, rose up, to look about them for some other support, then it began to be known who and how many they were. He complained to one of his most intimate friends, how much it was out of his way to discover such objects as were worthy and proper, because he descended so little into commerce with the world; yet, said he, let
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any body shew me, in any case, what ought to be done, and they will always find me ready to do it. So far as he knew, he did good; and often attempted it, when he could not know; which is more or less the case with every charitable man. The discernment of objects is the privilege of God alone; who yet doeth good unto all, where we know it not.

“As often as he was at Canterbury, his time passed very pleasantly: he was in his native country: the families of the place and the neighbourhood shewed him the greatest respect, and were delighted with his company and conversation: if he could have indulged himself, with prudence, as he wished to do, he would have fixed himself there for the remainder of his life: but he still submitted to the unsettled life of a pilgrim, between the two situations of his college and his deanry: with every thing that lay between Oxford and Canterbury he was acquainted, and with little besides. In the year 1788 his constitutional infirmities began to increase upon him: ‘I have been more than ever harassed (said he) this year, for four months past, with defluxions on my head and breast; they have driven me to take the benefit of the Headington air, this charming season, which by God’s blessing will enable me to get clear for the summer, I believe. But, as I grow older, I shall dread the return of winter. Do you know what could be done in the way of preservative? My good friends of the church wish me to continue here, and engage to do the business of the midsummer chapter, without me. I am urged to get once more upon a horse—as much like an ass as possible. Long disuse hath now been added to an original awk-

wardness: however, by keeping to a gentle pace, I shall avoid going off, as you remember it was my hap once to do, like a frog from a board.’ The visiting of some watering-place, Brighthelmstone, or Ramsgate, for the benefit of sea-bathing, had often been of great service to him. But notwithstanding all that could be done, he grew old faster than his years would account for, being now only in his fifty-seventh year: so that when a design was formed of making him a bishop, he felt himself by no means inclined to undertake the charge of so weighty an office; and it was not till much reasoning with himself, that he was prevailed upon to accept it. I do not remember, that I ever took upon me, while this affair was depending, to throw in one word of advice, for it or against it; but rather that I left all things to work, as Providence should direct. It was a sincere affliction to me, when I attended him at Norwich, to see how his limbs began to fail him. The Palace there is entered by a large flight of steps; on which he observed one day, ‘Alas, I am come to these steps, at a time of life, when I can neither go up them nor down them with safety.’ However, he resisted his infirmities with a degree of resolution. He accustomed himself to walk early in the garden by my persuasion; and assented to it, in his pleasant way, with these words: ‘Mr. William’ (for so it had been his custom to call me for many years) ‘I have heard you say, that the air of the morning is a dram to the mind: I will rise to-morrow and take a dram.’ That the faculties of his mind did not fail, in the way it was imagined, so long as he remained at Norwich, I could shew by the contents of the last

last letter he wrote to me, within a few weeks of his death; in which there is the same humour and spirit as had distinguished him in the prime of his life. That he was not subject to fits of weakness in his mind, I do not say: he could not persevere in a train of thought, as he used to do, but applied himself by short intervals, as his ability would permit; and in that way he could execute more than we should have expected from him, under his bodily infirmities. From two visits to Bath he had received sensible benefit, and was meditating a third, when I left him in the autumn of 1791, which he had been requested not to defer too long. At my departure from Norwich, he carried me in his coach about ten miles; and we conversed by the way on the subject of his Charge, of which his mind was full, and which he then was beginning to print. When I had made him a promise to meet him during his next visit to Bath, he set me down at Lodden, and I betook myself to my horses. That moment will for ever dwell, like a black spot, upon the mind, in which we had the last sight of a beloved friend. After this parting I never saw him more. His company I can now seek only in his writings; which are almost my daily delight. His

journey to Bath, contrary to the persuasion of his friends, was deferred too long. Yet he had still such remaining vigour in his mind, that he did not intend to make his visit to Bath an idle one; but selected from his manuscript sermons a sufficient number to compose a volume, and took them with him, intending to employ a printer at Bath upon them. To this he was partly encouraged by an observation his good and affectionate lady had made upon him, from the experience of several years, that he never seemed to be so well as when he had printers about him; of which she had even then seen a striking example at Norwich. But, alas, while he was upon the road, he suffered a paralytic stroke, and, though very ill, finished his journey. Mrs. Horne after this wrote me a letter full of hope, that as the bishop could walk to the pump-room daily, he would still recover: in consequence of which, I went with some courage to London; intending to go on from thence to Bath; but was informed as soon as I arrived in town, that he was not expected to continue many days: and the next day brought us the melancholy news of his death.

"This event took place January 17, 1792, in the sixty second year of his age."

SKETCH of the LIFE, CHARACTER, and LABOURS of the late ANDREW KIPPIS, D. D. F. R. S. and S. A.

[From a SERMON preached in PRINCE'S STREET, WESTMINSTER, on the 18th of OCTOBER, 1795, by ABRAHAM REES, D. D. F. R. S.]

"D. R. Andrew Kippis was born at Nottingham on the 28th day of March in the year 1725. He was descended both by the fa-

ther's and mother's side from ejected ministers. The name of his father's ancestor was King, and that of his mother's Ryther. Their names

names are particularly recorded and mentioned with respect in Dr. Calamy's Account of the Ministers ejected and silenced by the act of uniformity in the reign of Charles II. The death of his father, when he was about five years old, occasioned his removal to his grandfather at Sleaford in Lincolnshire. Here he received his grammatical education, in the prosecution of which his talents and application were such as to attract the peculiar notice of Mr. Merrivale, who was pastor of a congregation of dissenters in that town. Of the refined taste and extensive learning of this gentleman our deceased friend has often spoken in very honourable terms; and he expressed on many occasions the grateful sense he entertained of his patronage and friendship. It was probably owing to his early connection with Mr. Merrivale, as well as to his advice and encouragement, that our friend directed his views to the profession of a dissenting minister, and to those literary pursuits, in which he afterwards so much excelled.

"At the age of sixteen he was admitted into the academy at Northampton under the care of Dr. Doddridge. This institution was at that time in a very high state of reputation and prosperity; and it supplied the country with a very considerable number of ministers, who were no less distinguished by their acceptance and usefulness as preachers, than by their literary accomplishments and exemplary conduct. Our friend availed himself of the singular advantages for improvement which he enjoyed in this seminary; and his proficiency and general deportment conciliated the affectionate esteem and partial attachment of his tutor. How much he loved and respected this excel-

lent man, and how justly he has appreciated his eminent talents and indefatigable labours, he has had an opportunity of testifying to the public in the elaborate account of his life and writings, lately published.

"When our friend had completed his course of five years at the academy, he was invited to take the charge of a dissenting congregation at Dorchester; but having at the same time received another invitation to settle at Boston in Lincolnshire, he preferred the latter situation, and went to reside there in September 1746. From Boston he removed to Dorking in Surry in 1750: and a vacancy having been occasioned in this place soon after his settlement there by the death of Dr. Hughes, he was invited to succeed him, and he undertook the office of pastor to this society in 1753. In the month of September of this year he married Miss Elizabeth Bott, the daughter of a respectable merchant at Boston; and in the October following he came to reside in Westminster.

"Whether we consider the literary talents, the ministerial abilities; or the external accomplishments of our deceased friend, no person could have been better qualified for the situation into which he was introduced than himself. His settlement with this society laid the foundation of that celebrity, which he afterwards acquired, and of that extensive usefulness, which distinguished his future life. He was thus soon introduced into a connection with the Presbyterian fund, to which this congregation had been in the habit of liberally contributing, and to the prosperity of which our friend was afterwards very ardently devoted. In June 1762 he succeeded Dr. Benson as a member

member of Dr. Williams's Trust: and this appointment afforded him an additional opportunity of being eminently and extensively useful in a variety of respects. His connection with the general body of protestant dissenting ministers, belonging to the cities of London and Westminster, and with many charitable institutions, which the liberality of dissenters has established, gave him frequent occasion to exercise his talents for the honour and interest of the cause, to which, both by his sentiments and profession, he was zealously attached.

"His literary abilities and attainments were acknowledged by all who knew him. It was, therefore, natural to imagine, that when a favourable opportunity offered, he would be employed in the department of public education. Accordingly, when the death of the rev. Dr. Jennings rendered it necessary to make a new arrangement of tutors in the academy, supported in London by the funds of William Coward, Esq. the trustees directed their views to our honoured friend; and in the year 1763 he was appointed classical and philological tutor to that institution.

"In 1767 he received the degree of doctor in divinity from the university of Edinburgh; an honour, in the unsolicited grant of which the principal and professors very cordially concurred. How much our friend merited this distinction at the time, when it was conferred, and what he has since done to justify the propriety of its being bestowed, it is needless for me to state. No one can dispute his peculiar claim to such a token of respect.

In March 1778 he was elected a fellow of the society of antiquaries; and in June 1779 a fellow of the royal society. He was a member

of the council of the former society from 1782 to 1784, and of that of the latter from 1786 to 1787. In both these societies he was a regular attendant, and a respectable and useful member.

"As he advanced in life and acquired increasing reputation, his literary engagements became more numerous, and so much demanded his attention and encroached upon his time, that he found himself under a necessity of quitting his connection with Mr. Coward's academy in the year 1784. In the following year the two other tutors of this institution withdrew from it; and the academy itself, which had been for many years of singular utility, and which had produced many ministers of distinguished reputation, was discontinued. In the year 1786 a very considerable body of dissenters, lamenting the total cessation of Mr. Coward's academy, and having reason to believe that it was not likely to be revived, made an effort, which, whatever be the event, will do them lasting honour, for establishing a new institution in the neighbourhood of London, with a view of educating ministers and other young gentlemen intended for civil life. Dr. Kippis was very assiduous and active in his endeavours to accomplish this laudable design; and though his other engagements rendered it very inconvenient for him to accept any official connection with it, he was urged to unite with other persons, for whom he entertained a peculiar respect; and he, at length, though not without reluctance, acquiesced in the appointment to be one of the tutors of this new institution. The distance of his residence from Hackney, where the college was fixed, and some other circumstances

stances which it is unnecessary to recite, but which I shall always recollect with concern, induced him in a few years to withdraw from it, as a tutor: though he still continued to serve it by a liberal subscription, and by his interest with opulent friends. This was an event, which the original founders of the institution very much regretted, and which they had indulged the hope of averting, as long as his health and life permitted his attendance. They little imagined, however, that the most extended period of his services, if they had enjoyed the benefit of them to his death, would have terminated so soon.

"Dr. Kippis continued to prosecute his other useful labours without intermission; and till within a fortnight of his death, his friends had no reason to imagine, that they were so near their close. In the course of the summer, a few weeks before his death, he took a long journey on public business, and returned, as his fellow travellers apprehended, with recruited spirits and established health; and they were equally surprised and grieved when they heard, that he was confined to his bed with a fever, which baffled the skill of the most eminent physicians, and which hastily advanced to the fatal crisis. His disorder was of such a nature, that he found himself both disinclined and unable to make any exertion, or to converse much even with his most constant attendants. There is reason, however, to believe, that in a very early stage of his disorder he was not without apprehensions of its terminating in his dissolution. The last public service he performed was on the 20th of September; and on Thursday evening, the 8th of October, he awoke after a tran-

quil sleep of some continuance, and in a little while expired: having served his generation according to the will of God, and attained the age of 70 years and 6 months.

"It is not easy to do sufficient justice to the eminent talents, the extensive labours and exemplary character of Dr. Kippis. It requires the pen of a biographer, such as he was himself, duly to appreciate his distinguished merit, and to transmit such records to posterity, as shall enable them to form a just judgment of that combination of excellent qualities, which engaged the love and respect of all who knew him, and which will intitle him to everlasting remembrance.

"His mild and gentle temper, his polished manners, his easy and graceful address, and a variety of external accomplishments, preposessed those who first saw him in his favour, and could not fail to conciliate esteem and attachment on a more intimate acquaintance. These qualities contributed very much to recommend him to persons in the higher ranks of life, to several of whom he had occasional access; and qualified him, in every eminent degree, for the situation in which he exercised his ministerial office. But he was no less condescending, courteous and affable to his inferiors, than to those who occupied superior stations. Dr. Kippis had nothing of that austerity and reserve, of that haughtiness and superciliousness, of that parade and self-importance and ostentatious affectation of dignity, which forbid access, and which mar the freedom and the pleasure of all the social intercourses of life. And yet these disgusting and odious qualities sometimes accompany literary men, and especially those, who have acquired any con-

siderable degree of eminence and reputation.

"The mental abilities of our friend were of the superior kind. He possessed a comprehensive understanding, a sound judgment, a retentive memory, a correct imagination, a refined taste, a quickness and a facility of exerting his faculties, on any subject or occasion, however suddenly they might occur.

"The natural powers of his mind were cultivated with an assiduity and perseverance of application, in which he had few superiors and not many equals. They had been habituated through life to regular and constant exercise, and had acquired strength and vigour from use. He was never hurried and distracted by the variety of his literary pursuits; and though he had many engagements which required his attention, and which diverted his mind from the objects of study to which he was devoted, he never seemed to want time. Every kind of business was referred to its proper season. By a judicious arrangement of his studies as well as of his other occupations, the number and variety of which he never ostentatiously displayed, and by the punctuality of his attention to every kind of business in which he was employed, he avoided confusion; he retained on all occasions the possession of himself; and he found leisure for reading and writing and for all his literary avocations, without encroaching on that time which he appropriated to his professional duties and social connections.

"Indeed, there have been few persons, who read so much and with such advantage to themselves and others as our late friend. Hence he acquired that extensive acquaintance with books and with

the literature of ancient and modern times, and particularly of the last century, which rendered him an instructive companion, and which directed him where to apply for necessary information on any subject, that employed his own attention or that of others. But though he read much, he was not one of those who waste their time in desultory reading, and who make no addition to their stock of useful knowledge by the volumes which they turn over for mere present amusement. He read with attention and discrimination. He formed an accurate judgment of the intrinsic value of every publication, to which he had recourse: and there have been few works in the department of literature, with which he was conversant, that have issued from the press for many years, of the specific objects and real merit of which he could not give a just and satisfactory account.

"There is one circumstance, to which it was principally owing that Dr. Kippis seemed, in the midst of a great number of engagements, to have time at his own command, and which enabled him to dispatch much business without apparent hurry and confusion.

"I beg leave to mention it for the direction of young persons, and especially of young students, whose habits are not established. He had been accustomed from his youth to early rising; and he thus secured to himself a certain portion of time, during which he was not liable to be interrupted by any foreign avocations. This habit was no less conducive to his health than to the discharge of his various literary and professional obligations. Providence had blessed him with an excellent constitution. He had preserved it unimpaired by a course of uniform

uniform regularity and temperance. He was little interrupted through life by any bodily disorder in any of the occupations to which he was devoted. If we except a fever, which laid him aside for some time about twenty years ago, and a constitutional cough which was rather beneficial than injurious, he enjoyed an unusual share of health and spirits.

“Dr. Kippis possessed other qualities, besides his mental abilities, however excellent, however assiduously cultivated, and however usefully employed, which rendered his character in a still higher degree estimable and praiseworthy. In private life his disposition and deportment were amiable and exemplary. His piety originated in honourable sentiments of the perfections and providence of God: and its practical influence was uniform and permanent. He exhibited in all his connections and concerns a humble, meek, placable, forgiving and benevolent temper. The gentleness, mildness and philanthropy of his disposition formed very distinguishing traits of his character. With these virtues, so congenial to the spirit of the religion he professed, so conducive to the tranquillity of his own mind, and so powerful as incentives to activity and usefulness, he united an inflexible integrity and an independence of spirit, which disdained every thing that was mean, selfish and servile.

“In domestic life Dr. Kippis had the happiness of being united to a sensible, prudent, sprightly and cheerful companion; whose attentions relieved his mind from all family concerns, and left him at full leisure to prosecute the various duties which his numerous engagements devolved upon him. To-

wards the close of a long and happy connection, his affectionate sympathy was deeply wounded by the helpless and painful situation, to which Mrs. Kippis was reduced by a disorder, which has hitherto found no relief, and which will probably be coëval with her life: In such circumstances the loss of a tender, sympathizing, affectionate husband must be a very severe affliction, and add poignancy and depression of spirits to her other complaints. Her mind, however, is enlightened with the best knowledge. It is stored with principles; that are peculiarly adapted to impart needful consolation; and I trust a gracious God will administer succour suited to her trial, and enable her to bear it with fortitude, resignation and tranquillity.

“If we accompany our friend from private and domestic life into the various stations of public usefulness, which providence assigned him, we shall find him eminently qualified and ardently disposed to serve his generation according to the will of God. His knowledge of the world, the rectitude of his judgment, and the mildness of his temper gave him considerable influence in various connections to which he belonged. At the Presbyterian board, in Dr. Williams's trust, and in the general body of associated ministers, his opinion always claimed peculiar deference. As he was become the father of several societies of this kind to which he stood related, his age commanded respect; and his condescending, complying disposition rendered it easy and pleasant to act with him on every occasion. Notwithstanding the variety of his engagements he was a constant attendant. He never pleaded them as an apology for absence. He never

ver wished to decline any public service, whatever personal inconvenience or trouble might attend it. He preferred the concerns of others, who needed his assistance, to his own.

"As a scholar, the literature of Dr. Kippis was various and comprehensive. But the studies to which he principally applied, and in which he most excelled, were those of the classics, the belles lettres and history; besides those which were immediately connected with his profession. The history of his own country had been the subject of his long and laboured investigation: and the principles of the British constitution he had diligently studied. To these he was zealously attached; and he ably defended them; though he was not unapprized of the corruption, which time had introduced, and of the necessity and wisdom of a speedy reformation. He was a steady, uniform and ardent friend to the cause of civil and religious liberty; and in the course of his life he had various occasions of avouching himself the advocate of this cause. But whilst he detested tyranny and oppression, he dreaded anarchy and tumult. In the political contests, which have lately agitated this country, the moderation of his temper was eminently conspicuous. His disposition was gentle and conciliating. He was an enemy to every species of violence; and he thought that calmness, firmness and perseverance in the pursuit of constitutional measures were the most likely means of obtaining a reformation of acknowledged abuses, and a termination to public calamities and evils. Though he thought it most prudent to withdraw from some societies of a political nature, with which he

had been long connected, he never abandoned the principles upon which his first connection with them was founded; nor did he ever disguise his sentiments either of men or of measures, whenever a proper occasion for declaring them occurred.

"In many other societies of a different kind, that were established for literary improvement or friendly intercourse, Dr. Kippis was a very valuable and useful member. Whilst his modesty prevented his obtruding his sentiments on others, or assuming the lead, and presuming to dictate amongst those who were in various respects inferior to himself, he was always communicative and entertaining. He never offended either by an ungracious reserve and affected silence on the one hand, or by an intrusive and troublesome loquaciousness on the other. His literary character was universally acknowledged by persons of this description, with whom his acquaintance was intimate and extensive. The course of his studies furnished him with a variety of anecdotes, that rendered his conversation on particular occasions interesting and instructive. His knowledge of books, and his judgment of their respective merit, which was always formed with candour and pronounced with modesty, were very comprehensive and accurate; and he was often appealed to by those who wished to obtain information on subjects of this nature. In those friendly associations to which he belonged he was always placid and cheerful; placid without dulness, and cheerful without an unbecoming levity. In him were invariably united the knowledge of the scholar and the judgment resulting from experience and an attentive observation,

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of the course of the world, with the manners of the gentleman, and the decorum belonging to his public character as a christian, and his profession as a minister.

“ Amidst a variety of other occupations, Dr. Kippis sustained the office of tutor for more than twenty-five years with singular reputation to himself, and with great benefit to the young persons who were under his care. His lectures and his general conduct conciliated the esteem, and promoted the improvement of his pupils. They all honoured and loved him: for he had a happy talent of attaching their affection and respect. They lamented his removal from this sphere of public service. Many of them are now occupying useful stations, and they are sincere mourners on the present occasion. The public will, I hope, derive advantage, at some future period, from the doctor's valuable lectures on the subjects of general grammar, chronology, history and rhetoric. In this connection I cannot forbear mentioning, that to young men, and particularly to young ministers, Dr. Kippis was always attentive and friendly. He was ready on all occasions to assist them with his advice in the prosecution of their private studies and public labours; and to those who needed pecuniary aid his hand was extended for the distribution of his own property, as well as that of others entrusted to his disposal.

“ As an author Dr. Kippis commenced his career in early life, as many other young men have done, by contributing to the magazines of the time. He afterwards became a more constant writer in the Monthly Review. His articles were chiefly historical and theological, with occasional strictures on works of

general erudition. He also furnished a periodical publication, called the Library, with several valuable papers. He laid the foundation of the New Annual Register; and suggested the improved plan upon which that work is conducted. The History of Antient Literature, and the Review of Modern Books were, at its first commencement, written by him.

“ During the application of the dissenting ministers to parliament for the enlargement of the Act of Toleration in the year 1772, to which he devoted much of his time and attention, he published a valuable pamphlet, vindicating that measure as to the matter, manner, and time of it. It was intended as an answer to a publication ascribed to a writer who now fills a very high station in the church.

“ Soon after his admission into the Royal Society, he published a pamphlet with a view of allaying the animosities that subsisted in that body, which produced a good effect. His intimate connection with sir John Pringle, bart. who was formerly a very respectable and useful president of the Royal Society, and who attended public worship in this place, led Dr. Kippis, after his decease, to republish his Six Discourses delivered at the assignment of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, to which he has prefixed a valuable life of the author. At the close of the American war he published a political pamphlet, formed from materials which were communicated to him by persons of eminence, and designed to justify the peace, which terminated that unhappy contest. He also published several single discourses, which were delivered on particular occasions; some of which are reprinted in his volume of sermons. Nor

should we omit to mention his account of the life and voyages of captain Cook; his new edition of Dr. Doddridge's Lectures, with a great number of additional references, his life of this excellent person, prefixed to a new edition of his Exposition of the New Testament; and his life of Dr. Lardner (to whose abilities, character and writings he has paid the just tribute of respect) prefixed to the complete collection of his works. But the work, to which Dr. Kippis devoted his principal attention for many of the last years of his life, and by which he has acquired singular reputation, was the *Biographia Britannica*. His indefatigable industry in collecting materials for it, his access to the best sources of information, his knowledge of men and books, his judgment in selecting and marking every circumstance that could serve to distinguish talents and character, and the habit which he had acquired by long practice of appreciating the value of different works, qualified him, in a very high degree, for conducting this elaborate performance. To those who duly consider the time and labour that are necessary for executing such a work with accuracy, and who also reflect how variously our friend's attention was occupied by other engagements, which were of great importance to himself and to the public, it will appear surprising that he did so much; and they will admire his unwearied diligence and perseverance rather than find fault with the slow progress of such a publication. His collateral reflections on a variety of incidental subjects are numerous and instructive. In this mode of introducing important and useful remarks Dr. Kippis particularly excelled.

"Notwithstanding the time that must have been devoted to the several objects now recited, and to the correction and publication of the works of friends, who respected his judgment and wished to avail themselves of his assistance, which he could never refuse to those who requested it, Dr. Kippis never neglected the studies and duties more immediately pertaining to his character as a divine, and his profession as a minister. His acquaintance with the various branches of theology, and with subjects subservient to his critical study of the scriptures, was very extensive. He was in the daily habit of reading some portion of the New Testament in the original language. He was conversant with the best writers on Jewish and Christian antiquities; and in the course of his reading no work escaped him, that was designed to illustrate the evidence, to establish the truth and divine original, and to investigate the genuine doctrines of the Christian revelation.

"He was a believer in Christianity upon the maturest examination and the fullest conviction. No person was better acquainted with the controversies which revelation has produced. He had studied them in his earlier and riper years with great attention; and though he was ready to allow the force of every difficulty and objection, yet to the ample preponderance of evidence his deliberate and impartial judgment submitted. Authority, I grant, is not absolutely conclusive in questions of this nature. Yet whilst Christians can rank in the number of the advocates of their religion such men as Bacon and Boyle, Newton and Locke, Clarke and Hoadley, Jortin and Lardner, and many other living writers of the

the first eminence with respect both to learning and character, who have professedly studied the evidence of revelation; there is no real ground of alarm from the feeble efforts of avowed infidels, who have acquired popularity in another way, and to whom a partial attention may be directed, but who manifest great ignorance of this subject, and who are very reprehensible on account of their mode of attacking Christianity. But to return from this digression.

“The principles which our deceased friend derived from Christianity were the directory of his conduct and the source of his consolation. By the amiable sensibility of his heart, as well as by the sober conviction of his judgment, he was led to value the discoveries and hopes of the gospel; to submit to the practical influence of its doctrines and precepts; and to cherish the pleasing and animating expectations, which it afforded. He had imbibed in a very high degree the mild and placable and benevolent spirit of the religion which he professed, and he exemplified this spirit both in his preaching and in his practice.

“Of his sentiments as a divine, and of his abilities as a preacher, it is hardly necessary for me to say any thing to those who now hear me. Towards the close of his life the inclination of his mind was to the distinguishing opinion of the modern Unitarians; though he was far from embracing all the tenets that have been adopted by some persons who are thus denominated. However, he disapproved their appropriating this appellation to themselves, which he considered as assuming and exclusive; and he lamented that excess of zeal, with which speculations, comparatively

of small importance, are maintained and propagated. Those doctrines and duties which he thought of principal moment he sedulously inculcated. Tenets of inferior importance, and that had no immediate influence on rectitude of temper and practice, he more generally avoided. Such, indeed, were the meekness and moderation of his temper, his solicitude to preserve peace and unity, and his governing desire to guard against the pernicious effects of a controversial and contentious spirit, that he beheld with concern the intemperate eagerness and ardour with which disputes of trivial moment have been sometimes conducted, and he deprecated the unhappy divisions which they are likely to occasion.

“What Dr. Kippis was as a preacher; how rational and scriptural; how judicious and instructive; how practical and interesting, especially towards the close of his discourses; and how well he blended the argumentative and pathetic on particular occasions, those who attended his ministry well know and will long remember. His compositions were always well studied; his voice was clear and harmonious; his delivery was natural and unaffected; and, on occasions that required it, animated and impressive; and though he sought not that popularity which depends more on sound and gesture and mechanical exertions than on rational and fervent addresses to the judgment and affections, and which is generally of no long duration, he retained the respect and esteem of the society assembling in this place for more than 42 years. He often lamented the decline of our religious societies in general, and of his own congregation in particular; yet, in a period of prevailing indifference with

regard to the institutions and duties of public worship, and when the house of God is too generally forsaken, he was gratified and encouraged, in the prospect of prosecuting his ministerial labours, by the accession of some valuable members to this church in the course of the last years of his life. Of his talents as a preacher, and of the general strain of his dis-

courses in the pulpit, the public are already in possession of a very useful and agreeable specimen in the volume of sermons, which he has lately published. His papers will, I hope, in due time furnish an addition to this valuable collection.

“Such are the general outlines of the character and labours of our deceased friend.”

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

PHILOSOPHICAL ACCOUNT of the TARTAR TRIBES, subject to RUSSIA.

[From the Second Volume of CHANTREAU'S PHILOSOPHICAL, POLITICAL, and LITERARY TRAVELS in RUSSIA, during the Years 1788 and 1789.]

“ **I**N Italy and the countries once held by the ancient Greeks, where the philosopher treads on the ruins of ancient cities, which are now no more, but remind him of the haughty nations, who possessed them, he sees nothing in nature, but decay and decrepitude. But, if transported to the northern extremities of Europe, he travel over the immense frontiers of Russia, he finds nature in a state of infancy; he observes none but rising cities and nations, which have the manners of the men, who lived in the first ages of the world, and like them have no wants but those of the first necessity, and know not the sweet conveniences of luxury; who, like these ancients, have no passions but such as arise from constitution, and know not even the names of such as originate in depraved and impure manners.

“ Our business and curiosity gave us frequent opportunities of having communication with these people, and we have collected some observations, upon their manners and customs, which our readers will not peruse without being interested. In the catalogue of these

nations, we have followed alphabetical order, that our details may be more concise and better arranged.

“ The Barschkires, more generally called Barschkirians, differ from wandering tribes in this; during winter they live in houses, or huts, built in the Russian fashion. The principal part, which the family commonly possesses, is furnished with large benches, which serve for beds. The chimney, of a conical form, and of the height of an ordinary man, is in the middle of this division, and so ill constructed, that they are very liable to smoke; consequently the Barschkirians are very subject to various complaints of the eyes.

“ The principal furniture of their hut is a bottle of an oblong shape, suspended near the chimney, and visited every hour of the day, because it contains their favourite drink, a mixture of sour milk and mead, which they call Arjan. So long as it lasts, they live merrily, and there is nothing they will not do to procure it. A stranger finds some difficulty in accustoming himself to this beverage. Yet we have seen Russian soldiers' drink it as readily

readily as the Barschkirians. A little nicer than the soldiers, who, provided they got one drink, were satisfied, we could not taste it without reluctance, especially when we came near the bottle, which, never or very seldom being cleaned, emits a smell difficult to be described.

"In summer this people inhabit what the Russians call Jurtes. They are tents or cottages of felt, which, like the huts, have several divisions, and a chimney in the centre. In the choice of a situation for a winter village, they pay more regard to shelter, and nearness of forage for their cattle, than to water, because they are accustomed to the use of snow water. A winter village contains from ten to fifty huts, but the summer encampment never exceeds twenty Jurtes; so that the large winter villages are divided into several small summer camps.

"Both sexes wear shirts of cloth made of nettles, which have the same shape. They also wear, without any distinction, wide drawers, which descend to the ankle-bone, and a sort of slippers like people in the east. Both men and women wear a long gown. The men's gown is much larger, and generally of red cloth bordered with fur.

"They bind it round their middle with a girdle, or with the belt, to which they fix their scymitar. The poor have a winter pelisse of sheepskin, and the rich wear a horse-skin, ordered in such a way, that the mane covers their back, and waves in the wind. The cap is of cloth, like the frustum of a cone, and ten inches high. By the rich it is usually ornamented with valuable furs. The gown of the wives is of fine cloth or silk. It is buttoned before, as far up as the neck, and fastened by a broad gir-

dle, which the richer classes have made of steel. Their neck and throats are covered with a sort of shawl, on which are several rows of coins, or a string of shells. Their cap is a kind of monk's hood, which would disfigure them, if they were not gainers by hiding themselves. Their dress consists in concealment, for which we thought ourselves obliged to them. They all wear a bandeau on their forehead, to distinguish them from girls and widows.

"The Barschkirians are the most negligent and slovenly of the Tartars. In commerce they are the least intelligent; but, in return, they are the most hospitable, the most lively, and the most brave. They are also the merriest, especially if they have no uneasiness about providing for to-morrow, and few of them calculate beyond this term. Men and women are passionately fond of horses, the women especially. The most acceptable present that can be made them, is a fine horse-cloth. We have seen some of very valuable fur.

"Their diversions at any religious festival, or at a marriage, consist in numerous libations of sour milk, singing, dancing, wrestling, and horse racing, in which they excel. In their songs they enumerate the achievements of their ancestors, or their own, and sometimes their amorous torments. These songs are always accompanied with gestures, which make them very theatrical. Among them, old age meets with the greatest respect. In their entertainments it occupies the place of honour, and the stranger to whom compliments are paid, is always set among the old men.

"Although the Barschkirians, like

like most of the Tartars, are Mahometans; though they have their mosques, their molahs, and their schools; they are not the less addicted to some superstitious practices, originating in paganism, or at least in the ignorance of the times, when paganism prevailed. They have their forcerers, whose knavery can be equalled only by the stupidity of those, who are their dupes. They challenge the devil, and pretend to fight desperately with him. If a credulous Barschkirian has by disease, or the severity of the season, lost one or two mares, he goes to consult the conjuror, who persuades him, that the devil has killed his mares, and that next night he will go fight him, and drive him from his house. Next morning at break of day, the forcerer appears with sweat on his brow, and all the external marks of a man, who has been fighting. He assures him, for whom he has been fighting, that the enemy is conquered. The weak Tartar clasps him round the neck, thanks and entertains him, pays him, and returns to bed, calm and sure of having no more enemies. How many Barschkirians like him are to be found from pole to pole.

“The Barschkirians have had no Kan or king, since they became subject to the Russians. Their nobility also, which was numerous formerly, has been almost entirely destroyed by intestine broils, and the wars they have had with Russia. At present, every tribe, or Woloſte, elects for chiefs within itself, two or more old men, whom they call Starschini from Starschine, which signifies department, or district. The nation of the Barschkirians is made up of thirty six Woloſtes, of which the total population is twenty eight thousand fa-

milies, or houses. Their language is a Tartar dialect, which is very different from that spoken at Kasan. The military service, which they are bound to perform, and the only point, in which the Russian yoke galls them, consists in furnishing in war times, three thousand cavalry, which form thirty troops of a hundred men each, usually armed with a bow, arrows, a lance, a coat of mail, and a helmet. The greater part of them now have sabres, fuses, or pistols. There are even some who are provided with these different arms at the same time. They are well mounted, are excellent horsemen, and still better archers. A military corps belonging to this nation has a very singular appearance. Every horseman dresses himself as he pleases, and as he can. He has a led horse, which he spares for battle, and which carries his provisions, consisting of sour milk, and dried corn; which is ground into meal, with hand-mills, always following the army. With this meal they make a ball, or bowl, which they swallow, and which serves them for bread. Every troop of a hundred horsemen has a standard of several colours, and these standards in the same regiment, differ as much from one another, as the arms of the horsemen, who, on marches and battles, know neither ranks nor files, and yet fight not the worse for all this.

“The Burattians, called among themselves Barga Buratt, but by the Russians Bratski, possess the south part of the mountains of Irkuzk, from Jenisei to the frontiers of China, and the banks of the Angara, of the Tunguska, of the Lena, the south bank of the Baikal, and of the Selenga and Argun, rivers in Dauria.

“They

" They are divided into a great number of tribes, called Kolbondas, which are subdivided into casts, or Aimaks, and each Aimak is composed of a certain number of Chottons, or villages, containing ten or twenty families. The oldest of the Chottons governs it, and six of these Chottons are subject to a Schulenga, or judge, whom they choose from among their chiefs; but he is confirmed in his office, along with all the chiefs of the higher order, by the governor of the province. Twenty four Schulengas form a tribe, or Kolbonda, which is commanded by a common chief, chosen from among the families of their ancient princes. He watches over the observation of the laws, decides and determines disputes, diminishes and augments the tribes, assembles and commands the proportion of recruits, which the nation must furnish in case of war, till the time, that they are united to the main body of the army. To give more support to this chief, Catharine II. has given orders that he should wear a girdle ornamented with silver, on which is inscribed the name of the cast he commands, and the Buratt has become proud of this decoration, which is only a mark of his slavery.

" According to the accounts taken in the year 1782, this nation forms sixty five casts, containing thirty three thousand bows, or heads of families, and as they speak the Mongol language, profess the religion of the Kalmucs, lead the same life, and manage their flocks in the same manner with the Barschkirians, we refer our readers to the heads, Kalmucs, Mongols, and Barschkirians, in order to avoid repetition. We shall only mention some customs peculiar to them.

" They may marry as many

wives, as they are able to pay for. Many have four or five, a number have only two, and the greatest part, whether from poverty, affection, or convenience, are contented with one. These wives, be they one or many in one family, are in a more comfortable situation, than wives are among any other people in Siberia. The price of a bride is paid in cattle of different kinds. A young girl, according to her beauty and character, may, among the rich, receive a hundred horses, twenty camels, fifty horned cattle, two hundred sheep, and thirty goats. This proportion is not always the same, but varies according to the laws, and sometimes according to circumstances. The nuptials are celebrated on the same day that the cattle are delivered. For this purpose they erect a Jurte of felt, entirely new, of a white colour, and remarkably neat. The three first days are spent in feasting, singing, and dancing. The musical instrument used at these rural balls is a guitar with two strings, like that which the Russians call balalaika. The old, who are not amorous, and the rigid, who keep by rule, find great fault, if the young couple have not waited, till these three days of riot be expired, for the consummation of the marriage. This law is not transgressed, if the marriage be only a matter of convenience, but if the parties be fond of one another, and love has formed the union, they disoblige the old and the rigid the first night.

" When a husband dies and leaves several wives, she, who has borne him children, or if they all have had children, the oldest becomes mistress of the Jurte. In the former case, those who have had no children, return to their relations

ons on fine horses, and carry with them the clothes, and presents, which they received from the husband. In case they have no place to retire to, they continue in the Jurte, subordinate to the wife-mother, and are entitled to the tenth of the cattle left by the husband.

“ The Czuwachians are scattered over the right bank of the Wolga, in the government of Kasan, and extend as far as Ufa, in that of Orenburg, and for this reason are distinguished by the name of Usian Tartars. They are a very laborious people. Their population amounts to upwards of a hundred thousand souls. They have smaller towns, and a greater number of villages. Silisgorod and Kobshaisk are the two chief places in the nation.

“ They acknowledge only one God, to whom they give the name of Tor, but among them the sun receives a worship almost equal to that of Tor. They have no temples, and it is in the middle of forests that Tor receives their homage, and sacrifices, which consist of black lambs, which in the lamb-season they slaughter in as great numbers, as their Jumak or high priest has ordered. The Yumaski, priests subordinate to the Jumak enjoy the greatest authority among the Usian Tartars. In diseases, they are the only physicians to whom they apply. In their disputes they are their only judges, and in their affairs they are their only counsellors. It is a Yumaski, who carries to the forest the offering, which his village sends to the grand Jumak, and the latter, according to every appearance, divides after the sacrifice with the Yumaski. Like the rest of the Tartars they abstain from hog's flesh, and refrain from working on

the Friday, as the christians do on Sunday. Every year they celebrate a kind of Easter, of which both the day and place of celebration are determined only by the grand Jumak. Every family repairs thither in the most profound meditation, carrying their lamb, which is killed in the name of Tor, and after the sacrifice it is eaten by those, who brought it. They all use nearly the same dress, the same kind of food, and have the manners of the Barschkirians.

“ The Kalmucs, who are a branch of the Mongols, are generally of middling stature, and distinguished from all other people by their look. Their characteristic features are, eyes, whereof the large angle placed obliquely and descending on the nose, is a little open and full of flesh; black thin eye-brows, forming a very low arch; a form of nose quite particular, generally flat towards the brow, high cheek bones, a very round head and face. Their eye-balls are generally of a dark brown, their lips thick and fleshy, their chin is short, their teeth are very white, and continue beautiful and fresh even till old age. In short their ears are enormously large, and detached from their heads. By these accounts the reader may see, that the figure of the Kalmucs bears a complete resemblance to that, which we have got described of the Chinese. Naturalists, who have examined the Kalmucs and the Mongols, have observed, that the mixture of Russian and Tartar blood with that of the Kalmucs and Mongols, which very frequently takes place in the extensive country situated south of the Baikal, generally produces children of the most agreeable looks, whilst those of Kalmuc or Mongol origin, are,

as their figure shows, of a most disgusting deformity.

"Nature has bestowed on the Kalmucs one gift, which they enjoy in common with many savage and insulated people, who live solely by hunting. They have an incredible acuteness of smell, which is of great service to them, by enabling them to perceive the smoke of fire or of an enemy's camp at a considerable distance. Their hearing too is very nice, and their sight extremely quick. By the first of these two senses, they can distinguish, at a great distance, the noise of an enemy's horse on march, and the place, where they can find their strayed cattle. For this purpose they need only to lie down and apply their ears close to the ground. But the quickness of their sight surpasses even their hearing. At an amazing distance they perceive the smallest objects, and distinguish the sort and number of troops, that may be coming against them.

"The Kalmucs are affable to all, and the most hospitable of all the wandering tribes, so that a man of this nation, provided with a horse, clothes, and arms, may go about among them for three whole months, without carrying with him either money or provisions. Wherever he goes, he is sure of finding friends, with whom he is connected by the bonds of hospitality, who give him the kindest reception, and entertain him with the best they have. If, by accident, he find no friends in the place, where he stops, he goes and lodges in the first hut he meets with on his road, and he has hardly entered, when all his wants are supplied. The stranger, too, who travels among these people, is as well treated as if he had been born among them; but, in

order to receive this welcome, he must put himself under the protection of a Kalmuc, and this can be procured by some small presents.

"This nation, so hospitable at home, becomes a nation of robbers, when they pass into the territory of another; but to the pillage they commit, they are more frequently instigated by motives of national hatred than of greed, and in the execution they employ stratagem rather than open force.

"The men's dress among the Kalmucs consists in an upper gown, which descends as far as the ham of the leg. It has long sleeves, but very well fitted at the wrists. These gowns are of cloth, or cotton, or coarser stuff, according to the fortune of the individuals. The rich wear very short shirts, but the poor put their pelisses next their skins, and wear them winter and summer. This dress is very disagreeable to the eye.

"Breeches made in the form of pantaloons are common to both men and women. The dress of the latter differs from that of the former, only by the fashion of the gown at the neck, and it is buttoned before, from top to bottom. The women also put above their gown, particularly when they go abroad, a sort of cloak, which is always of finer stuff than the gown. When they travel, men and women wear this cloak above the gown and pelisse, and bind the whole with a girdle. The young women dress quite like the men, except on the head, for which the dress is a mixture of ribbands, and curls of hair, agreeably enough arranged. The men all shave, and leave only a small tuft of hair on the crown. This custom they have in common with the Chinese and Tungusians. The young Kalmucs,
from

from infancy till the age of eighteen, go naked as far down as the middle, but the girls are clothed as soon as they are ten years of age.

"The caps of the Kalmucs have different forms, and there are some, which are worn indiscriminately by both sexes, and others, which are appropriated only to one. Whatever the cap be, it is always of yellow cloth, and ornamented on the front by several loops of red silk, which the young Kalmuc lasses place with much taste. Those who cannot procure loops of silk, supply their place with a bit of red cloth, or other stuff; but always of this colour, because it is the sign, by which those, who profess the religion of Lama, are distinguished, and this is the only religion in repute among these people, and the Mongols.

"The moveable dwellings of the Kalmucs are the same with those huts of felt, which the Barfchkirians use, as already mentioned. The Kalmuc huts however appeared to us to be larger, and made with greater care.

"All the riches and means of subsistence, which the Kalmucs have, consist in their flocks, which many among them count by thousands. Among them a man is considered able to live on his income, if he has ten cows and a bull, with eight mares and a stallion. These two kinds of animals constitute the principal part of their flocks. As for camels, none but the wealthy, and the priests (who too are wealthy, or live as if they were so), are possessed of them. Their horses are too wild, too small, and too weak for drawing, but not to be equalled in swiftness, and they are as hardy as swift. Their hoofs are so firm and hard, that the Kalmucs ride them without being obliged to shoe them.

"They usually geld the colts, and when they proceed to this operation, they slit their nostrils, in order that they may breathe the more freely when they run. In no season of the year do they remove the stallions from the milch mares. For every ten, or at least fifteen mares, they keep a stallion. These stallions are the leaders of the herd, which they walk at the head of, and defend with undaunted courage against wolves, and every other animal that dares attack it.

"The Kalmuc sheep resemble those of Great Tartary in the length and thickness of the tail. They yield tallow equal to butter in quality, and superior in substance. These sheep are much stronger than the Russian sheep, and carry a coarse kind of wool, mixed with hair.

"The camels, as we have said, are a mark of riches among the Kalmucs. This animal is so much the more valued, that besides its utility, it multiplies slowly, and is subject to an infinite number of distempers, under which it sinks sooner or later, because it is extremely delicate. In winter, especially, the camel stands in need of care, and requires to be screened from hoar-frosts, which prove mortal to him. For this purpose they cover him with pieces of old felt, and defend him with thick mats. In summer, while in the fields, he requires the protection of his keepers, to defend him from the attacks of wolves, because in spite of his enormous size, he is timid as the dove, and weak as the lamb. The propagation of this creature, too, demands particular care. When in season the female must be forced to sit on her hind legs, then the male is brought, and they must be assisted in copulation.

"The Kalmucs put a value on camels with two bunches, and think them more useful, and more tractable, than the rest. This is prejudice in the Kalmucs. Both kinds are most tractable, and to direct a camel, nothing more is necessary, than to put a cord round his nose, which when his guide pulls, by lowering his hand, the camel kneels to receive his burden, and when he pulls it upwards, the camel rises. Travellers have remarked one thing, which has escaped the Kalmucs, who do not observe so minutely, namely, the camels with two bunches have a much harder trot than the camels with one.

"The Kalmucs use the milk and wool of the camel. The milk is thick, creamy and of a salt taste, which it loses by being boiled. It is excellent when mixed with coffee and tea. In our excursions it was a treat, which we were very fond of.

"Camel's hair is used for the purpose of making mattresses, excellent felt, and cloth of unequalled fineness. At Kafan we saw some, which had the gloss of silk, and the rich pile of satin.

"When a horde or Kalmuc Ulufs change their residence, which in summer they do once a month, proper persons are dispatched to choose a spot of ground. These are directed to reserve three of the best situations, one for the Kan or prince, another for the Lama or priest, and a third for the huts, in which the idols are to be set. The rest of the ground is then divided among the horde, according to the antiquity of their families. In this sort of encampments every article must be carried on camels or bullocks. The hurdles which form the partitions, and all the appa-

tus of the hut, can be put into a small package, and make up the load of one, seldom of two camels. The bales of valuable furniture are covered with caparisons of felt of different colours, and curiously embroidered. The animal which carries them, goes at the head of the convoy of each individual, and has his neck ornamented with a number of bells, which render the march a little noisy. The camels in sevens are tied to one another's tails, with a guide at their head. As for the bullocks of burden, the Kalmucs drive them before them.

"In these marches, the women, particularly the young and unmarried, dress themselves in their best clothes, paint themselves carefully, and charm the fatigues of the march by songs, which turn on the prowess of their ancestors, or the stratagems of their lovers. The most distinguished among them are placed in a kind of canopy with curtains.

"When the weather is favourable the men go before, hunt all the way to the new camp, and there smoking their pipes on the grass, wait for the main body of the band. If the weather or roads be bad, they never quit their families, but watch over their beasts of burden, and continue within reach of them, to give assistance in case of accidents.

"The Kalmucs live on the flesh of their flocks, and are unacquainted with bread, instead of which they use some roots. Their ordinary drink is mare's milk, which they prefer to that of cows, because when they sour it, it gets the taste of a vinous acid, and furnishes a wholesome and refreshing liquor, which intoxicates when taken to excess. They distil it also, and from it make a kind of brandy, the

the use of which we will not grudge them.

"All of them, men and women, are excessively fond of tea and smoking tobacco. The tea most in use among them, is brought by the Russians from China, under the name of Tile-tea. Of it they drink most heartily, along with camel's milk. Instead of tea, which is very dear, because of the expensive carriage, the common people use a wild plant, of nearly the same colour and taste with tea.

"The Kalmucs are looked on as excellent horsemen, and much more expert than the Tatars. The women are equal to the men in dexterity, and in running are bold enough to dispute with them the prize of agility. Their arms, which are of the Asiatic kind, consist of lances, bows and arrows, scymitars a little bent, and with long hilts. The wealthy use the European arms, as well as those of their own country, and in hunting with as much dexterity as any European. The hunting of which they are fondest, and with which they are much better acquainted than the Europeans, is hawking, in which, they use hawks of the goss and lanner kind.

"The most usual method of hunting the wolf is what is called, hunting him down. A certain number of men, mounted on good horses, pursue the wolf they have started, with short, thick whips, and kill him with the handles, when he has given up. The Barfch-kirians have no other way of destroying this animal so formidable to their flocks.

"The Kalmucs spend the most of their time in diversions, and however poor their manner of living may appear to us, it is to them the height of happiness, because

they consider themselves as happy, as we consider them miserable. They look on our houses, and the palaces of the great among us, as so many beautiful prisons, for which they entertain a kind of horror, and in which they would not reside long without contracting the greatest melancholy.

"We observed that this people, which some travellers have described as very phlegmatic, are very much inclined to love and very prolific. The bachelor among the Kalmucs is only an imaginary being, and the hut which contains a barren wife, is a kind of phenomenon. A young girl is hardly marriageable, when she is provided with a husband, and a young widow scarcely finds time to lament her former husband before she has the offer of another. Thus providence ordains a propensity to marriage in a nation, which the hardships and sufferings attached to human life would soon annihilate, if one generation did not come after another in rapid and numerous succession.

"Among the Kalmucs, as among the Monguls, he who is the oldest of a cast, and like a sovereign rules over a certain number of people, which they call an Ulufs, bears the title of Taidshi, and that of Najonn is given to his brethren and relations in the collateral line. At his death the Taidshi transmits his Ulufs to his oldest son, and assigns a certain territory to his other sons, who become his vassals, and the Najonn of the first order exercises an authority like that of their father over the estates, which have fallen to their share. In the whole Ulufs he is their prince, and they are his barons, but it sometimes happens that these barons banish their princes and rule in their stead.

E "Every

“ Every Taidshi, or Najonn, exercises over his respective subjects an unlimited power. He can, at his pleasure, sell them, give them away, dispose of them in his will, inflict on them corporal punishment, and even maim them. But the Najonn cannot put them to death, without the authority of the Taidshi, and the principal Lamas of the Ulufs.

“ For the administration of justice and internal police, every Uluf is divided into Aimaks, each of which commonly contains fifty or sixty families, which are governed by Sayfans, officers named by the Taidshi. These Sayfans determine differences, and levy the contributions due to the prince. It is they who impose them, and their imposition is always oppressive, because they have a draw-back on the sum collected, which is allowed them in name of fees, and always in proportion to the principal.

“ The Kalmucs have in their code several laws bearing the stamp of originality. Every man, surprised in illicit commerce with the concubine of a priest, is let off with a reprimand, and pays a goat or a kid, as a fine, if he has been guilty of the same offence with the wife of a Najonn; because the law supposes, that a man of common station would not presume to address a woman of rank, if she were not the first to make advances. In case of ordinary adultery, the offender gives a horse of four years old to the offended, and the unfaithful wife gives one of three years old to the judge. Whoever finds a stranger in bed with his slave, is allowed to strip him, and set him out of his hut stark naked. Whoever steals a horse must make restitution, but in a different proportion for stallions,

mares, and geldings. If the thief be not able to pay, he is sold as a slave. The religious opinions of the Kalmucs are the same with those of the Mongols, to which our readers are referred.

“ Of the Cossacs there are several nations, who differ little from one another, but the most considerable is that of the Don. The Cossacs of this nation give out their ancestors for the first, who peopled Russia. Their countenances are no way different from those of the Russians, whose language they speak, in all its purity. Among them the common people wear a long beard, for which they have a great veneration; but the people of distinction cut it, and leave nothing but the whiskers. The servants imitate people of rank; but this rage prevails not among the Cossacs alone. The persons and dress of the Cossacs are such as we have described them in our first volume. Their women wear pantaloons, especially those of ordinary station. Their head dress is ridiculous, and disfigures them. The young women go bareheaded, and look so much the better. On festival days they surround the head with a broad bandeau, which they load with toys, and as the French Macaronis formerly made themselves be announced at a distance by the noise of their trinkets, the Cossac young women delight in sending before them the sound of the medals, with which their heads are decked.

“ The Cossacs have no religion but the Greek. At marriages and funerals only they have some particular customs, which their rude life and prejudices have rendered sacred. In marriage, for instance, the bridegroom goes to the house of his intended wife, riding on a fine horse,

horse, all covered with small bells, given him in a present from his nearest relations, and most intimate friends. These bells announce to the bride the approach of him, to whom she is going to be united, and raise in her soul, either the sweet emotion, which the arrival of her beloved produces, or that cold pang, which her heart must feel, if he, who is to have her, is not the object of her choice. After the marriage, those bells are carefully kept by the wife, who decks the nuptial bed with them on festival days. Among the Cossacs, wives not only bring with them no portion, but the husband is even obliged to furnish them with a bundle of linen, of which the principal piece must be made into a head-dress for the marriage ceremony.

“ The constitution of the Cossacs is altogether military, and their disposition very warlike. We shall only observe here, that all of them being born and trained to be soldiers, the Cossacs of the Don alone can send out a hundred thousand infantry, and muster, not an armed multitude, but a formidable body capable of striking terror into the best disciplined army by their way of fighting.

“ The Cossacs of the Don call their habitations Stanitzas. These were first built by refugees from other parts of Russia, who flying from an oppressive yoke, came to settle on the banks of the Don. Along this river there are upwards of an hundred of these Stanitzas, which are large villages, whereof some are fortified. The most considerable among them is Kafanka. Each Stanitza forms a parish. The church is always in the centre, and the place, where it is situated, is that where the inhabitants of the parish assemble to take up arms, or

celebrate any festival. The houses, which are all built of wood, are exceedingly neat, and the Bog's apartment is always the best finished, and kept in the best repair.

“ Each Stanitza is governed by an Attaman, who is elected annually. It is an indispensable requisite to have been born in the Stanitza, which he commands. Over the Cossacs of his district he exercises the function of colonel and judge, both in civil and criminal affairs. No merchants are to be found even in the most considerable Stanitzas, because the Cossacs, like valiant knights, despise commerce, and pride themselves in the grossest ignorance. Their priests take good care to keep this prejudice in all its vigour, because they find it to be their interest. They have as strong an aversion to agriculture as to commerce, so that the lands they inhabit, though excellent, often present to view, wastes to the extent of more than six hundred wersts, where absolute necessity alone has cleared some fields. And, besides, it is not the hands of the Cossacs, which have taken this trouble. It is the Malorossians, a cast of laborious people, who live among the Cossacs, and by their indolence.

“ Tscherkask is the capital of the Cossacs of the Don, and situated so as to be an important city, if it had citizens instead of soldiers. The Cossacs of the Jaik, now called the Cossacs of Ural, have nearly the same manners with those of the Don. They are more civilized and much more industrious. They are, besides, a mixture of Kalmucs and Mongol Tartars, among whom the manners of these people are more or less shaded, according to the casts and local circumstances.

“ *Mongols*—Under this denomination

nation is comprehended a very ancient race of people in Asia, who, about the end of the twelfth century, laid the foundation of one of the most powerful monarchies that ever existed. They extended their conquests over the greatest part of the globe, gave kings to Persia and emperors to China. The Mongols, who must not be confounded with the Tartars, whom they resemble only in their pastoral life, were Tschingis's companions in arms, who is known to Europeans under the name of Gengis-Kan. After the division or destruction of the empire formed by Tschingis, the Mongols were dispersed among different Tartar casts, and formed some new casts, whence sprung the Barschkirians, Burattians, Kalmucs, and Tungusians.

"Some hordes of Mongols, yet unmixed, still inhabit the frontiers of China. They have the features of the Kalmucs, the same food, and almost all their customs. They too profess the religion of lama. In the Mongol language, lama signifies priest, and the head of their religion, who is said to be also the object of their worship, is called the Dalai-Lama; a name signifying universal priest, or priest of unlimited authority. According to this definition the Roman catholics are also of the religion of the great lama. Their pope is a dalai-lama, an universal catholic priest, whose authority has no bounds. On the top of a mountain, the dalai-lama of the Mongols inhabits a kind of temple, which, it is said, no woman approaches, and of which the guard is intrusted to twenty thousand subaltern lamas; another resemblance of the lama of Rome. But there is one great difference between the Asiatic and European lama. The former and his subalterns interest

themselves only in spiritual affairs, and it is an unpardonable crime for them to interfere in temporal matters, whereas the latter lama, and his inferiors, wish to have to do with nothing but the temporalities. If what is said of the superstition of the Mongols be true, they yet exceed the catholics, which one would think not easily done. Among them, that part of the dalai-lama, which nature directs to be used only for the melioration of the soil, is carefully collected, dried, and put into boxes of gold, or other precious materials, and worn round the necks of the simple Mongols, as a preservative against the natural and moral evils, which assail humanity. The dalai-lama never dies, that is, his place is filled up by some pious fraud. The Roman lama dies, and his place too is filled up by a pious fraud, but it is notorious.

"Yellow is the favourite colour of the lamas. They shave the head and beard. Continence and chastity are virtues, which their rules recommend, but are observed as among the Roman lamas. They are obliged to be always praying, and they pray as mechanically as our parish clerks.

'To fear God, offend nobody, and give every one what belongs to him,' are the three great precepts which form the basis of the doctrines of the lamas. If they have no other dogmas, the boxes of secretion should be tossed out at the window, the grand lama should be laughed at for his pretended immortality, and then embraced as a brother for the soundness of his principles.—Every honest man ought to be of this religion.

"*Mordwans* or *Mordvins*—These are a remnant of the Mongols, who dwell

dwell on the banks of the Pjana, and are distinguished into two tribes, with whose barbarous names we shall not trouble our readers. Their manners are a little different from those of the generality of the Russians, and their dress is like that worn by the Barschkirians and other Tartar tribes. The women in their dress are excessively fond of small bells, medals, branches of coral; and whatever can make a noise when they are on a march. The bands of their caps are trimmed with them; their stomachers are overloaded with them, and their girdles are made up of them. So that the preparations of a woman of this country for a festival day, in its weight and the pieces of metal, which compose it, are liker the harness of a horse, than the dress of a woman.

“The Mordwans are industrious, they cultivate the ground, and are fonder of vegetables than of flesh or fish. They are Christians, at least so the Russians affirm them to be. Those, who are not, or still keep by the religious practices of their ancestors, have no carved idols, nor intermediate divinities between the Supreme Being and themselves. Yet such a creed prevails among almost all the nations of the world, in spite of reason and philosophy. Wiser far the Mordwans of ancient faith, who have neither academy nor lyceum, they acknowledge only the Being of Beings, and to him alone address their prayers. If this venerable religion really exists in this nation, which we can scarcely believe, it were to be wished they would send missionaries to the less enlightened quarters of the world.

“*Ostiacs*—Of this people and the Samoiedes we shall say little, as they have been so fully described

by other travellers, particularly La Harpe. We shall only observe here, that the Ostiacs possess the banks of the Jenisei and Oby, and are one of the first Siberian nations which the Russians subdued. They are of middle stature, and of a slender make. Their complexion is livid, and their features inexpressive. They are dirty as hogs, cowardly as the timid dove, and simple beyond what words can express. They are much addicted to superstition, in which they are encouraged by their priests, who give themselves out for forcerers; capable of controlling the elements, of diving into futurity, and of absolving, by certain magic spells, a man overwhelmed by iniquities and crimes. These Ostiacs, to whom nature appears to have given only the form of men, possess an ungrateful soil, are industrious, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, and have a horror at theft. Among them the cares of the family devolve on the women, as does the labour of fishing, from which they draw their only support. The dress of both sexes is a kind of bag of the skin of fish or rein-deer prepared as our tanners prepare their hides. The women veil themselves, and are right in doing so. The Ostiacs live solely on fish, with which nature has stocked their rivers in abundance, and of which they catch more than sufficient to supply their wants. Their utensils, arms, and oils are made of the bones, sinews, and fat of fish. They are all Pagans, and their worship corresponds with their intellectual faculties. The bear is for them the most terrible enemy, but his skin is an object of adoration. Like the Kalmucs they have jurtcs, winter villages, and summer camps.

" *Samoiedes*—They are neighbours to the *Ostiacs*, from whom they differ very little in manners, customs, and dress, but much in their persons. Their faces are round, and sometimes agreeable. They are of a robust constitution, but they are less civilised than the *Ostiacs*, and are impatient under the yoke of the Russians, which hangs very lightly upon them. Their women do not use the veil, have no shirts, but wear drawers both day and night. They are far from being beautiful, and in our opinion would be not a little improved by the use of the veil. The *Samoiedes* are as dirty as the *Ostiacs*, and still less nice in what they eat. Even an animal in a state of putrefaction does not offend them. A *Samoiede* treats his wife worse than an *Ostiac* does. The latter makes her labour, but condescends to make her a companion, whereas the *Samoiede* considers her only a servant. Yet it often happens that this wife has brought a portion, which is the only riches of her husband. It is said, that new married wives sometimes continue virgins for a whole month, though lying every night at the side of their husbands. If this be a fact, the husbands must be very cool, or the wives must possess few attractions. Like the *Ostiacs* they have forcerers, who pretend to be very knowing. These forcerers use a tabor or an instrument very like it, either to make his conjurations, or to assist him in the songs, by which he succeeds in turning the heads of his credulous countrymen. The *Samoiedes* too have their *Bog*. There is not a *jurte*, where one may not be found, and not a season of the year, when a rein-deer is not sacrificed to this supposed divinity.

" The *Tungush*, or *Tungusians*, are another tribe of Siberians, whom the arms of Russia have subjugated. The deserts, or steppes which they inhabit, extend from west to east along the *Jenisei*, as far as the *Lena* and the river *Amour*. They are divided into the *Hunting Tungusians*, and the *Fishing Tungusians*. They are of *Mongol* extraction, their language is the same with that spoken by the *Burattians*, and their features very like those of the *Samoiedes*. Their women pass for the prettiest in *Siberia*, where the sex is not much favoured by nature. Yet some travellers have seen young *Tungusian* women, who might have passed for beauties in any quarter of the world. But they must be taken at twenty years of age, for the rose fades not sooner than the women of this country. Toil, misery, and smoke, are the causes of them falling off so early. Both men and women have the senses of hearing and seeing in much greater perfection than the *Kalmucs*. The *Tungusians* are said to be free and open, to abhor lying, and to despise the oath, which the impostor loves to make his shield. They are satisfied with the poorest fare, and the want of food for several days cannot dispirit them. But they are seldom reduced to this extremity, because to them every thing is good, as to the *Ostiac*, and they are never disgusted. Besides, along with the resources of fishing, they have that of hunting, which is the surer to them, that the country abounds with game, and they are esteemed the best archers of *Siberia*. It is said that their courage is not inferior to their address. Water is their only drink, and a *Tungusian* intoxicated is a phenomenon, in spite of the strong liquors, for which

which the Russians have endeavoured to give him a taste. They are still a dirtier set of people than the Ostiaks and Samoiedes. They are so much so, that no idea can be attempted to be given of them without turning the heart of the man, the least susceptible of disgust. They are subject to epidemical attacks of the small pox, whose ravages are equal to those of the plague. So soon as any person is attacked by this loathsome disease, they quickly fly from him, after having provided him with what food is necessary. Left to nature, this poor man often recovers better and sooner than if a hundred inoculators had attended him. The Tungusians marry very young. Among them it is nothing uncommon to see husbands of fifteen, and widows of twelve years of age. Polygamy is allowed and practised among them, especially by the rich; for as a wife must be bought, or procured by means of presents, which comes to the same thing, the poor man is contented with one wife, and lives not the less happy. When the parents and relations have agreed with regard to the reciprocal presents, and conditions, the young people are bedded together, without their union being preceded by any feast or ceremony. Neither of these are ever minded, except at taking possession of the new jurte.

"The Tungusians have a practice, which prevails in America, in Africa, and among many nations,

of marking their faces with the figures of animals, and even trees and flowers. The operation is painful, but what will people not do to look beautiful?

"These people wear no shirts, their clothes are like those of the Samoiedes, but made with more proportion; and much more ornamented. The shape is something like ours. Men and women wear breeches; or, to speak more properly, the women dress like the men, from whom they are distinguished only by their neck-laces and the ornaments, with which they overload themselves.

"Their religious opinions are as gross as their manners. Their priests, whom they call Chamanes, and who boast of being inspired, act as intercessors with their divinities, of whom the number is considerable; but they are all subject to one, whom they adore under the name of Boa. They have the following idea of Boa. He is the God of gods, dwells above the clouds, distributes the various departments in the administration of the world among the subaltern divinities; and watches over them. He knows every thing, but is very little taken up about individuals. He punishes none, but does good to all. He is invisible, and consequently can be represented by no image. We must confess this is a Boa, to whom a great number of Boas ought to bear resemblance. They would then cease to be cruel, and the human race would become more happy."

VIEW of the GOVERNMENT, and RELIGION of the JAPANESE: supplementary to the Account of that PEOPLE, inserted in our REGISTER for the Year 1793.

[From the fourth Volume of TRAVELS in EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA, by Professor THUNBERG.]

“THE empire of Japan is encompassed on all sides with water, and consists of three large islands, together with a vast multitude of smaller ones. All these are divided into seven departments, which again are subdivided into sixty-eight provinces, and these into six hundred and four districts.

“At present Kubo, or the secular emperor, is lord of the whole country, and under him rules a prince or governor in each province. The princes that are first in dignity, are called Daimio; those of an inferior rank are denominated Siomio. If any of them is guilty of misdemeanors, he is amenable to the emperor, who has a right to dismiss him; to banish him to some island; or even to inflict capital punishment upon him. It is farther incumbent upon all these princes to perform a journey once every year to the imperial court, to reside there six months, and to keep their whole family there constantly, as hostages for their allegiance.

“But, besides this monarch, there is a spiritual or ecclesiastical emperor, whose power at present is totally confined to the concerns of religion and the church establishment; although this spiritual regent, or pope, derives his descent in a direct and uninterrupted line from the ancient rulers of this country, for upwards of 2000 years back.

“If we carry our researches

back to the remotest ages of antiquity, which are enveloped in obscurity and uncertainty, it will appear probable, that Japan, like other countries, was governed by patriarchs, or petty chiefs, who afterwards united together under one head. The most authentic history of the Japanese monarchs commences about 660 years before the birth of Christ, when the government was bestowed upon Syn Mu, of a very conspicuous race, called Tensio Dai Sin. This Syn Mu is the founder of the monarchy; he introduced an accurate chronology, called Nin O, and improved not only the laws of the country, but likewise the very form of the government. The emperors of this tribe were most usually denominated Dairi, and sometimes, but not so frequently, Mikaddo, Dai, Tai, Tensin, and Oo. One hundred and nineteen Dairis have ascended the throne in succession, from that period down to the time of my residence at Japan; although their power and authority have been very different and dissimilar at three different periods. These reigned alone with unlimited authority, till the year 1142. From that time the secular power was divided between the oldest and lawful potentate of the country and the secular rulers or generalissimos of the army, till the year 1585, since which time his authority has only manifested itself in matters

matters which concern the government of the church

“The veneration which is entertained for Dairi falls little short of the divine honours which are paid to the gods themselves. He seldom goes out of his palace, his person being considered as too sacred to be exposed to the air and the rays of the sun, and still less to the view of any human creature. If at any time he has absolute occasion to go abroad, he is generally carried upon men’s shoulders; that he may not come into contact with the earth. He is brought into the world, lives, and dies within the precincts of his court, the boundaries of which he never once exceeds during his whole life. His hair, nails, and beard, are accounted so sacred, that they are never suffered to be cleansed or cut by day-light; but this, whenever it happens, must be done by stealth, during the night, whilst he is asleep. His holiness never eats twice off the same plate, nor uses any vessel for his meals a second time; they being for the most part broken to pieces immediately after they have been used, to prevent their falling into unhallowed hands. For this reason, the furniture of his table consists of a cheap and inferior sort of porcelain. The case is pretty much the same with respect to his cloaths, which are distributed among those who reside at his court. Without the precincts of the court there is none, or at least hardly any one, that knows his name, till long after his death. His whole court, with very few exceptions, consists of none but such as are of his own race; all of whom have their appointments at court, in like manner as others of them, who are not employed at court, are promoted to the richest benefices, and

the best convents. He has twelve wives, only one of whom, however, is empress. The pomp which reigns in his court, though not so splendid as formerly, is yet very great. Since the retrenchment of his power, he derives his revenues from the town and adjacent country of Miaco; and has likewise an allowance from Kubo’s treasury, besides immense sums which he acquires by the conferring of titles; and yet his revenue is frequently inadequate to his expences. The right of bestowing titles of honour remains to this day vested in the person of the ecclesiastical emperor, and serves considerably to increase his income. Even Kubo himself, and the hereditary prince, receive titles at his hand; as do likewise on Kubo’s recommendation, the highest officers of state at his court. Those who have spiritual titles, are distinguished both at court and in the churches all over the country, by a particular dress, conformable to their rank and dignity. I had the honour to see one of these prelates at a convent in Nagasaki; his dress consisted of a pair of trowsers, and a large cloak with a long flowing train. I found him very affable and courteous, and we had a long conversation together, through the medium of our interpreters, respecting various matters; which, however, afforded me far less pleasure than the shrubs I met with in the vicinity of his church.

“Dairi’s court was formerly removed at pleasure from one part of the country to the other; but now his residence is fixed in the town of Miaco. This court is very extensive, and forms of itself no inconsiderable town, being provided with walls, fosses, ramparts, and gates; in the centre stands Dairi’s palace,

palace, adorned with lofty turrets, and round about it are the mansions of both the superior and inferior officers of his household, and other attendants. A governor is kept here for his service by Kubo, and a guard appointed for his safety, to defend the sacred person of Dairi, and by way of security to Kubo, that no disturbances or insurrection can be raised there. At this court literature is cultivated, and academic studies are pursued with vigour. It is the only university in the country; and here the students are maintained, brought up, and instructed. The principal objects of their application are poetry, the history of the country, mathematics, &c. Music is a very favourite study with them, especially with the ladies. Here it is that all their almanacks are compiled, which are afterwards printed in *Isie*.

“ Although Dairi has lost his authority in temporal concerns, yet he is still considered as so august and holy, that Kubo, either in person, or by his ambassador, is bound to pay him a visit, and that either annually, or at the expiration of a certain stated time; bringing with him, according to the general custom of the country, presents of great value.

“ Yoritomo and many more of the secular emperors, have visited Miaco in person, to perform this homage, which latterly however, and by degrees, has been more and more neglected, and is at last entirely given up. Neither the princes of the country, nor the Dutch, when they go up to Jedo, pay their respects to the ecclesiastical emperor in Miaco. Seventy-six emperors of this race have reigned with unlimited power, till the year 1142, when civil commotions arose among the princes of the land, and a cala-

mitous war was waged between them. With a view to compose these disturbances, the command of the armies was given to Yoritomo, in the quality of generalissimo. This valiant commander suppressed, indeed, the growing disturbances, but at the same time also arrogated to himself and his successors great part of the emperor's authority; which continued to be divided between Dairi and the imperial generals till the year 1585. About this time a peasant's son, named Taiko Samma, had raised himself by his superior abilities to the rank of general, reduced all the princes of the land under his authority, and in the end deprived Dairi of all the power he had hitherto possessed, with respect to secular affairs, and the government of the empire. From the reign of Yoritomo, the first of the secular monarchs, to that of Ye Varu, who swayed the sceptre of Japan, at the time of my residence in that country, one and forty Kubos had sat upon the throne, and kept their court at Jedo. The secular emperor does not, however, hold the reins of government entirely in his own hands, but reigns conjointly with six privy counsellors, who are mostly men in years and of sound judgment. Besides the considerable presents which each ruling prince sends to court of the produce of his province, Kubo derives his revenue from certain crown lands, as they are called, or five imperial provinces, and some imperial towns, which are subject to the sway of governors or bugios. The tax or tribute is paid in such commodities as each country produces. In the same manner each of the princes receives tribute from his province, with which he maintains his household,

hold, his troops, defrays the expences of keeping the roads in repair, as likewise of his journeys to court, maintains his family, &c.

"The five imperial crown-lands pay a tax of 148 mans and 1200 kokfs of rice, which amounts to nearly 44,400,000,000 sacks of rice. Each man contains 100,000 kokfs, each kokf 3000 balis, or sacks of rice, and each sack weighs upwards of twenty pounds. The aggregate revenue of the whole empire of Japan amounts at least to 2328 mans and 6200 kokfs.

"At the time when Kämpfer resided in Japan, in the year 1692, the Dairi Kinseokwo Tei, was in the fifth year of his reign, having ascended the throne A. C. 1687. Since that period the following emperors have reigned.

"Naka no Mikaddo no Yn, from 1709 to 1735.

"Sakkura Matie no Yn, from 1736 to 1746.

"Momo Zon no Yn, from 1747 to 1761.

"Zentoogozio, from 1762 to 1769.

"And, since the year 1770, Figaifi Jamman no Yn, who continued to fill the imperial throne at the time of my departure from Japan, in the year 1776.

"Of Kubos, or secular emperors, the following have successively sat on the throne of Japan. In the year 1693, when Kämpfer took his leave of this country, Kubo Chinayos still reigned. He was then in the forty-third year of his age, and had reigned twelve or thirteen years. The whole duration of his reign comprehended a period of twenty-nine years. After him followed;

"Ye Nob Koo, and reigned from 1709 to 1712.

"Ye Tfu Ku Koo, from 1713 to 1716.

"Yofi Mune Koo, from 1717 to 1751.

"Ye Siege Koo, from 1752 to 1761; at which time the present Kubo

"Ye Far Koo, ascended the throne, which he still occupied at the time of my departure, A. 1776.

"The government of each province is intrusted to some prince, who resides in it, and is responsible to the secular emperor for his administration. He has a right to all the revenues of his fief, with which he supports his court, his military force, keeps the roads in repair, &c. He is likewise bound, as we said before, to make a journey once every year to Kubo's court, with a degree of pomp suited to the size and dignity of his fief, to take with him considerable presents, and to keep his family constantly at this emperor's court, as hostages for his allegiance.

"The towns, in which these princes hold their court, are mostly of considerable note, situated near some harbour, or large river, and surrounded with walls and fosses. Most frequently at one of the extremities of the town stands the prince's castle, which is of great extent, being likewise surrounded with a wall and fosse, provided with strong gates, and adorned with high towers. These castles are for the most part, like the imperial palace at Jedo, divided into three compartments, each of which is well fortified. The innermost is the residence of the prince himself; the second is allotted to the superior officers of state; the third and last is destined for his troops, with the rest of his retinue and attendants,

Not

Not only are the towns themselves provided with gates, but each individual street has its own gates, which are shut during night, and on some other occasions, so that not a soul can either enter in or go out. The distance between each of these gates is generally from 60 to 120 yards. Each street has its own watch, watch-house, and apparatus for guarding against fire; as likewise an *ottoma*, and other officers, for preserving decorum and good order. For the accommodation of travellers in every town there are a great many inns, which are neat and conveniently situated; by the side of the roads, likewise, and near each other, (none of them being more than a quarter of an hour's distance asunder) there are others, which are post-houses, where are always to be found horses, and norimon-bearers, who forward travellers for a certain determined price, proportioned to the length and difficulty of the road: so that the price of travelling is not the same throughout the whole country, but is regulated according to the nature of the roads in each place. Although the regulations here, as well in the towns as in the country, agreeable to the genius of this people, appear sometimes very singular, and frequently even favour of compulsion and constraint, still it cannot be denied, that they are really sometimes both necessary and excellent. Upon the whole, both the supreme government, and the civil magistrates, make the welfare of the state, the preservation of order, and the protection of the persons and property of the subject, an object of greater moment and attention in this country than in most others.

" The villages in Japan are for the most part situated near the public roads; they are distinguished from the towns by having only one street, and by being open; but they are otherwise of an extraordinary length, extending from a mile and a half to three miles, and sometimes farther.

" The roads are both broad and kept in excellent repair, as they are not liable to be spoiled by wheel-carriages, in a country where travellers are generally carried by men in a kind of litter, or else walk. With respect to this, they constantly observe a most excellent rule, which is, that travellers shall always keep on the left-hand side of the way, so that different companies, whether great or small, may meet and pass, without in any wise incommoding each other: a regulation, which, in other countries that lie under less restraint, deserves so much the more to be attended to, as not only in the high roads in the country, but even in towns and cities, every year exhibits, in no inconsiderable number, the most lamentable, and, to an enlightened nation, disgraceful instances of persons of every age and sex, but more especially children and old people, being rode or driven over by the giddy sons of riot and dissipation; of which broken limbs, if not loss of life itself, is a pretty certain consequence. And as it often happens that bridges cannot be laid down over certain parts of a river, on account of the violent floods, the best and safest regulations are adopted for transporting travellers over, either in boats or upon the hands of men. Even in the most inconsiderable villages there is a number of petty inns established, where the traveller is sure to find
boiling

boiling water ready for his tea, with other refreshments."

"Paganism is the established religion throughout the whole empire of Japan; but their sects are both numerous, and very opposite to each other in their tenets; notwithstanding which they all live together in the greatest harmony and concord, without disputes or quarrels. The ecclesiastical emperor, Dairi, is, like the pope, the head of the church, and appoints the principal priests. Every sect has its respective church, and its own peculiar idols, which are represented under some determinate, and that, for the most part, very uncouth and hideous form. The number of these fictitious deities is such, that almost every trade has its own tutelar divinity, after the manner of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and consequently they have both their *Dii majorum et minorum gentium*. The Japanese are not, indeed, entirely ignorant of the existence of an eternal omnipotent being, supreme in power and might above all other gods; but their knowledge in this particular is very much obscured with fable and superstition. Notwithstanding this, I have never seen among any Pagans whatever so large and majestic a representation of this god, as is to be met with in two of the temples in this country. In the one is seen a wooden image, of such an amazing magnitude, that six men can sit cross-legged, in the Japanese fashion, upon its wrist, and it measures ten yards in breadth across the shoulders. In the other, his infinite power is represented by a multitude of subaltern deities, who stand round him on each side, to the number of 33,333.

"Their temples, of which they have likewise a great variety, are

generally built in the suburbs of the towns, upon the highest and most eligible spots. The priests in each temple are numerous, although they have little or no employment, any farther than to keep the temple clean, to light the fires and the lamps, and to present such flowers as are consecrated to the idol, and which they believe to be most agreeable to him. No sermons are preached, nor hymns sung in the temples; but they are left open all day for the accommodation of such as wish to offer up their prayers, or to leave their offerings. Nor are strangers denied admittance to their temples; not even the Dutch, who are allowed to visit them, and may be accommodated with lodgings in them, whenever it happens that the inns in the petty country towns are bespoken; as was once the case in the course of the journey that I made to the imperial court.

"The principal religions of Japan may properly be said to be only two: the Sinto and the Budido. The former is the proper and most ancient religion of the country; though its adherents are not so numerous as those of the latter, which was brought hither from the continent of Asia, and has acquired the greatest number of followers. The doctrine of the Sinto, in its original simplicity and purity, was much nobler than it was after it became in process of time adulterated with a great many foreign and superfluous ceremonies. It is even probable that it originated from the Babylonian emigrants, and was in its rise more intelligible and clear, but by degrees became obscured. Its adherents acknowledge and believe in a Supreme Being, who inhabits the highest heavens; but they likewise allow

allow of inferior or subaltern deities. It is by this Supreme Divinity that they swear; and they believe him to be far too great to stand in need of their worship. Their adoration, therefore, has for its object the inferior deities, who, according to their creed, exercise dominion over the earth, the water, the air, &c. and have it in their power to make men happy or miserable. Neither are they without some conception, however imperfect, of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of happiness or misery after death. According to their tradition, the souls of the virtuous have a place assigned them immediately under heaven, whilst those of the wicked are doomed to wander to and fro under the cope and canopy of heaven, in order to expiate their sins; consequently they place no manner of faith in the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls into animals or other bodies; the whole tenor of their doctrine has no other object than to render mankind virtuous in this life: their chief and universal care is to preserve a clear conscience, to lead a virtuous life, and to shew due obedience to the laws of their sovereign. They abstain from animal food, are very loth to shed blood, and will not touch any dead body. Whenever any one transgresses in any of these points, he is considered as unclean for a longer or a shorter term, as was the case with the Jews, agreeable to the Levitical law. They believe that there are no other devils than those which reside, as souls, in foxes; these animals being considered as very noxious and dangerous in this country.

“Although the professors of this religion are persuaded that their gods know all things, and that,

therefore, it is unnecessary to pray to them for any thing, they have, nevertheless, both churches and certain stated holidays. Their gods are called *Sin* or *Kafni*, and their churches are styled *Mia*. These churches consist of several different apartments and galleries, with windows and doors in front, which can be taken away and replaced at pleasure, according to the custom of the country. The floors are covered with straw-mats, and the roofs project so wide on every side, as to overhang an elevated path in which people walk round the temple. In these churches one meets with no visible idol, nor any image which is designed to represent the Supreme invisible Being; though they sometimes keep a little image in a box, representing some inferior divinity, to whom the temple is consecrated. In the centre of the temple is frequently placed a large mirror, made of cast-metal well polished, which is designed to remind those that come to worship, that, in like manner as their personal blemishes are faithfully portrayed in the mirror, so do the secret blemishes and evil qualities of their hearts lie open and exposed to the all-searching eyes of the immortal gods.

“I have frequently observed with the greatest astonishment, as well on holidays as on other occasions, the extreme devotion with which the Sintoists approach these temples; they never venture to approach the house of their god, if they are in any wise impure; for which reason they wash themselves first perfectly clean, dress themselves in their very best apparel, and wash their hands a second time just at the entrance of the temple; then advancing with the greatest reverence, they place themselves before

before the mirror, and after bowing respectfully down to the very ground, turn once more to the mirror, prefer their prayers, and present their offerings. At the conclusion, they ring thrice a little bell which is kept for that purpose in the temple, and retire to spend the remainder of the day in mirth and rejoicing.

“The priests in these temples may be divided into two classes; the first, who attend to the domestic business of the temple, are secular priests, and illiterate, in order that they may not be able to reveal the mysteries of their religion. The other class, consisting of those who are in sacred orders, instruct their disciples in the religious mysteries of their sect, who are bound by oath not to reveal any part of them. The secular priests shave their beards, but not their heads; and are habited in a large and loose dress, after the manner of the country; on their heads they wear a lackered hat, with a silken tassel hanging down behind. Since the introduction of Budſſo's doctrine into this country, this sect has adopted a greater variety both of tenets and ceremonies than it originally embraced, and unquestionably merits the preference before all other sects in the island, notwithstanding all the superstition with which it is infected. Kubo professes himself of this sect, and is bound to make a visit every year, either in person or by his ambassador, to one of their temples, and there to perform his devotion, and at the same time to leave behind him presents of great value.

“Budſſo's doctrine was originally brought hither from the western coast of the East-Indies; that is to say, from Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon. Budha, who without

doubt is the same with Budſſo, was a prophet among the Bramins, who is reported to have been born in Ceylon about one thousand years before the birth of Christ, and was the founder of that sect which has since diffused itself over every part of the East-Indies, and to the remotest boundaries of Asia. The doctrine, however, did not gain repute in China till a long time after its first introduction; from thence it passed over into Corea, and from that place into Japan, where it was very generally received, and, being blended with that of the ancient Sinto, gave birth to the most monstrous and absurd superstitions. Its principal tenets consist in the following maxims: that the souls of men and beasts are alike immortal: that a just distribution of rewards and punishments takes place after death; that there are different degrees of happiness as well as of punishment; that the souls of the wicked transmigrate after death into the bodies of animals, and at last, in case of amendment, are translated back again into the human form, &c. &c. To the Supreme God they give the name of Amida; and Satan is called Jemma.

“The churches of all the different religious sects are in general built upon the most eligible spots, both in the villages and in the towns; the roads leading to them likewise are frequently adorned with alleys of cypress trees, and handsome gates; most of them have a separate apartment for the idol, who is sometimes exhibited sitting upon an altar, surrounded with incense, flowers, and other decorations.

“The churches throughout the whole country are open every day in the year; but they are, as the
reader

reader will easily imagine, more generally frequented on the customary festival days, and likewise at other times, by a multitude of visitors, who repair thither in order to amuse and divert themselves.

“The usual holidays in Japan are the first day in every month, when they rise early in the morning, dress themselves handsomely, and go to pay their respects to their friends and superiors, at the same time wishing them joy of the new month. This day is kept as a festival throughout the whole empire; a custom which has been observed from the earliest ages. The full of the moon, or the fifteenth day, is another holiday, on which the people resort to the temples in greater numbers than on the first. The third festival is of less consequence, and falls upon the twenty-eighth day, or the day before the new month.

“Besides these monthly festivals, they celebrate five more, which happen but once in the year: the first of these is New Year's Day. On this day they rise very early in the morning, dress themselves in their best attire, and go round among their superiors, friends, and relations, to wish them a happy new year; the remainder of the day is spent in eating and drinking, visiting the temples, and making merry; some of them make a practice of giving away some trifling present on these occasions; and very often the eldest of the tribe gives a public supper to his kindred. The whole country, at this time, is in a state of busy fermentation, as it were, which lasts for three whole days; after this the whole of the first month is dedicated almost to no other purpose than pastime and pleasure. The second annual festival falls upon the third day of the third month;

the third upon the fifth day of the fifth month; the fourth upon the seventh day of the seventh month; and the fifth upon the ninth day of the ninth month. These months and days, which make always uneven numbers, are considered by the Japanese as unlucky, and are therefore dedicated (setting all business aside) to mirth and mutual congratulations, and in some measure, though but little, to the service of the divinities. On some of these holidays, in preference to other days, they celebrate their nuptials, give public entertainments, and other diversions; as it is a maxim with them, that the gods take delight in seeing mankind joyful and happy.

“Some of the churches in the country being more worthy of note than others, it is common to perform pilgrimages thither from all parts of the empire, in like manner as the Mahometans are accustomed to visit Mecca. Among these the temple of Isie, which is consecrated to Tenjō Dai Sin, the most ancient of their gods, and supreme above all the other celestial divinities, is particularly remarkable. This temple is the most ancient in the whole empire, and at the same time in the worst condition, being now so exceedingly decayed with age, that it can scarcely be kept together with the greatest care and attention. It has no other ornaments than a mirror, and slips of white paper hung round about on the walls, denoting that nothing impure may approach, or can be pleasing to God; as likewise that nothing can be hid from his all-seeing eye. The emperor, who cannot personally visit this temple, sends hither every year an ambassador in his stead, in the first month of the year. Every one of his subjects

jects, without any exception of age or sex, is bound to undertake a pilgrimage hither at least once in his life-time, and many perform it every year: people of superior rank, however, go but seldom; as here, as well as in other places, they arrogate to themselves various privileges and prerogatives, in which they consult their private ease and convenience rather than their duty. These journeys may be undertaken at any season of the year, as best suits the convenience of the party, but in general they chuse the pleasantest months, especially the spring. The performance of such a pilgrimage is deemed highly meritorious, and is besides rewarded with an indulgence, granting remission of sins for the whole year. In the course of my journey to the imperial court at Jedo, I saw some thousands of these devout pilgrims, many of whom were so wretched and indigent, that they were obliged to beg their way. These miserable people even carried their beds with them, agreeable to the fashion of the country, consisting of a straw mat, which they carried on their backs; most of them were farther provided with a little bucket, which served them to drink out of, as likewise to receive the alms given them. On this bucket I saw the name of the owner inscribed, which served to shew who the traveller was, in case he should meet with any calamity, or chance to die on the road. On their arrival at Isie, the pilgrims are conducted by some priest to the temple of the god, where they humbly prefer their prayers, and, in consideration of some present made to the priest, are favoured with an indulgence, which consists of a few thin laminæ of pewter, kept in an

oblong box, made likewise of thin pewter.

“ Besides the priests employed in the service of the different churches, there is another class, or a less sacred order of them. The order of Blind Monks is, perhaps, one of the most singular that ever was known, and is not to be paralleled in the whole world, consisting of none but blind members, who are dispersed over the whole empire. The order of Jammabos, or Monks of the Mountain, is likewise worthy of notice; it was founded about 1200 years ago, and has a general, who resides in Miaco, and distributes titles of honour to his dependants, according to their various merits. These wear, by way of distinction, a small cord suspended from the neck, to which are attached several pieces of fringe, of different lengths, according to the merit of the wearer: they farther wear a scymitar on the left side, and carry in their hands a staff with a copper head to it, and a conch, or *murex tritonis*, which serves them instead of a trumpet. Their head is covered with a cap, on their back is hung a sack, and a pair of shoes, to make use of when they travel over the mountains, and they are likewise frequently provided with a rosary, or kind of *pater noster*. The monks of this order suffer many hardships, and are in duty bound, once every year, to the great and imminent danger of their lives, to traverse wild forests, and to climb up to the summits of the highest mountains. It is furthermore incumbent upon them to study cleanliness; on which account they bathe very often in cold water, and subsist solely upon roots and herbs which they gather in the mountains; in fine, they

wander barefoot over the whole country, and, like the gypsies in the north, cure disorders, restore stolen goods, tell fortunes, &c.

“Vows are frequently made by superstitious persons; thus, for instance, one of our best interpreters, a man advanced in years, having made a vow, a long time back, never to make use of shoes, and being this year employed to accompany the Dutch embassy to the imperial court in the depth of winter, marched along very patiently upon his bare feet; bore all the inclemency of the weather with the unconcern of a stoic, and, what was surprizing, did not afterwards suffer any inconvenience in consequence of his hard and troublesome expedition.

“Nunneries have been established in this country upwards of a thousand years ago, although, with respect to number, they fall infinitely short of those established in Europe.

“Every order or sect has constantly its general resident in Miaco; besides which every church or convent has its own superior: exclusively of these, they have likewise at the secular emperor's court in Jedo, their ecclesiastical plenipotentiary; whose business it is to settle such disputes as concern temporal matters in the country, as likewise to take cognizance of the misconduct of those who are in holy orders; but when sentence of death is to be passed upon the latter, the warrant must always be previously signed by the general of the order.

“The Christian religion was brought into Japan immediately after the discovery of this country by the Portuguese. The first Jesuit missionaries arrived in the province of Bungo in the year 1549, and in a short time spread themselves over

the whole country, where they continued till the year 1638, when 37,000 Christians were massacred. In 1549, a Japanese youth was baptised in Goa, who gave the Portuguese great insight into the advantages which they might reap in Japan, both with respect to commerce and the propagation of the Christian religion. The Portuguese enjoyed here the most unlimited freedom, with liberty to travel over the whole country, to trade and to preach. Their commerce proved very lucrative, and the work of conversion made such a rapid progress, that many of the princes of the empire, as for instance, the princes of Bungo, Arrina, Emura, and many more, embraced the Christian religion, which induced the Portuguese to come over in great numbers, marry, and settle in different parts of the country. In 1582, after forty years labour, the Catholic religion was in such high esteem here, that a Japanese embassy was sent to Rome to pope Gregory XIII. with letters and valuable presents. But the incredible profits of this commerce, added to the rapid progress of the Christian religion, soon puffed up the Portuguese with pride, and it was not long before their avarice and haughtiness proved their ruin. In proportion as their riches and credit increased, they became insupportable to the Japanese, and were at length detested to such a degree, that already in the year 1586 a decree was issued for the extermination of the Christians; in consequence of which, heavy persecutions were commenced against them, and in the year 1590 only, upwards of twenty thousand of them were put to death. Notwithstanding all this, numbers of the Japanese

Japanese daily became profelytes to the Christian faith; so that in the years 1591 and 1592 not less than twelve thousand were converted and baptised. Even the emperor Kubo Fide Jori himself professed Christianity, together with his court and army; and had the Portuguese but conducted themselves with prudence and gentleness, there is every reason to believe, that the persecutions already commenced against them would have ceased. But instead of this, they gave daily greater scope to their haughtiness and ambition, and one of their bishops behaving with unwarrantable rudeness towards a prince of the empire, thereby accelerated their final ruin; giving, at the same time, a decisive blow to their lucrative commerce, together with the propagation of the Christian religion. This circumstance took place in the year 1596, when a certain prince was so grossly affronted by an ambitious prelate, during a journey to the imperial court, that, on his arrival at Jedo, the former laid before Kubo a statement of the whole affair. Hence arose a new persecution against the Christians in the year following; the priests being forbidden to preach, a great many of the clergy banished out of the country, and the mercantile part of the colony sent to the island of Desima. At this time, too, a conspiracy was discovered, which the Portuguese had set on foot against the emperor, with an intent to dethrone him. The Dutch, who happened at that time to be at war with the Portuguese, having captured one of their vessels, found, among other papers, a letter from a certain Japanese captain, named Moro, to the king of Portugal, containing the particulars of the plot concerted against the emperor's

throne and person. The actual existence of this conspiracy being afterwards fully authenticated by another letter written by Moro to Macao, the Japanese government came to the final determination to banish all Christians from the empire, who should refuse to abjure the Catholic faith, or else to put them all to death without quarter. This persecution was accordingly commenced, and carried on without intermission, for the space of forty years, when it ended in the total eradication of the Christian religion, together with the final overthrow of the trade carried on by the Portuguese; after 37,900 Christians, who had taken refuge in the castle of Simabara, where they sustained a siege, had been forced to surrender, and were all put to the sword in one day. The Japanese, who were persuaded that this unwarrantable conduct in the Christians was the inseparable consequence of their doctrines, took from that time forward the most efficacious measures to prevent the Christian faith from being ever re-established in their dominions; and the Portuguese received strict injunctions, under the severest penalties, never to approach their coasts any more. And in order the more effectually to discover whether any Japanese Christians remained hidden and concealed in the country, recourse was had to various institutions, and, among others, to that of trampling upon the images of the saints, a custom which still prevails, and is repeated at the commencement of every year in Nagasaki and the circumjacent country.

“Philosophers and moralists are regarded in this country in the same light as priests and sacred persons, and their tenets have been embraced

ed with equal ardour with those of other spiritual sects. The chief, which has obtained estimation and repute in Japan is Sjuto or Koosi, known in Europe by the name of the Morality of Confucius. This system derives its origin from China, where Confucius was born 400 years after Budso. Its followers, though they cannot properly be said to worship any god, place their *summum bonum*, nevertheless, in a virtuous life; and admit of rewards or punishments for man in this life only. They confess that a universal soul or spirit belongs to the world, without acknowledging any other gods, without having churches, and without worshipping any one. Their doctrine, therefore, chiefly inculcates the following maxims; to lead a virtuous life, to do justice

to every man, to behave at the same time to all persons with civility, to govern with equity, and to maintain an inviolate integrity of heart. They do not burn their dead, but lay them, like the Europeans, in a chest, and bury them in the earth. Suicide is not only deemed lawful among them, but it is even applauded, and considered as an heroic act.

"The difference between this system of morality, which has been introduced among them in latter times, and their most ancient religion, is very great and remarkable. In their modern system we discover the offspring of human wit; whilst their ancient religion exhibits evident traces of the divine law of Moses."

RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, and CHARACTER of the DAHOMANS.

[From the HISTORY of DAHOMY, an inland Kingdom of AFRICA, by ARCHIBALD DALZEL, formerly Governor at Whydah, and now at Cape-Coast-Castle.]

"WITH respect to the Dahoman religion, it will hardly be expected that we should be able to say much. Like that of many other countries, it consists of a jumble of superstitious nonsense, of which it is impossible to convey any satisfactory idea to the reader. The Portuguese word, *feitico*, or, as the English pronounce it, *fetish*, signifying witchcraft, has been adopted by most of the maritime natives of Africa, as well as by the Europeans who trade thither. This word at present is very comprehensive in its signification, meaning either the several objects of worship, whether ideal or corporal, the act

of worship itself, or the various amulets, charms, and superstitious mummeries of the priests, or *fetich-men*, who abound in this country. They observe no sabbath, unless their market-days, which are considered as days of recreation, may be so called. Most of the savage nations have some confused notion of a Supreme intellectual Being, the maker of the universe; but this idea not being easily understood among a people not much addicted to metaphysical reasoning, a variety of corporeal beings have been selected as objects of devotion, such as the sun, moon, living animals, trees, and other substances. The

tiger is the *fetish* of Dahomy; the *snake*, that of Whydah. Among the *amulets*, or *charms*, the principal is, a scrap of parchment, containing a sentence of the *Koran*, which the natives purchase from the Moors who visit this country. This they hang up in their apartments, which are likewise decorated with crude, mis-shapen images, tinged with blood, besmeared with palm-oil, stuck with feathers, bedaubed with eggs, and other absurd applications, of which a particular account would be both tedious and unprofitable.

"We shall not, therefore, dwell on the religion, but pass on to the government and manners of the Dahomans, which deserve more particularly to be considered. The former is the most perfect despotism that exists, perhaps, on the face of the earth. The policy of the country admits of no intermediate degree of subordination between king and slave; at least in the royal presence, where the prime minister is obliged to prostrate himself with as much abject submission as the meanest subject; all acknowledging the right of the sovereign to dispose of their persons and property at pleasure. Beyond the precincts of the palace, indeed, the ministers enjoy very eminent privileges. It is true, they are forbid the wearing of sandals, and other ornaments peculiar to royalty, or to use such an umbrella as a white man*; yet their inferiors must salute them with bent knees, and clapping of hands; they may sit on high stools, ride on horseback, be carried in hammocks,

wear silk, maintain a numerous retinue, with large umbrellas of their own kind, flags, drums, trumpets, and other musical instruments. But, on their entrance at the royal gate, all these insignia are laid aside. The silk garment is substituted by a tunic and a pair of drawers†, made of cotton, manufactured in the country; the neck is adorned with a valuable string of coral; a pair of broad silver bracelets encircle the wrists; at the side hangs a silver-hilted scymitar, while the hand grasps an ivory club. Thus equipped, one of the ministers of state is always found in waiting at the palace gate; and in this garb only may he enter, which must be with the utmost caution and respect, and not till the monarch's permission be signified by one of the women. On his entrance, he crawls towards the apartment of audience, on his hands and knees, till he arrives in the royal presence, where he lays himself flat on his belly, rubbing his head in the dust, and uttering the most humiliating expressions. Being desired to advance, he receives the king's commands, or communicates any particular business, still continuing in a recumbent posture; for no person is permitted to sit, even on the floor, in the royal presence, except the women; and even they must kiss the earth, when they receive or deliver the king's message.

"The king's sons, not excepting the heir apparent, have no rank; being obliged to salute the ministers with clapping of hands, in a kneeling attitude. On such

* See Life of Adahoonzou II. c. 3.

† The necessary prostrations before majesty, unavoidably soil this garb. The minister must, therefore, shift at every visit. Indeed, the Dahomans are at all times very cleanly in their persons, and particularly so with respect to their food, and the utensils used in the kitchen and at table. A very good soap is manufactured in the country, of palm-oil and pot-ash.

occasions, however, those officers, out of respect to the blood-royal, hasten to take them by the hand, and raise them from such an humble posture.

"The king, and all his subjects, receive strangers with the most remarkable courtesy. Ambassadors, from whatever state, are not put to the necessity of learning the Dahoman etiquette from the master of the ceremonies. Every one salutes the sovereign according to the fashion practised in his own country. Chairs are placed for European governors, or masters of ships, upon which they sit, covered, till the king makes his appearance, when they make a bow, standing and uncovered; after which, they resume their seats, and put on their hats. Sometimes the Dahoman monarch has been known to shake hands with an European; but this is a very uncommon mark of royal condescension, and bestowed only on some great favourite.

"White visitors are always honoured with a glass of some cordial liquor, filled by the king's own hand; which, if refused, is apt to give offence*. Favours of this kind are received with avidity by his own subjects, not so much for the sake of the liquor, as the honour conferred on them. On such occasions the subject lies on his back, while the king holds the bottle to his mouth. In this posture he must drink till the royal hand be withdrawn; which sometimes does not happen before the whole con-

tents be emptied, especially when he has a mind to sport with the drinker.

"So great is the veneration of the Dahomans for their sovereign, that their history produces no instance of a deposition. The doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance is universal amongst them, and the most oppressive mandates of the monarch are submitted to without a murmur. The apparent abject humiliation of the ministers, on the days of public audience, contributes powerfully to keep the people in subjection. The lower class cannot think that homage unreasonable which is paid by the first officers of the state; whose only privilege, in the royal presence, is that of lying prostrate nearest the king's person, and being the medium of communication between him and his inferior subjects. For none but high officers must converse immediately with the sovereign, though near enough to be heard; it being beneath the king's dignity to be addressed by, or to speak to, the vulgar. But although this humiliation be rigidly kept up by the ministers of state in public, they are allowed to converse more familiarly at private audiences, where all the public business, whether legislative or executive, is managed.

"The king of Dahomy maintains a considerable standing army, commanded by an *Agaow* †, or general, with several other subordinate military officers, who must hold

* One of the European governors, on his first visit, being presented with a glass of geneva, declined it. Upon being informed that it was the custom of the country, on such an occasion, to drink whatever had been filled by the king himself, he still begged to be excused, giving for a reason, that he was indisposed. Upon which the minister in waiting drank it off; having first poured it out of the king's glass into a little callabash which he carried about him: as no subject must drink out of a glass in presence of the king.

† Perhaps from the Turkish word, *Aga*.

themselves in readiness to take the field upon all occasions, at the command of the sovereign. The payment of these troops chiefly depends on the success of the expeditions in which they are engaged. On extraordinary occasions, all the males able to bear arms, are obliged to repair to the general's standard; every *Caboccer* marching at the head of his own people. Sometimes the king takes the field, at the head of his troops; and, on very great emergencies, at the head of his women *.

"Whatever might have been the prowess of the *Amazons* among the ancients, this is a novelty in modern history, which ought not to be slightly passed over. Within the walls of the different royal palaces in Dahomy, are immured not less than three thousand women. Several hundreds of these are trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers, appointed by the king, in the same manner as those under the Agaow. These warriors are regularly exercised, and go through their evolutions with as much expertness as the male soldiers. They have their large umbrellas, their flags, their drums, trumpets, flutes †, and other musical instruments. In short, the singularity of this institution never fails to attract the particular attention of the Europeans, when, among other uncommon exhibitions, they

are presented with the unusual spectacle of a review of female troops.

"The chief part of the public revenue consists of voluntary gifts, paid by the subjects at the time of the *Customs* ‡, when the *Caboccers* § and traders attend, bringing their contributions, according to their respective circumstances. Besides these, a duty is levied on commerce; and something arises from captives taken in war, of whom, all that are carried to market are sold for the king's account; but as he pays a certain sum to his troops for every prisoner || they bring in, and as the greatest part of the captives are put to death, a small proportion only being reserved for sale, the amount they produce must fall far short of the expence of procuring them.

"The well-known shells called Cowries, which come from the *Maldiva* islands, are the currency of the country, where one thousand are reckoned equal to half a crown. These circulate in the country, loose; but all disbursements from the king's house are made in branches of strung cowries, containing two thousand each, deducting one fortieth part, as a perquisite to the king's women for piercing and stringing them.

"When any public work is to be done, such as the erection or repairs of royal buildings, the king summons his caboccers, and

* See Life of Trudo, chap. ix. Life of Adahoonzow, chap. v.

† Little can be said in praise of any of their musical instruments, except the flute; which, though the most simple that can be imagined, being open at both extremities, with a little notch at the mouth end, where it is scraped thin, to divide the wind, produces very agreeable notes; and we can assert as a fact, however incredible it may seem to those modern *cognoscenti*, who deny that the ancients made use of harmony, that the king's women understand and practise the combination of the perfect concords, thirds and fifths; and their little airs are not inelegant.

‡ An annual ceremony, which will be explained in its proper place.

§ From the Portuguese word, *cabocero*, a head man.

|| The king pays also for the heads of the slain.

portions out the labour among them, paying their people for their trouble. Thus the work is performed with great dispatch. Besides such necessary disbursements, the king pays a considerable yearly tribute, in cowries and merchandise, to his formidable neighbour the king of *Eyo*; part of which is defrayed from the contributions levied upon those states which are tributary to Dahomy. The residue of the royal treasure is, upon various occasions, distributed with a liberal hand among the Dahoman grandees, and even among the inferior subjects, so that the receipts and expenditure are nearly equal; and the money which flows to the royal coffers, from the king's subjects and vassals, thus circulates again among the people.

"The king of Dahomy has several palaces; each occupying a piece of ground of nearly a mile square. The description of that at Calmina will serve for all the rest.

"This palace, or *simbony*, which, in the language of the country, means a great house, is surrounded with a very substantial clay wall, of a quadrangular form, and about twenty feet high. In the middle of each side is a guard-house, with two centinels at the gate, and a guard of armed women and eunuchs within. On the thatched roofs of these guard-houses are ranged, on small wooden stakes, many human skulls. Such of the inner apartments as the Europeans have an opportunity of seeing, consist of large courts, communicating with each other, generally square or oblong, encompassed by clay walls. In each of them is a sort of piazza,

or shed, formed of posts, about seven feet high, planted in the ground, at the distance of about twelve or fourteen feet from the wall. The intermediate space is covered with a slanting thatched roof, supported by bamboo rafters, resting upon the posts, and reaching to the top of the wall; which in this part is also about twenty feet, though only eight or ten feet on the other sides of the court. The areas of these courts are of the common soil of the country; but under the sheds the ground is elevated a few inches, by a bed of clayey mortar, which forms the floor; and the wall is in some parts white-washed with a species of pipe-clay, which the country produces. In the middle of the palace there stands a large building, of two stories, and about thirty or forty feet high; so, that the top of it may be seen from without. This house seems to be intended more for show than use; for the king never dwells in it. The whole has somewhat the resemblance of an assemblage of farm-yards, with long, thatched barns, hovels for cattle and carts, and low mud walls, to separate them from each other. The interior of the palace is not so easily to be described. Its recesses are scarce ever entered by any human being of the male gender; and the female apartments are guarded from intrusion, with more than eastern jealousy.

"The author* had once an occasion to pass the limits of the courts already described, when king Abadee was sick, and would see him in his bed-chamber. This was a detached circular room, of about eighteen feet diameter: It had a thatch-

ed conical roof; the walls were of clay, and white-washed within. There was a small area before it, formed of a wall about three feet high, the top of which was stuck full of human jaw-bones; and the path leading to the door was paved with human skulls. The mattresses and bedstead were of European manufacture, the curtains of check. The furniture of the room consisted of a small table, a chest, and two or three chairs; and the clay floor was covered with a carpet, which the author had sold to him some months before. The apartments for the women, each of whom has a separate hut, occupy, it is supposed, the remainder of the space within the palace-walls, except a small part, appropriated to the eunuchs, and to some necessary storehouses, for holding the provisions for the king's numerous family, his cowries, iron bars, clothes, arms, ammunition, and some articles of European furniture.

"The late king was very desirous of buying any thing of this sort that he could procure, such as tables, chairs, bureaux, mahogany liquor-cases, walking-canes, cases of knives and forks, spoons, silver cups, and glass ware. The author once carried him a two handled silver cup and cover, of chased-work, weighing two hundred and twenty-six ounces.

"The vulgar among the Dahomans affect to believe that their king does not eat. Indeed he does not eat in public, though he makes no scruple to drink. He entertains the whites who visit him with great hospitality. They often dine in his presence; sometimes in the piazzas,

or sheds, before mentioned, and sometimes in the open area of one of the courts. On such occasions, the table and the guests are screened from the sun by large umbrellas, held up by attendants clothed in the country dress. The king has cooks who have been instructed in Europe, or at least at the different forts; so that he is able to treat his visitors with victuals dressed in the manner of their respective countries. There is no want of table apparatus: the table-cloth is commonly a piece of new linen, cut off for the purpose; the dishes are of pewter or earthen-ware; and the knives and forks silver-handled. The white men, on such occasions, are seated on chairs; the caboccers, and heir apparent, are placed on the ground near the Europeans, who hand them some of the victuals; which they eat, as if by stealth, without knife or fork.

"The dress of the men, in Dahomy, consists of a pair of striped or white cotton drawers, of the manufactory of the country, over which they wear a large square cloth of the same, or of European manufacture. This cloth is about the size of a common counterpane, for the middling class; but much larger for the grandees. It is wrapped about the loins, and tied on the left side by two of the corners, the others hanging down, and sometimes trailing on the ground. A piece of silk or velvet, of sixteen or eighteen yards, makes a cloth for a caboccer*. The head is usually covered with a beaver or felt hat, according to the quality of the wearer. The king, as well as some of his ministers, often wears a gold or silver laced hat, and feather.

* One consisting of 25 English ells, of crimson velvet, was sent out lately, as a present to one of the kings on the coast.

The arms and upper part of the body remain naked, except when the party travels or performs some piece of work, when the large cloth is laid aside, and the body is covered with a sort of frock or tunic, without sleeves. The feet are always bare, none but the sovereign being permitted to wear sandals. In the hand is usually carried either a cutlass or wooden club. For an officer of state, the club is of ivory, which is a very expensive ornament, on account of the great waste in making it; a whole elephant's tooth, and that not a small one, being destroyed in the fabrication of this badge of dignity. Inferior caboccers carry a sort of blunt sabre, with a broad blade and a wooden handle, serving rather for ornament than as an offensive weapon.

"Warriors wear what is commonly called a grass cloth, made in the country, of the skin of palm-tree leaves, parted into small threads, knotted and wove. This is afterwards tinged with various dirty dyes, and wrapped round the loins. They also wear a cartouch-box of their own manufacture, a powder-flask of callabash, with many grotesque ornaments and fetishes, which, together with the uncouth devices painted on their faces and bodies, give them a very fiend-like appearance. Every Dahoman man also carries a tobacco-pouch, containing tobacco, a flint, steel, and tinder; together with one or two tobacco-pipes, in a neat wooden case.

"The dress of the women, though simple, consists of a greater number of articles than that of the men. They use several cloths and handkerchiefs, some to wrap round the loins, and others to cover occasionally the breasts and upper part of the body. The neck, arms,

and ancles, are adorned with beads and cowries; and rings of silver, or baser metal, encircle the fingers. The ears are pierced so as to admit the little-finger, and a coral bead of that size stuck into each, if the party be able to afford it; otherwise a portion of red sealing-wax, or a piece of oyster-shell polished, is applied in the same manner. Girls, before the age of puberty, wear nothing but a string of beads or shells round the loins; and young women usually expose the breasts to view.

"The Dahomans are less addicted to the practice of cutting or *scarring* the body than their neighbours; contenting themselves with a perpendicular incision, which leaves a mark between the eyebrows. The Whydahs, of both sexes, cut their foreheads and cheeks in such manner as to give them the appearance of being very much pitted with the small-pox. The women also mark the lower part of the body with various devices.

"The inhabitants of the neighbouring states are likewise known by the scarifications on their bodies; every country making use of this custom in their own manner. The Ardrahs make an incision in each cheek, turning up a part of the flesh towards the ears, and healing it in that position. The Mahees are distinguished by three long oblique cuts on one cheek, and a cross on the other. Some bore the ears, others the nose, thrusting a bead or a cowrie into the aperture.

"Circumcision is universally practised among the Dahoman subjects, but not at such an early age as among the Jews; the time of submitting to this operation being left to the boys themselves, whose caresses are not admitted of by the females

females till they have undergone this amputation. A certain operation, peculiar to this country, is likewise performed upon the women *.

" The Dahoman women do not admit the embraces of their husbands during pregnancy, nor at the time of suckling, which continues two or three years, nor while under the *catamenia*; during which they retire to a part of the town allotted for their reception. The prostitutes, who in this country are licensed by royal authority, are also obliged to confine themselves to a particular district, and are subject to an annual tax.

" The general character of the Dahomans is marked by a mixture of ferocity and politeness. The former appears in the treatment of their enemies, and in the celebration of those customs which have been sanctioned by the immemorial practice of past ages, under the idea of performing a grateful oblation to the deceased; the latter they possess far above all the African nations with whom we have hitherto had any intercourse: this being the country where strangers are least exposed to insults, and where it is easy to reside in security and tranquillity.

" Of their bravery we shall have occasion to produce many conspicuous examples; and of their hospitality and generosity, every stranger who has resorted to the Dahoman coast can testify.

" The nature of their government makes them very reserved with regard to every state transaction; but on occasions where this restraint is unnecessary, they are abundantly affable and communicative.

" Having already mentioned the annual customs, and as we shall have occasion frequently to take notice of them in the course of this history, we shall premise a short account of this singular festival.

" At the approach of the customs, which are usually celebrated soon after Christmas, the king leaves Calmina, where he generally resides during the rest of the year, and repairs to Abomey, his ancient capital, and the burial-place of the royal family. About this time, he dispatches his messengers extraordinary, called half-heads †, with his gold-headed cane and compliments to the European governors at Grigwee, inviting them to witness the solemnization of this festival.

" Each of the governors carries an annual present to the king, consisting of a piece of rich silk for a dress, together with some brandy and other articles, amounting in the whole to about 50*l.* sterling. These are received, not as the consideration by which they hold their respective forts, but as a token of friendship and good correspondence; for the king takes care to make them sensible, that he does not accept such presents for the sake of their value, as he always returns more than is equivalent; such as a young female slave, which he presents to each under the denomination of a washerwoman; and one fine cotton cloth, at least, for a counterpane. Besides this, he entertains them during their stay at Dahomy with the greatest liberality and kindness; giving them from time to time, sheep, poultry, and other articles, and allowing an abundance of pitto ‡ and meal for their attendants.

* Prolongatio, videlicet, artificialis labiorum pudendi, capellæ mamillæ simillima.

† So called from having the half of their heads shaved. They have each several strings of human teeth, slung like a soldier's belt, which give them an odd appearance.

‡ A kind of small beer, made of maize or millet, which is not an unpleasant drink.

"The Yavougah, or viceroy of Whydah, is charged to furnish the white men with a sufficient number of porters and hammock men, together with an armed guard; which last is seldom accepted of, not from motives of economy, these men getting no pay from the Europeans, except about the value of twopence halfpenny each in cowries, for their daily subsistence; but because the journey is always made in perfect safety, and travellers accommodated with eastern hospitality. For there are a kind of caravanseras, in the towns through which they pass, allotted for their reception; on their arrival at any of which, they are received by the caboceer of the place, who presents them with such refreshments and necessaries as the country affords, and kindly presses them to make known their wants, which he readily supplies.

"On their arrival at Abomey they are received with a salute of cannon, and lodged, during their stay, in apartments belonging to the master of the ceremonies. They are liberally supplied, as I have already observed, with mutton, poultry, and other articles for their own tables, and those of their attendants, which are sent from time to time by the king or his caboceers.

"The celebration of the customs usually continues about a month, during which there is some public exhibition every fourth, or market day, the intermediate days being employed in preparations. The whole would afford a very amusing spectacle, if it were not for the human sacrifices which are annually made for the purpose of watering, according to the country expression, the graves of the deceased royal family.

"One of the market-days is set apart for singing and dancing. There are professed singers who perform, by the hour, before the king. The songs are mostly extemporary, in praise of the monarch and his exploits; and the performers are rewarded upon the spot, according to the merit of their compositions.

"Besides these extempore songs, their bards, on solemn occasions, rehearse over the whole history of their country, sitting at the king's gate. This recital takes up several days; and they are attended by young men of the best memories, who endeavour to qualify themselves to become their successors, when there shall be a necessity for their services.

"Another day is allotted for feasting in the market-place, where a large camp is made for the purpose, and many tents pitched for the accommodation of the king, caboceers, white visitors, and ambassadors from foreign states. Here a very large quantity of victuals, previously dressed, and carried in procession by the king's women in their best clothes, is distributed, not only among the more distinguished guests, but even without the camp, where the vulgar partake plentifully. Pitto, brewed by the ladies of the palace, is likewise dealt out with a liberal hand upon the same occasion; nor is there any want of brandy and other liquors from Europe. In short, the whole resembles what is sometimes seen at a general election, with this difference, that it is more orderly.

"Various other scenes are exhibited during this carnival, some of which being described in the following pages, we shall not anticipate; but close this account with the detail of an extraordinary spectacle

fele which commonly concludes the ceremony.

“ Contiguous to the palace, a large stage, of about 100 feet by 40, is erected; this is supported by a vast number of piles, 10 feet long, driven into the ground, upon which are laid joists, and then branches and straw. The wall of the palace forms the boundary behind; the front and sides are railled. The floor, as well as the railing, is covered with carpets and country cloths; and the front and sides are adorned with a multitude of flags, streamers, and large umbrellas of various colours, some of which are made of gold and silver tissue. At a little distance, a fence of thorns keeps off the rabble. On this stage are piled a great quantity of cowries, strung in branches of two thousand each, pieces of brocade, and other silks, strings of coral, European and country cloths, Brazil tobacco, pipes, bottled liquors, and a variety of other articles. At an appointed time, the king, with all his caboceers and vassals, repairs to the stage, where the Europeans also are present. Here each officer is allowed to choose a cloth for himself, the prime minister making the first election, and the rest following his example, according to their rank. Sometimes, also, a string of coral is given to each. After this, the king takes up a bunch of cowries, and throws it over the fence among the multitude. All the caboceers, and the Europeans if they please, follow his example, and toss over all the goods, except a few bunches of cowries, which are reserved for some of the favourite servants, who are permitted to take their stand between the stage and the fence, and which are handed to them by

their masters. The rabble come prepared for this sport; being all stark naked, except that a strong bag, girt round the loins, hangs before, for the reception of the cowries. Some associate themselves in parties, in order to be able to carry off a piece of silk or cloth. Such prize becomes frequently the object of competition between two parties, and a violent struggle ensues; but as no kind of weapon is allowed to be carried by the people assembled on this occasion, no fatal accident follows. The effusion of blood, however, commonly making part of a Dahoman exhibition, this also is closed with the death of at least one human victim, who, together with several other animals, is thrown, bound, from the stage, to be murdered below.

“ The specimens of art produced by the Dahomans discover a degree of perfection little to be expected from the rude simplicity of their tools. Their looms are the most awkward machines imaginable, yet they manufacture very pretty and durable cloths of cotton, which are held in great estimation among themselves, and are often purchased by the Europeans for counterpanes at a high price. Their dyes stand washing very well, especially their blues, which are inferior to none. They likewise weave cloths of the palm-tree leaves, which they sometimes dye, but oftener wear in the natural colour; which is somewhat higher than that of nankeen. They likewise make neat mats of the same substance.

“ The implements of the forge are very simple. The bellows consists of two bags of rough goat's skin, with a stick of about three feet

feet in length, fixed perpendicularly to each, and also a horizontal tube (an old gun-barrel) to convey the air from the bag, through a little clay party-wall, to the fire. While the smith is at work, a boy holds a stick in each hand, blowing the fire with alternate puffs, so that the air is expelled and drawn in by turns through the two pipes, there being no other communication with the bags. In this way they contrive to make a welding heat, and fabricate not only the necessary implements of husbandry, but carpenter's tools, cutlasses, spears, and other weapons. The anvil is of stone, or an old iron cannon; and the hammer is a thick piece of rounded iron, of about a foot in length, which they hold by one end. Besides blacksmiths, there are a sort of braziers or silversmiths, who make manillas or bracelets; handles to cutlasses, rings for the fingers, and other trinkets of brass or silver, which they melt in crucibles * of their own making.

"The cookery of the Dahomans ought not to escape our notice. Their dishes are few, but excellent: of those, black soup is the

chief. It is made either of flesh or fish, with a variety of mucilaginous vegetables, well seasoned with pepper and salt, and enriched with palm-oil †. This dish is likewise seasoned with an ingredient which is made of the seeds of a tree called, in the country, wild tamarind, somewhat resembling those of the cucumber. These are prepared by fermentation, and formed into a mass of as high a relish as assafoetida, but of which a small quantity dissolved in the soup, gives it an exquisite flavour. Their bread is of maize or millet, sometimes boiled into a stiff pudding, and sometimes baked, either with or without leaven: they make also a very light white and delicate fermented bread of calavances, first stripped of the husks, and a kind of paste or flummery of fermented Indian corn, not unlike blanc-mange, though not so adhesive.

"So much was thought necessary, to give the reader some idea of this singular people, previous to the entering upon the reigns of their kings; where many other particulars, no less curious, will be found."

PRESENT STATE of the GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, &c. in the REPUBLIC of SAN MARINO.

[From the second Volume of ANECDOTES of some DISTINGUISHED PERSONS, chiefly of the Present and two Preceding CENTURIES.]

"AT the distance of twelve miles from Rimini and the Adriatic Sea, we beheld a cloud-capt mountain, steep, rugged, and inhospitable, yet to Britons, whose affection for their own happy island cherished even the faintest image of congenial liberty, more

* They make likewise earthen pots for boiling provisions, water-jars, and other utensils, of the same materials.

† The butter of the country; as different from that in an apothecary's shop, as new butter from that which by age has become rancid and of different colours.

attractive

attractive and more engaging than all the gay luxuriance of Tuscan * plains. A black expansion of vapour partly concealed from our view the territory of what the Greeks would have called a nation, seldom visited by strangers, though assuredly most deserving of that honour. Liberty brightens and fertilizes the craggy rocks of St. Marino; and instead of paradises inhabited by devils (for thus the recollection or supposition of better times indignantly characterises the countries through which we had just travelled), this little state, we were told, would exhibit rugged hills and savage precipices cultivated and adorned by the stubborn industry of free men, who labour with alacrity, because they reap with security. We panted at the thoughts of taking a nearer survey of this political wonder, and were impatient to leave Rimini; but the country adjacent to that city was deluged with rain; the rivers continued to overflow; horses could not safely clamber over rocks; and Rimini could not furnish us with mules. But they are delicate travellers whom such puny difficulties could restrain from visiting this illustrious mountain, where liberty, herself a mountain goddess, has upwards of fourteen centuries fixed her rural throne. Careless of mules, or horses, or carriages, to which last the republic of St. Marino is at all times inaccessible, we adopted a mode

of travelling which in a country where pomp is immoderately studied, because wealth is too indiscriminately prized, might possibly have excluded unknown wanderers from the proud mansions of nobles and princes, the palaces of bishops, and the vineas of cardinals, but which, we rightly, conjectured, would recommend us as welcome guests to the citizens of St. Marino, whose own manliness of character must approve the congenial hardihood of humble pedestrians.

"The distance from Rimini to the borgo, or suburbs of St. Marino, for the città, or city, stands half a mile higher on the hill, is computed at only ten Italian miles. But the badness of the weather and of the roads would have encreased the tediousness of our fatiguing journey, had not our fancies been amused by the appearance and conversation of several persons whom we occasionally met or overtook, and who, notwithstanding that hardness of features which characterises mountaineers, displayed in their words and looks a certain candour and sincerity, with an undescribed mixture of humanity and firmness, which we had rarely seen portrayed on the face of an Italian. Such virtues, perhaps, many Italians may possess; such virtues Raphael and Guido probably discerned in their contemporaries; unless it be supposed that the antique not only ennobled and exalted, but originally inspired their conceptions. Yet

* The epithet Tuscan is justified by the authority of Polybius, l. ii. c. 14. and c. 17. He describes that extensive plain bounded by the Alps, the Apennines, and the Adriatic, and also the plains about Mola and Capua, called the Phlegrean Fields, as antiently inhabited by the Tuscans. The territory of this people, he says, formed incomparably the finest portion of Europe. Before Polybius wrote his history, the dominion of the Tuscans had contracted to a narrow span; and according to the saying of the modern Italians, while the pope possesses the marrow, the great duke of Tuscany has now only the bones, of Italy.

whatever might be the pre-eminence of Roman beauty, during the splendour of the Cinque Cento, it must be confessed of the Italians of our days, that the expression indicating virtues of the mild or generous cast, seldom breaks through the dark gloom and sullen cares which contract their brows and cloud their countenances.

"At the distance of five miles from Rimini, a small rivulet, decorated by a disproportionably large stone bridge, which at another season of the year would have exemplified the Spanish proverb of a bridge without water, separates the territories of St. Marino from those of the pope. Proceeding forward, we found the road extremely narrow, much worn by the rain, alternately rough and slippery, and always so bad, that we congratulated each other on rejecting the use of the miserable rips that were offered to us at Rimini. In the midst of a heavy shower we clambered to the borgo, situate on the side of the hill, and distant (as already said) half a mile from the città, on its summit. The former is destined for the habitation of peasants, arizans, and strangers; the honour of inhabiting the latter is reserved for the nobles, the citizens, and those who, in the language of antiquity, would be styled the public guests of the commonwealth. In the whole territory there is but one inn; and that of course in the borgo; for lone houses are rare in all parts of the continent, the British dominions alone, by their native strength, and the excellence of their government, being happily exempted from the

terror of banditti in time of peace, and marauders in time of war. We discovered the inn at St. Marino, as is usual in Italy, by the crowd before the door. Having entered, we were civilly received by the landlord, seated by the fire-side in company with several other strangers, and speedily presented with a bottle of sparkling white wine, the best we had tasted in Italy, and resembling Champagne in the characteristic excellencies of that sprightly liquor.

"We had not remained long in this caravansera (for such is the proper name for the place of hospitality in which we were received), when the dress, manners, and conversation of our fellow-travellers strongly excited our attention, and afforded scope for boundless speculation. They were the most savage-looking men that I had ever beheld; covered with thick capottas*, of coarse dark-brown woollen, lined with black sheep's skin. Their hats, which they kept on their heads, were of an enormous size, swelling to the circumference of an ordinary umbrella. With their dress and appearance their words and gestures bore too faithful a correspondence. '*Schioppi*' and '*coltellate*' (gunshots and dagger-thrusts) were frequently in their mouths. As the wine went briskly round, the conversation became still more animated, and took a turn more decidedly terrible. They now talked of nothing but fierce encounters, hair-breadth escapes, and hideous lurking-places. From their whole behaviour, there was reason to apprehend, that we had unwarily fallen into company with Rinaldo's party; but a few hints

* Great coats.

that dropped from him who was most intoxicated finally undeceived us, and discovered, to our satisfaction and shame, that instead of a band of robbers, we had only met with a party of smugglers. Their massy capottas and broad-brimmed hats formed their defensive armour against custom-house officers and sbirri*; and the narratives which they heard or related with such ardor and delight, contained the acts of prowess by which they had repelled the bravery of the Romans, and the arts of stratagem by which they had deceived the cunning of the Tuscans. From the intermediate situation of St. Marino between the dominions of Tuscany and those of the pope, its territory is continually infested by visits from those unlicensed traffickers, who being enemies by trade to those who administer the laws and collect the revenues of their country, naturally degenerate into daring and disorderly ruffians, the terror of peaceful men, and both the disgrace and the bane of civilized society.

"From the company of the smugglers we longed to separate, the more because they eagerly solicited our stay, promising to conduct us safely across the mountains, and to defend our persons and properties against robbers and assassins; but we thought it a piece of good fortune, that our most valuable property, as we shewed to them, consisted in our swords and pistols. Having called our St. Marino host, we paid him for his wine and his sausage (*prosciutti*); and were pleased to find, that contrary to our universal experience of Italian landlords, he was un-

commonly thankful for a very moderate gratification; a singularity which, though it probably proceeded from his being little conversant with English and other opulent travellers, we treasured with delight, as a conspicuous proof of republican virtue, that had escaped pure and unfulfilled from the contagion of those worthless guests, with whom the nature of his trade condemned him often to associate.

"About two o'clock in the afternoon, we left the borgo to climb up to the città, carrying our swords in our right hands; a precaution which the company we had just left warranted in this modern republic, but which, as Thucydides informs us in his proem, would have exposed us to be branded with the appellation of barbarians in the republics of antient Greece. Before we had reached the summit of the hill, the cloud had dispersed, the sun shone bright, we breathed a purer air, and the clear light which displayed the city and territory of St. Marino, was heightened by contrast with the thick gloom which involved the circumjacent plains. Transported with the contemplation of a landscape which seemed so admirably to accord with the political state of the mountain, a bright gem of liberty amidst the darkness of Italian servitude, we clambered cheerfully over the precipices, never reflecting that as there was not any place of reception for strangers in the città, we might possibly be exposed to the alternative of sleeping in the streets, or returning to the caravanfera, crowded with smugglers, whose intoxication might exasperate their

* Those who execute the orders of civil magistrates.

natural ferocity. From all our past remarks, we had concluded that the vice of drunkenness was abominated even by the lowest classes of the Italians. We dreaded their fury and their knives in this unusual state of mind; but amidst all our terrors could not forbear philosophising on what we had seen, and conjecturing, from the tumultuous merriment and drunken debauchery of the smugglers, that the famed sobriety of the Italian nation is an artificial virtue arising from situation and accident, not depending on temperament, or resulting from character. Drinking is the vice of men whose lives are chequered by vicissitudes of toil and ease, of danger and security. It is the vice of soldiers, mariners, and huntsmen; of those who exercise boisterous occupations, or pursue dangerous amusements; and if the modern Italians are less addicted to excess in wine than the Greeks and Romans in antient, or the English and Germans in modern times, their temperance may fairly be ascribed to the indolent monotony of their listless lives; which, being never exhausted by fatigue, can never be gladdened by repose; and being never agitated by the terrors of danger, can never be transported by the joys of deliverance.

“From these airy speculations, by which we fancied that we stripped Italy of what some travellers have too hastily concluded to be the only virtue which she has left, we were awakened by the appearance of a venerable person, in a bag wig and sword, cautiously leading his bourrique (ass) down the precipice. He returned our salute with an air of courtesy bespeaking such affability, that we

quickly entered into conversation with him, and discovered to our surprize and joy, that we were in company with a very respectable personage, and one whom Mr. Addison has dignified with the appellation of ‘the fourth man in the state.’ The stipendiary physician of St. Marino (for this was the person with whom we were conversing) told us, that we might be accommodated with good lodging in the convent of capuchins; and as we were strangers, that he would return, shew us the house, and present us to father Bonelli. We expressed our unwillingness to give him the trouble of again ascending the hill; but of this trouble the deeply-wrinkled mountaineer made light, and we yielded to his proposal with only apparent reluctance; since, to the indelicacy of introducing ourselves, we preferred the introduction of a man whom we had even casually met with on the road. To the convent we were admitted by a *frate servente*, or lay friar, and conducted to the *padre maestro*, the prior Bonelli, a man sixty years old, and as we were told by the physician, descended from one of the noblest families in the commonwealth. Having received and returned such compliments as are held indispensable in this ceremonious country, the prior conducted us above stairs, and shewed us two clean and comfortable chambers, which he said we might command, while we deigned to honour the republic (such were his expressions) with the favour of our residence. As to our entertainment, he said we might, as best pleased us, either sup apart by ourselves, or in company with him and his monks. We told him, our happiness would be complete,

plete, were we permitted to enjoy the advantage of his company and conversation. My conversation! You shall soon enjoy better than mine; since within half an hour I shall have the honour of conducting you to the house of a charming young lady (so I must call her, though my own kinswoman), whose *conversazione* assembles this evening. During this dialogue a servant arrived, bringing our portmanteau from Rimini, and thereby enabling us with more decency of appearance to pay our respects to the lady, in company with the prior her uncle. The signora P—— received us politely in an inner apartment, after we had passed through two outer rooms, in each of which there was a servant in waiting. Above a dozen gentlemen, well dressed and polite after the fashion of Italy, with six other ladies, formed this agreeable party. Coffee and forbettis being served, cards were introduced; and in quality of strangers, we had the honour of losing a few sequins at ombre with the mistress of the house. The other ladies present took up, each of them, two gentlemen; for ombre is the universal game, because in Italian assemblies the number of men commonly triples that of women; the latter, when unmarried, seldom going abroad; and when married, being ambitious of appearing to receive company every evening at home. During the intervals of play, we endeavoured to turn the conversation on the history and present state of St. Marino, but found this subject to be too grave for the company. In this little state, as well as in other parts of Italy, the social amuse-

ments of life consisting chiefly in what are called *Conversazioni*, have widely deviated from the *Symposia* of the Greeks, and the *Convivia* of the Romans. Instead of philosophical dialogues and epideictic orations; and instead of those animated rehearsals of approved works of history and poetry, which formed the entertainment and delight of antiquity, the modern Italian *Conversazioni* exhibit a very different scene; a scene in which play is the business; gallantry the amusement; and of which avarice, vanity, and mere sensual pleasure form the sole connecting principle and chief ultimate end. Such insipid and such mercenary assemblies are sometimes enlivened by the jokes of the buffoon; the *improvvisatore* sometimes displays in them the powers of his memory rather than the elegance of his fancy; and every entertainment in Italy, whether gay or serious, is always seasoned with music; but chiefly that soft voluptuous music which was banished by Lycurgus, proscribed by Plato, and prohibited by other legislators, under severe penalties, as unfriendly to virtue, and destructive of manhood. The great amusements of life are commonly nothing more than images of its necessary occupations; and where the latter, therefore, are different, so also must be the former. Is it because the occupations of the antients were less softened than those of the moderns, that women are found to have acted among different nations such different parts in society? and that the contrast is so striking between the wife of a citizen of St. Marino, surrounded with her card-tables, her music, and her admirers, and the Roman Lucretia, *nocte serâ deditam lænæ inter*

lucubantes ancillas, (Tit. Liv. i. 57.) or the more copious descriptions of female modesty and industry given by Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Treatise on Domestic Economy*? In modern Italy this contrast of manners displays its greatest force. Though less beautiful and less accomplished than the English and French, the Italian women expect superior attention, and exact greater assiduities. To be well with the ladies, is the highest ambition of the men. Upon this principle their manners are formed; by this their behaviour is regulated; and the art of conversation, in its utmost sprightliness and highest perfection, is reduced to that playful wantonness, which touching slightly on what is felt most sensibly, amuses with perpetual shadows of desired realities.

"To the honour of St. Marino, it must be observed, that neither the prior Bonelli, nor two counsellors who were present, took any considerable part in this too sportive conversation; and the gentlemen at the signora P——'s were chiefly Romans and Florentines; men, we were told, whom sometimes misfortune and sometimes inclination, but more frequently extravagance and necessity, drive from their respective countries, and who, having relations or friends in St. Marino, establish themselves in that cheap city, where they subsist on the wreck of their fortunes, and elude the pursuit of their creditors.

"Next morning Bonelli having invited several of his fellow-citizens to drink chocolate, we learned from them, that the morality and piety which had long distinguished St. Marino, daily suffered decline through the contagious influence of those intruders, whom good po-

licy ought never to have admitted within the territory, but whom the indulgence of humanity could not be prevailed on to expel.

"After breakfast, our good-natured landlord kindly proposed a walk, that his English guests might view the city and adjacent country. The main street is well paved, but narrow and steep. The similarity of the houses indicates a happy mediocrity of fortune. There is a fine cistern of pure water; and we admired the coolness and dryness of the wine-cellars, ventilated by communications with caverns in the rock. To this circumstance, as much as to the quality of the soil and careful culture of the grape, the wine of St. Marino is indebted for its peculiar excellence.

"The whole territory of the republic extends about thirty miles in circumference. It is of an irregular oval form, and its mean diameter may be estimated at six English miles. The soil naturally craggy and barren, and hardly fit for goats, yet actually maintains (such are the attractions of liberty) upwards of seven thousand persons; and being everywhere adorned by mulberry-trees, vines, and olives, supplies the materials of an advantageous trade, particularly in silk, with Rome, Florence, and other cities of Italy.

"In extent of territory, St. Marino, inconsiderable as it seems, equals many republics that have performed mighty achievements and purchased immortal renown. The independent states of Thespiz and Plataea were respectively less extensive; and the boundaries of the modern republic exceed those of Ægina and Megara; the former of which was distinguished by its commerce and its colonies in Egypt and

and the east; and the latter, as Lyfias and Xenophon inform us, could bring into the field, besides proportional bodies of light troops, 3000 hardy pikemen, who with the service of Mars united that of Ceres and of Bacchus; extracting from bleak hills and rugged mountains rich harvests and teeming vintages.

"The remembrance of our beloved republics of Greece, ennobled by the inestimable gifts of unrivalled genius, endeared to us St. Marino, even by its littleness. In this literary enthusiasm, we could willingly have traversed every inch of its diminutive territory: but politeness required that we should not subject Bonelli and his friends to such unnecessary fatigue; and the changeableness of the weather, a continual variation of sunshine and cloudiness, the solemnity of dark magnifying vapours, together with the velocity of drizzly or gleamy showers, produced such unusual accidents of light and shade in this mountain scene, as often suspended the motion of our limbs, and fixed our eyes in astonishment. From the highest top of St. Marino we beheld the bright summit of another and far loftier mountain, towering above, and beyond, a dark cloud, which by contrast threw the conical top of the hill to such a distance, that it seemed to rise from another world. The height of St. Marino (we were told) had been accurately measured by father Boscovich, and found to be nearly half a mile above the level of the neighbouring sea.

"Almost immediately after returning from our walk, dinner was served at the convent; for the politeness of father Bonelli had prolonged his stay abroad far beyond his usual hour of repast. Speedily after dinner we were conducted by

the good father to the *conversazione* of another lady, also his relation, where we had the honour of meeting the *capitaneos*, or consuls, the *commissareo*, or chief judge, and several distinguished members of the senate. Recommended only by our youth and curiosity, we spent the evening most agreeably with those respectable magistrates, who were as communicative in answering as inquisitive in asking questions. The company continually increasing, and father Bonelli carefully addressing all new-comers by the titles of their respective offices, we were surprised toward the close of the evening, and the usual hour of retirement, that we had not yet seen *il signor Dottore* and *il Pedagogo Pubblico*, the physician and schoolmaster, whom Mr. Addison represents as two of the most distinguished dignitaries in the commonwealth. A short acquaintance is sufficient to inspire confidence between congenial minds. We frankly testified our surprize to the father. He laughed heartily at our simplicity, and thought the joke too good not to be communicated to the company. When their vociferous mirth had subsided, an old gentleman, who had been repeatedly invested with the highest honours of his country, observed, that he well knew Mr. Addison's account of St. Marino, which had been translated more than once into the French and Italian languages. Remote and inconsiderable as they were, his ancestors were highly honoured by the notice of that illustrious traveller, who, he understood, was not only a classic author in English, but an author who had uniformly and most successfully employed his pen in the cause of virtue and liberty. Yet, as must often happen to travellers, Mr. Addison, he continued,

has, in speaking of this little republic, been deceived by first appearances. Neither our schoolmaster nor physician enjoy any pre-eminence in the state. They are maintained indeed by public salaries, as in several other cities of Italy; and there is nothing peculiar in their condition here, except that the schoolmaster has more and the physician less to do than in most places, because our diseases are few, and our children are many. This sally having been received with approbation by the company, the veteran proceeded to explain the real distinction of ranks in St. Marino, consisting in the *nobili, cittadini*, and *spendiati*, nobles, citizens, and stipendiaries. The nobles, he told us, exceeded not twenty families, of which several enjoyed estates without the territory, worth from three to eight hundred pounds a-year sterling: That, from respect to the holy see, under whose protection the republic had long subsisted quietly and happily, many persons of distinction in the pope's territories had been admitted *cittadini honorati*, honorary citizens of St. Marino, particularly several illustrious houses of Rimini, and the forty noble families of Bologna. Even of the Venetian nobles themselves, antient as they certainly were, and invested as they still continued to be with the whole sovereignty of their country, many disdained not to be associated to the diminutive honours of St. Marino, and to increase the number of its citizens; and that this aggregation of illustrious foreigners, far from being considered as dangerous to public liberty, was deemed essential, in so small a commonwealth, to national safety.

"Left the conversation might take another turn, I drew from my

pocket Mr. Addison's account of St. Marino, which, being exceedingly short, I begged leave to read, that his errors, if he had committed any, might be corrected, and the alterations noted which the country had undergone in the space of seventy years, from 1703 to 1773.

"The proposal being obligingly accepted, I read in Mr. Addison, 'They have at St. Marino five churches, and reckon above five thousand souls in their community.' Instead of which I was desired to say, 'They have in St. Marino ten parishes, ten churches, and reckon above seven thousand souls in their community.' Again Mr. Addison says, 'The council of sixty, notwithstanding its name, consists but of forty persons.' That was the case when this illustrious author visited the republic; but the council has since that time been augmented by twenty members, and the number now agrees with the name. These circumstances are important; for from them it appears, that while the neighbouring territory of Rome is impoverished and gloomed by the dominion of ecclesiastics, of which, in the words of Dr. Robertson, 'to squeeze and to amass, not to meliorate, is the object;' and while the neighbouring cities of Tuscany are accused of shamefully abandoning their privileges and their wealth to the grand duke, who, parsimonious in the extreme, 'as to his own person and government, is thought solicitous of seconding by his heavy purse the wild projects of his brother the emperor Joseph, the little republic of St. Marino, on the contrary, has been increasing its populousness, confirming its strength, and extending the basis of its government. For these advantages

advantages it is, indebted to its mountainous situation, virtuous manners, and total want of ambition; which last-mentioned qualities, as antient history teaches us, are far from being characteristic of republican government; though a republic that is without them, can neither subsist happily itself, nor allow happiness to its neighbours.

"In the republics of Italy (St. Marino alone excepted), the people at large are excluded, by the circumstance of their birth, from any principal share in the sovereignty. Instead of one royal master, they are subjects of 600 * petty princes; and their condition is far less eligible than that of the subjects of monarchies; because the latter cannot be collectively degraded by the rank of a monarch, which, excluding comparison, is superior to envy; and are individually entitled to aspire, by their talents and merits, to the exercise of every magistracy, and to the enjoyment of every preferment and every honour which their king and country can bestow. The republic of St. Marino, on the other hand, like several commonwealths of antiquity, and like some lesser cantons of Switzerland, for the greater are universally moulded after the rigid Italian model, contains what is found by experience to be a due mixture of popular government among so simple a people, and in so small a state. The council of sixty is equally composed of *nobili* and *cittadini*, patricians and plebeians. This council, which may be called the senate, conducts the ordinary branches of public administration; but the *avengo*, or as-

sembly of the people, containing a representative from every house or family, is summoned for the purpose of elections, and on other important emergencies: it has always approved the decisions of the senate. In chusing senators and magistrates, the respect of the citizens for hereditary worth commonly raises the son to the dignity before held by his father. Indeed most professions and employments descend in lineal succession among this simple people; a circumstance which explains a very extraordinary fact mentioned by Mr. Addison, that in two purchases made respectively in the years 1100 and 1170, the names of the commissioners or agents, on the part of the republic, should be the same in both transactions, though the deeds were executed at the distance of seventy years from each other.

"Notwithstanding the natural and proper influence of wealth and birth and merit, the liberties and properties of individuals are incomparably more safe in St. Marino than they can ever possibly be under the capricious tyranny of a levelling democracy; and the people at large have the firmest security, that their superiors will not abuse their just pre-eminence, since all the plebeians of full age are trained to arms, and commanded by a sort of military tribune of their own chusing, whose employment is inferior in dignity to that of the *capitaneos*, or consuls, yet altogether distinct from the jurisdiction of those patrician magistrates. This important military officer is overlooked by Mr. Addison, who has also omitted to men-

* In the shop of an eminent bookseller and publisher of an antient and celebrated republic of Italy, I was explaining to a young patrician the nature of an English circulating library. "Why don't you," said he, turning to the bookseller, "introduce such an institution?" The other replied, "*Sono troppo principi!*—We have too many princes."

tion the treasurer of the republic. The business of the latter consists in collecting and administering the public contributions, and in paying the *stipendiati* or pensionaries, whose salaries, as may be imagined, are extremely moderate; that of the *commissario*, or chief judge, amounting only to sixty pounds a year. His income is considerably augmented by the *sportulæ* or fees paid by the litigant parties; so that his whole appointments fall little short of one hundred pounds per annum, a sum which, in this primitive commonwealth, is found sufficient to support the dignity of a chief justice.

"The laws of St. Marino are contained in a thin folio, printed at Rimini, entitled, '*Statuta Illustriſſimæ Reipublicæ*;' and the whole history of this happy and truly illustrious, because virtuous and peaceable community, is comprised in the account of a war in which the commonwealth assisted pope Pius II. against Malatesta, prince of Rimini; in the records of the purchase of two castles, with their dependent districts, in the years 1100 and 1170; and in the well-authenticated narrative of the foundation of the state above fourteen hundred years ago by St. Marino, a Dalmatian architect, who, having finished with much honour the repairs of Rimini, retired to this solitary mountain, practised the austerities of a hermit, wrought miracles, and with the assistance of a few admirers, built a church and founded a city, which his reputation for sanctity speedily reared, extended, and filled with inhabitants. In the principal church, which, as well as that of the Franciscans, contains some

good pictures, the statue of this saint and lawgiver is erected near the high altar. He holds a mountain in his hand, and is crowned with three castles; emblems which, from what has been above said, appear fitly chosen for the arms of the republic.

"Mr. Addison observes, that the origin of St. Marino must be acknowledged to be far nobler than that of Rome, which was an asylum for robbers and murderers, whereas St. Marino was the resort of persons eminent for their piety and devotion. This observation appears to me to be erroneous in two respects, decorating with unfair honours the one republic, and heaping unmerited disgrace on the other. If piety founded St. Marino, with this piety much superstition was intermixed; a superstition unfriendly to the best principles of society, and hostile to the favourite ends of nature, preaching celibacy, and exacting mortification, the hideous offspring of ignorance and terror, detesting men as criminals, and trembling at God as a tyrant. But Rome, according to the only historian * who has circumstantially and authentically described its early transactions, was an expansion of Alba Longa, itself a Grecian colony, which, according to the immemorial and sacred custom of its mother-country, diffused into new settlements the exuberance of a flourishing population, produced by the wisest and most liberal institutions. According to the same admirable historian, the manly discernment of Romulus offered an asylum not merely for robbers and murderers, but for those who were threatened with murder or robbery, who spurned subjection, or fled

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

from oppression; for amidst the lawless turbulence of antient Italy, the weak needed protectors against the strong, the few against the many; and Rome, at her earliest age, already systematically assisted the weakest party; thus adopting in her infancy that politic heroism, that was destined, by firm and majestic steps, to conduct her manhood and maturity to the fair sovereignty of consenting nations.

“Both in their origin and in their progress, Rome and St. Marino form the natural objects, not indeed of a comparison, but of a striking contrast; and compressed as is the latter republic between the dominions of the pope and those of the grand duke, to whose subjects St. Marino is bound to allow a free passage through its territory, its citizens would deserve ridicule or pity, did they affect the character, or imitate the maxims, of those magnanimous senators, who, for the space of more than two centuries, swayed the politics and controuled the revolutions of the world. Convinced that their independence results from their insignificance, the senators of St. Marino smiled, when we read in Mr. Addison, ‘These republicans would sell their liberties dear to any that attacked them.’ We had not the indelicacy to desire them to interpret this smile, or to make ourselves any comment upon it, being persuaded that, precarious and shadowy as their liberty is, their rational knowledge and their virtues have enabled them to extract from it both substantial and permanent enjoyment, and make them live happier here, amidst rocks and snows, than are their Tuscan and Roman neighbours in rich plains and warm vallies.

“To the inhabitants of this lit-

tle State, the *arenge*, the council, the different offices of magistracy, innocent rural labours, and military exercises equally useful and innocent, supply a continual succession of manly engagements. Hopes and fears respecting the safety of their country awaken curiosity and excite inquiry. They read the gazettes of Europe with interest; they study history with improvement; in conversation their questions are pertinent, and their answers satisfactory. Contrary to what has been observed by travellers of other Italians, the citizens of St. Marino delight in literary conversation; and Mr. Addison remarks, that he hardly met with an unlettered man in their republic. In speaking of Beccaria’s book on Style, then recently published, one of the senators said, that it was a treatise on style in a very bad style, abounding in false ornaments and epigrammatic gallicism. Another observed, he wished that fashionable writer, who had been commented on by Voltaire, an author still more fashionable and more pernicious than himself, would confine himself to such harmless topics as rhetoric and style; for his book on Crimes and Punishments was calculated to do much serious mischief, at least to prevent much positive good; because in that popular work he had declaimed very persuasively against capital punishments, in a country long disgraced by capital crimes, which were scarcely ever capitally punished.

“The love of letters which distinguishes the people of St. Marino makes them regret that they are seldom visited by literary travellers. Of our own countrymen belonging to this description, they mentioned with much respect Mr. Addison

dison and Il Signor Giovanni Symonds, now professor of history in the university of Cambridge. We were proud of being classed with such men by the honest simplicity of these virtuous mountaineers, whom we left with regret, most heartily wishing to them the continuance of their liberties; which, to men of their character, and theirs only, are real and solid blessings.

"For let it never be forgotten, that the inestimable gift of civil li-

berty may often be providentially withheld, because it cannot be safely bestowed, unless rational knowledge has been attained, and virtuous habits have been acquired. In the language of the wisest man of pagan antiquity, a great length of time is requisite to the formation of any moderately good government; because that government is always the best, which is the best adapted to the genius and habits of its subjects."

OBSERVATIONS on the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the PORTUGUESE.

[FROM TRAVELS in PORTUGAL, in the Years 1789, and 1790, by JAMES MURPHY, Architect.]

"THE inhabitants of Lisbon may be ranked under four classes, viz. the nobility, the clergy, the traders, and the labouring people. The observations I am about to offer on each class contain very little more than may be collected by every one in the streets or the roads, in markets or cottages. To proceed in the most natural order, we should begin with the pedestals of the state; but for once, we shall reverse the order of the structure, and commence with what is called 'the Corinthian capitals of polished society.'

"The nobility may be considered as a body entirely distinct from the other three; the principal affairs of the state are committed to their trust; they reside in the capital, or its environs, and seldom visit their estates in the provinces. They esteem it an honour to be born in the capital, and also to dwell there. They are educated likewise at Lisbon, in a college founded for that purpose by king

Joseph. Hence it is called the *collegio dos nobres*, the college of nobles. Prior to the establishment of this college they were educated at Coimbra, a place apparently much better adapted for that purpose; as it possesses many advantages not to be found in a commercial city. The fragrance of the air, the stillness of the country, and the delightful prospects with which Coimbra abounds, are great incitements to study; besides, it is enriched with immense literary treasures, the accumulation of ages; and its buildings are very magnificent. Now, the seminary at Lisbon is deficient in all these points. It appears, therefore, that the nobility have made a bad exchange. There is a wide difference between a college of nobles and a noble college.

"The nobility, comparatively speaking, are not very rich; for though their patrimonies are large, their rents are small. I doubt if any of them has ever seen a map of his estate, or exactly knows its boundaries.

boundaries. If ever they deign to turn their attention towards the constructing of roads and canals, and not consider agriculture a pursuit unworthy of gentlemen, they will become the richest nobility in Europe, on account of the vast extent of their landed possessions.

"In the distribution of their fortunes they shew great prudence without the appearance of parsimony. In a country where there are no race-horses, licensed gambling houses, or expensive mistresses, a gentleman may live splendidly upon a moderate income; fortunately these allurements to dissipation are unknown to them. Nor do they excite the envy of the poor by midnight orgies or gilded chariots. Their time is spent between their duty at court, and the social enjoyments of private parties.

"The fine arts, which to the superior classes of every nation of Europe are sources of the most refined pleasure, are almost entirely neglected by the nobility of this country; neither do they appear to take much pleasure in the cultivation of the sciences, though they possess most excellent capacity for both. Their lives are an even tenor of domestic felicities, not remarkable for brilliant actions, and but rarely stained by vice. The fame of their illustrious ancestors justly entitles them to every honour and respect; but whilst they glory in the remembrance of their achievements, they seem to forget their maxims. It must be allowed, however, that they possess many amiable qualities. They are religious, temperate, and generous, faithful to their friends, charitable to the distressed, and warmly attached to their sovereign; whose approbation, and a peaceful retire-

ment, constitute the greatest happiness of their lives.

"With respect to the clergy, I was not furnished with information sufficient to form an accurate estimate of their true character, and I shall not presume to speak from report of so respectable a body. Among those with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, I found some possessed of great liberality and talents; in proof of this I need only mention his grace the bishop of Beja, whose piety and learning would do honour to the apostolic or Augustan ages. I might also instance the abbé Corrêa chaplain to his grace the duke de Alafons, and father de Souza, author of several pieces on the Arabic language.

"There are several other men of eminent talents among the clergy, but concealed in gloomy cells; and what is extraordinary, the greater are their talents, the more careful are they in secluding themselves from all communication with the world. It may be asked then, why they do not oblige the world with some of their acquirements? The reason is very obvious; the Portuguese language is so little known, that there is little or no sale for books written in that language out of the country, and in it, reading is very far from being general; very few books therefore will defray the expence of printing and paper, especially if they treat on scientific subjects. Thus are men of letters deterred from making themselves known through this laudable channel, and the world is deprived of their experience and wisdom.

"It is true, that in all the learned professions, men will be found who would render more service to the community in an humbler sphere; and among the clergy there

are,

are, I am sorry to add, but too many of this description; who are better calculated by nature and education to follow the tail of the plough, than to discharge the important ties of that sacred profession.

“The merchants are remarkably attentive to business, and, as far as I could learn, just and punctual in their dealings: they live on a friendly footing with the foreign traders who reside here, particularly the English. Bankruptcies are seldom known among them, and they are careful in avoiding litigations; for it is a well known fact, that the gentlemen of the long robe in Portugal are not to be surpassed even by their brethren of the English court of chancery, in the art of protracting a suit.

“A Lisbon merchant passes his hours in the following manner: he goes to prayers at eight o'clock, to change at eleven, dines at one, sleeps till three, eats fruit at four, and sups at nine: the intermediate hours are employed in the counting-house, in paying visits, or playing at cards.

“To visit any one above the rank of a tradesman, it is necessary to wear a sword and *chapeau*; if the family you visit be in mourning, you must also wear black; the servants would not consider a visitant as a gentleman unless he came in a coach; to visit in boots would be an unpardonable offence, unless you wear spurs at the same time. The master of the house precedes the visitant on his going out, the contrary order takes place in coming in.

“The common people of Lisbon and its environs are a laborious and hardy race; many of them, by frugal living, lay up a decent competence for old age; it is painful

to behold the trouble they are obliged to take for want of proper implements to carry on their work. Their cars have the rude appearance of the earliest ages; these vehicles are slowly drawn by two stout oxen. The corn is shelled by the treading of the same animals, as in the days of the Israelites; hence probably the scripture proverb, ‘Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn.’ They have many other customs which to us appear very singular; for example, women sit with the left side towards the horse’s head when they ride. A postilion rides on the left horse. Footmen play at cards whilst they are waiting for their masters. A taylor sits at his work like a shoemaker. A hair-dresser appears on Sundays with a sword, a cockade, and two watches, or at least two watch-chains. A tavern is known by a vine bush. A house to be let, by a piece of blank paper. An accoucheuse door, by a white cross. And a Jew is known by his extra catholic devotion.

“The lower class of both sexes are very fond of gaudy apparel; we observe even the fish-women with trinkets and bracelets of gold about the neck and wrist. The fruit-women are distinguished by a particular dress. The custom of wearing boots and black conical caps is peculiar to these women; but for what reason, if any there be, I could not learn.

“All the drudgery is performed by Gallicians, who may be called the hewers of wood and drawers of water of this metropolis; they are patient, industrious, and faithful to a proverb. One of the principal employments, in which they are daily engaged, is supplying the citizens with water, which they carry

carry on their shoulders in small wooden barrels from the different mountains.

"Every Gallician in this servitude is obliged, by the police of the city, to carry one of these vessels filled with water to his lodgings every night, and in case of fire, to hasten with it to assist in extinguishing the flames at the first sound of the fire bell; any neglect in this respect is severely punished; on the contrary, they are sure to be rewarded in proportion to their vigilance. But the people are seldom visited by that dreadful scourge; during my residence here, there was not an instance of any accident by fire.

"In the houses of foreign merchants, the Gallicians are the only servants employed, and many of the Portuguese prefer them to the natives in that capacity; they cook the victuals, clean the rooms, and make the beds. If there be any female servants in the house under the age of five and thirty, they are invisible except to the mistress and her daughters; after this age they are left to their own discretion, as their charms are then supposed to be sufficiently faded to render them secure from the invasions of gallantry.

"The ladies seldom breathe the pure air, except in their short excursions to the next chapel, which they visit at least once a day.

"The Portuguese ladies possess many amiable qualities; they are chaste, modest, and extremely affectionate to their kindred. No woman goes out of doors without the permission of her husband or parents. To avoid all suspicion, men, even though relations, are not allowed to visit their apartments, or to sit beside them in public places. Hence their lovers are

seldom gratified with a sight of them except in the churches; here they make signs and signals:

"Address and compliment by vision,
"Make love and court by intuitions"
HUDIBRAS.

"Notwithstanding the watchful eye of the duenna, the lovers contrive to exchange *billet-doux*, and that in so subtle a manner, that none can perceive it whose breast glows not with a similar flame. The little boys who attend at the altar, are often the messengers on these occasions. When one of these winglefs cupids receives the letter, he makes his way through the audience till he approaches the fair one, then he throws himself on his knees, repeating his *Ave maris stella*, and beating his breast; after finishing his ejaculations and crossing his forehead, he falls on his face and hands, and fervently kisses the ground; in the mean time he conveys the letter under the lady's drape, and brings back another.

"At other times when the lovers are coming out of the church, their hands meet as it were by chance in the holy water font; by this means they exchange billets, and enjoy the delectable pleasure of pressing each other's fingers.

"Various are the contrivances to which they are compelled to resort, in order to elude suspicion; and in no part of their lives do they evince more prudence than during their courtship. Their natural disposition to secrecy is the means of their continuing for years under the impression of the tender passion; and they must have fallen victims to it, were it not that refined, that virtuous love which Guevara describes.

"*Arde y no quemá ; alumbra y no danna ; quemá y no consume, respicende y no lastima, purifica y no abrasa ; y aun calienta y no congaxa.*

"It

"It glows, but scorches not; it enlightens, but hurts not; it consumes not, though it burns; it dazzles not, though it glitters; it refines without destroying; and though it be hot, yet it is not painful.

"Marriage-feasts are attended with vast expence; the resources of the lower class are often exhausted in the preparations made on these occasions. The nuptial bed-chamber is ornamented in the most costly manner, with silks, brocades, and flowers; even the wedding-sheets are trimmed with the finest lace.

"In their christenings and funerals also they are very extravagant; but in other respects very frugal and temperate, particularly the females, who seldom drink any thing but water; if they drink wine, it gives rise to suspicion of their chastity, and suspicion is often held tantamount to a crime. The empress Dona Leonor, daughter of Edward king of Portugal, endeavoured to introduce the like custom among the German ladies; but neither her majesty's example or persuasion could induce them to exchange the 'milk of Venus' for the limpid rill.

"The abstemiousness of the Portuguese ladies is conspicuous in their countenance, which is pale, tranquil, and modest; those who accustom themselves to exercise have, nevertheless, a beautiful carnation. Their eyes are black and expressive; their teeth extremely white and regular. In conversation they are polite and agreeable; in manners assuasive and unaffected. The form of their dress does not undergo a change, perhaps, once in an age; milliners, perfumers, and fancy-dress-makers are professions as unknown in Lisbon as in ancient Lacedæmon.

"Widows are allowed to marry, but they do not avail themselves of

that privilege as often as in other countries. There are many Portuguese, particularly those of the good old stock, who look upon it as a species of adultery sanctioned by the law.

"Women do not assume the family-names of their husbands, as with us. In all the vicissitudes of matrimony they retain their maiden names.

"The men are generally addressed by their Christian names, as *Senhor Pedro*. *Supernomes* are also very common here, which are derived from particular trades, remarkable incidents, places of residence, or striking personal blemishes or accomplishments.

"Strangers' surnames are frequently translated, especially if they bear any allusion to substantives or qualities. For example, Mr. Wolf, they call *Senhor Lobo*; Mr. Whitehead, *Senhor Cabeça Branca*. To the Christian names of men and women are often superadded those of their parents, for distinction sake. This custom obtained very much among the ancient Irish, and is not unusual at this day in the southern provinces of that country.

"With respect to the middling class, in their ideas and manners they differ from those of the rest of Europe; the unfrequency of travel, except to their own colonies, excludes them from modern notions and modern customs; hence they retain much of the ancient simplicity of their ancestors, and are more conversant in the transactions of Asia or America than of Europe.

"Whether it proceeds from a fondness for ease, or want of curiosity, they appear to have an aversion for travelling, even in their own country. A Portuguese can steer a ship to Brazil with less difficulty than he can guide his horse from Lisbon to Oporto.

"People,

" People, thus estranged from the neighbouring nations, are naturally averse from the influx of mere theoretical doctrines, which tend to disturb the tranquillity of established opinions. They exclude at once the sources of modern luxuries and refinements, modern vices and improvements.

" Hence their wants, comparatively speaking, are but few, and these are easily satisfied; their love of ease exempts them from many passions to which other nations are subject; gross offences are rarely known among them, but when once offended they are not easily appeased; passions that are seldom roused act with the greater violence when agitated; under this impression individuals have sometimes been hurried to violent acts of revenge; but now, the vigilance of the magistrates, and the growth of civilization, have blunted the point of the dagger.

" The temperance of the people, and their exemption from hard labour; the fragrance of the air, and the number of mineral springs with which the country abounds, are circumstances so favourable to the human constitution, that we should naturally expect to find the Portuguese live to a great age, yet there are not many remarkable instances of longevity among them; but there are fewer cut off by natural causes before the age of three-score, than among an equal number, perhaps, in any other part of Europe. One rarely meets a Portuguese, however aged, crippled with the gout, or bowed with infirmity.

" The handsomest persons of both sexes are found in the province of Estremadura; that scourge of beauty, the small pox, does not rage here with the same violence as in cold climates. The inhabitants

neglect one thing; which, in a country like this, would tend to expand the human frame to its full perfection, I mean bathing; neither do they take exercise enough for the preservation of health.

" The lower class are endowed with many excellent qualities; they are religious, honest, and sober, affectionate to their parents, and respectful to their superiors. We must not, however, expect to find them possessed of these qualities on the verge of sea-port towns, as their manners are there corrupted by mingling with refugee adventurers from various nations. Strangers, therefore, are often misled, who form the character of the people through this adulterated medium. It is in the country only they can be found, uninfluenced by foreign manners or foreign customs, in their true national state; and there we behold them honest, obliging, affable, and mannerly. A Portuguese peasant will not walk with a superior, an aged person, or a stranger; without giving him the right-hand side, as a mark of respect. He never passes by a human being without taking off his hat, and saluting him in these words, *The Lord preserve you for many years.* In speaking of an absent friend, he says, *Morro com saudades de o ver?* I die with impatience to see him. Of a morning, when he meets the companions of his toil in the field, he salutes them in a complaisant manner, and inquires after their little families. His day's work is computed from the rising of the sun to its setting; out of which he is allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, in order, to refresh himself with a nap during the meridian heat. If he labour in the vineyard, he is allowed a good portion of wine. When his

his day's work is over he sings verses, and on Sunday he attunes his guitar, or joins in a fandango dance. His male children are educated in the neighbouring convent, whence he also receives sustenance for himself and family, if distressed or unable to work. They all imagine their country is the blessed Elysium, and that Lisbon is the greatest city in the world. In their proverbial language they say, 'He who has not seen Lisbon has seen nothing.' Indeed they have proverbs for almost every thing, which, being founded on long experience, are generally true, though the above is a striking instance to the contrary. Of the countries which, like their own, do not produce corn, wine, and oil, they entertain but a mean opinion. They picture to themselves the misery of the inhabitants of northern climates, who shudder in the midst of frost and snow, whilst they themselves are basking in their green fields. These circumstances, and the affectionate attachment they have for their king, endear them to their native soil. They centre a great portion of their happiness in the fine climate with which nature has blessed them, and the abundance of delicious fruit the soil yields with little labour. Under every misfortune they are sure to find consolation in religion; and next to these divine favours, music is the greatest solace of their lives: it dissipates the sorrows of the poor man, and refines the sentiments of the rich; life glides on agreeably amidst such endearing scenes. It would be vain to persuade a Portuguese that he could enjoy such happiness in any other part of the globe: he is nurtured in this opinion, and if chance or misfortune should impel him into a foreign land, he pines as if in a state of captivity.

"A short time before I left Lisbon I dined at a Spanish ordinary, near the convent of St. Francois, in company with a gentleman who was a native of Malta, and a knight of that order. The universality of his information, and the liberality of his remarks, induced me to request his opinion respecting the Portuguese. These are his observations on that head, as nearly as I can collect:

'There are no people in Europe, sir, whose real character is less known than those of Portugal; for as their language is but little studied or understood, our knowledge of them is derived chiefly from the Spanish writers, and a Spaniard is rarely known to speak favourably of the Portuguese. The latter, on the contrary, whatever might be their real opinion of the former, are induced by the precepts of Christian charity to speak respectfully of them. Of this we have a striking instance in Joseph Texera, a Portuguese friar of the Dominican order. This friar lived in the sixteenth century, and was confessor to don Antonio, heir presumptive to the crown of Portugal, whom he followed into France. He there declared from the pulpit, in one of his sermons, *that we are bound in duty to love all men, of whatever religion, sect, or nation, even the Caffians.*

'From the political enmity which for ages has subsisted between the two rival powers, it is probable that the accounts we receive of the Portuguese through the medium of the Spaniards are not altogether to be depended upon. On the other hand, if we take the character of the Portuguese from the native writers, we shall imagine they possess not only all the good

' good qualities in existence, but
' are exempted from all the bad
' ones. This is like a painter vain-
' ly attempting to produce a fine
' picture without shadows.

' From the best information I can
' collect, the ancient Portuguese
' have been a brave, active, and
' generous people. At a time when
' the other nations of Europe were
' sunk in sloth and ignorance, they
' were employed in propagating
' Christianity, in extirpating infi-
' delity, and enlarging our know-
' ledge of this sphere.

' Necessity, the parent of action,
' was the source of all their great
' enterprises; attacked on one side
' by a powerful and restless neigh-
' bour, on the other by the Moors,
' who had long infested the coun-
' try, their incursions and conspi-
' racies required the exertions of
' every sinew of the state to pre-
' serve its independence. At length
' the horde of infidels were expel-
' led, and the pride of the Castilians
' humbled.

' In the reign of John the first,
' when the Portuguese found them-
' selves secure from foreign or do-
' mestic foes, their troops then inur-
' ed to fatigue, and their captains,
' animated by military fame, pur-
' sued the Barbarians into Africa.
' Their contests in this quarter,
' though unprofitable, and almost
' ruinous to the state, were ulti-
' mately attended with consequences
' very fortunate for the powers of
' Europe; as they diffused a spirit
' of enterprise which afterwards led
' to all the modern discoveries in
' navigation.

' The Lusitanian soldiers were
' brave and hardy, inured to all the
' hardships of war, fatigue, hunger,
' and thirst, which they bore with
' great patience in the hottest cli-
' mates. In the field their courage

' bordered on rashness; their natu-
' ral impetuosity could never be re-
' strained even by the most rigid
' military discipline; they were too
' ambitious of signalizing their va-
' lour out of the ranks, by which
' they sometimes caused their de-
' feat in deranging the order of
' battle; but when they fought in a
' phalanx, the enemy found them
' invincible.

' The riches of Asia, the relaxa-
' tion of discipline, together with
' the ignorance and rapacity of the
' governors of India, at length cor-
' rupted the manners of the sol-
' diers, and defaced every trace of
' their ancient character.

' Every department of the state
' was hastening to ruin, when king
' Sebastian ascended the throne; in
' him, as their last refuge, were
' centered the hopes of the people;
' and the tokens of virtue and cou-
' rage he had given them in the
' early part of his life, seemed to
' promise the accomplishment of
' their expectations: he certainly
' inherited a great portion of the
' valour of his ancestors; though
' time evinced that he possessed but
' very little of their prudence. No
' prince was ever more enamoured
' with a love of fame, nor sought
' a more indirect road towards the
' attaining of it. The happiness
' of his people is what constitutes
' the real fame of every monarch;
' yet this was the least of Sebastian's
' pursuit. The vain glory of ex-
' celling in arms occupied his sole
' attention, and that glory he pro-
' mised to himself in the plains of
' Africa: but, alas! he, and the
' greater part of those who accom-
' panied him thither, found there
' not laurels, but an untimely grave.

' The death of this prince would
' have been the less regretted, if he had
' not left a successor to fill the throne

H

' who

‘ who was in the decline of life and
 ‘ understanding, without energy,
 ‘ without abilities to heal the bleed-
 ‘ ing wounds of his expiring coun-
 ‘ try. Providence, apparently, see-
 ‘ ing its dissolution approach, sent
 ‘ a cardinal king to give it the dying
 ‘ benediction. Thus we find that
 ‘ states, like individuals, have their
 ‘ infancy, maturity, and decline;
 ‘ and what is not a little remark-
 ‘ able of this, it commenced with a
 ‘ Henry, and with a Henry it ex-
 ‘ pired. The first was a hero and
 ‘ a statesman, the latter possessed
 ‘ neither of these qualities, nor sup-
 ‘ plied the want of them by his
 ‘ wisdom.

‘ Philip the second now append-
 ‘ ed the crown of Portugal to that
 ‘ of Spain. It had been the in-
 ‘ variable policy of this prince,
 ‘ and of his successors, to render
 ‘ Portugal subservient by reducing
 ‘ its resources, which they were
 ‘ carrying into effect every day, till
 ‘ at length the Portuguese, no longer
 ‘ able to bear the chains of their
 ‘ foreign masters, revolted; and, by
 ‘ their resolution and unanimity,
 ‘ supplied the want of forces in
 ‘ casting off their bondage: and
 ‘ ever since, the kingdom is gradu-
 ‘ ally advancing to prosperity un-
 ‘ der its native and lawful sove-
 ‘ reigns.

‘ It is evident, however, that the
 ‘ advancement of the country is by
 ‘ no means proportionate to its vast
 ‘ resources; nor is the ancient mi-
 ‘ litary spirit of the people yet re-
 ‘ vived. Some remains of the cou-
 ‘ rage of their ancestors may still
 ‘ linger among them; but the con-
 ‘ tempt in which they hold the pro-
 ‘ fession of arms, is sufficient to ex-
 ‘ tinguish every spark of military
 ‘ enterprise. For several years past
 ‘ they have admitted officers into
 ‘ the regiments of infantry without

‘ talents or education, whose igno-
 ‘ rance multiplied abuses and relax-
 ‘ ed discipline. The abuse at
 ‘ length advanced to that degree,
 ‘ that officers were appointed from
 ‘ among the domestics of noble fa-
 ‘ milies. When count de Lippe
 ‘ was appointed commander in
 ‘ chief of the forces of the king-
 ‘ dom, he endeavoured to establish
 ‘ the dignity of the profession. One
 ‘ day he happened to dine with a
 ‘ Portuguese nobleman, who was a
 ‘ colonel in the service; one of the
 ‘ servants who attended at table was
 ‘ dressed in an officer’s uniform:
 ‘ on inquiry, he found this attend-
 ‘ ant was a captain in a regiment of
 ‘ infantry; on which the gallant
 ‘ commander immediately rose up,
 ‘ and insisted upon the military ser-
 ‘ vant’s sitting at table next him-
 ‘ self.

‘ It has always been the policy of
 ‘ the wisest generals to preserve a
 ‘ degree of honourable dignity in
 ‘ the army; for pride is as com-
 ‘ mendable in a soldier as humility
 ‘ in a priest; but servility and mi-
 ‘ litary spirit are incompatible. This
 ‘ was the count de Lippe’s maxim;
 ‘ and such was his zeal for the ho-
 ‘ nour of the profession, that he de-
 ‘ clared openly it was a dishonour
 ‘ to an officer not to demand, or
 ‘ refuse to give, satisfaction for an
 ‘ offence.

‘ Since the reign of Joseph the
 ‘ first, there has been a great change
 ‘ for the better, not only in the ar-
 ‘ my, but in almost every other de-
 ‘ partment of the state. When
 ‘ that prince ascended the throne,
 ‘ agriculture and manufactures were
 ‘ so much neglected, that the peo-
 ‘ ple depended upon foreign nations
 ‘ for food and raiment; the arts
 ‘ were despised, and the revenues
 ‘ unproductive. The English, pur-
 ‘ suant to the Methuen treaty, sup-
 ‘ plied

plied the Portuguese with woollen cloths, in exchange for which they were to receive the wines of the country. The encouragement held out by this treaty for the growth of wine, and the facility which long experience has given the Portuguese in that branch of husbandry induced the farmers to neglect the cultivation of corn, and convert their fields into vineyards; thus the grape increased in proportion as the grain diminished.

This was partly the state of Portugal when king Joseph appointed senhor Carvalho, afterwards marquis de Pombal, his prime minister. The administration of this great statesman forms an epoch in the annals of Portugal. He endeavoured, and not in vain, to direct the attention of the people to their real interest; the landholders were compelled to diminish their vineyards, and appropriate a third part of them to grain and other species of culture. This wise regulation was attended with such salutary effects, that to this day it is considered one of the most beneficial acts of his administration.

As the natural result of agriculture is population, he prepared employment for the rising generation, by establishing manufactories of different kinds; industry thus excited, the country began to wear a new face; the merchant engrossed the trade heretofore carried on by foreigners, and the farmer fed and clothed himself and his family with the produce of his native soil.

The marquis's efforts, thus far crowned with success, urged him to further exertions; he endeavoured to propagate a similar spi-

rit of industry among the colonists, who had long felt the inertia of the mother country. But knowing how vain it was to expect either activity or industry from a people groaning with the chains of slavery, he published an edict, whereby the inhabitants of Brazil, and of the other colonies appertaining to the crown, were to be restored to their freedom, and to enjoy the same immunities as the natives of Portugal. An act so replete with justice and humanity, is sufficient to expiate many of the political sins imputed to the marquis de Pombal, and is a lasting honour to Portugal, which was the first among the modern nations of Europe that enslaved mankind, and the first that set the humane example of their emancipation. It was also the first, that taught Europe navigation and commerce upon a comprehensive scale: had not prince Henry existed, we should not, probably, have ever heard of Columbus. *It is to the discoveries of the Portuguese in the old world* (says Voltaire) *that we are indebted for the new.* They were, in fact, the first that explored the coast of Africa, that suggested the existence of the western world, and discovered the road to India. A people who have been thus early in so many enterprising pursuits, and exhausted their vigour when most of the surrounding nations were but waking from their slumber, might reasonably be allowed to take a respite. They are now but commencing their career anew; and it must be left to time to determine whether they will ever more re-establish the once respectable name of Lusitanians.

ACCOUNT of NORTH HOLLAND, and of the MANNERS and CHARACTER of the INHABITANTS.

[From the Second Volume of Mr. PRATT'S GLEANINGS.]

“**B**YOND dispute, the little country from whence I date this letter, is the most deserving to be inspected, as a curiosity, of any, not only in the seven, but in the seventeen provinces; and yet, like many other deserving objects in this perverse world of our's, is the least visited by those who have even no other motive of travel than to gratify curiosity. Satisfied with seeing the capital, which they run over as if that time which they throw away, were really precious to them, they shift the scene with the rapidity of our ancient play-wrights, who, in the course of a single act; which takes half an hour in the representation, carry us from one quarter of the globe to another, leaping the space between, though 'whole oceans roll,' to stop them, with as much ease as if they were stepping over a gutter. Insomuch that a thorough-paced traveller will breakfast in Helvoetsluice, dine at Rotterdam, take supper at Amsterdam, return the next morning to breakfast at the Hague; and write a tour through Holland, of what he has not seen, in good time for the returning packer. But more sedate persons, as has been well observed by one who deplored it, rarely visit the province of North Holland, but turn their backs on the country, as soon as they have seen Amsterdam; thereby losing a view of one of the most beautifully romantic spots in the whole world.

“I will proceed, my friend, to justify this assertion, by gleaning for you what (on comparing the

given descriptions with the eye-witnessed facts) I find to be the most faithful.

“North Holland is another name for West Friesland, paradoxical as that may sound. Formerly it was a marsh composed of many great lakes, separated from each other only by high roads or dikes; but now nothing remains of them, except their names and dimensions in maps. With incredible toil, they have been entirely drained, and changed into the delicious place I have just mentioned. Even sir William Temple, who was not apt to speak too kindly of Holland, observed, that a once rotten marsh, the draining of which was the incessant labour of four years; a space, including high-ways and dikes, of no more than ten thousand acres, is so well planted with gardens, orchards, and majestic rows of trees, as to form the most pleasant landscape he ever saw. ‘It was here,’ says Temple, ‘that I met with a curiosity yet greater than the place itself—a poor fellow in an hospital (a superannuated seaman) who proved to be the only rich man I ever saw in my life; for, on offering him a crown, as a reward for the trouble of shewing me the hospital, and giving me with the history of the place, the history of himself, as one of its most veteran members, in a very pleasant manner, he absolutely refused my money, saying, he *could* have no use for it, being plentifully supplied with every thing necessary in the hospital.’

“The manners and customs of North

North Holland are said to differ essentially from those in the South; but I could trace the dissimilitude only in the articles of dress, and superior neatness: for though all the provinces are clean on the surface, this of West Friesland is so even to a painful affectation. Saardam, Aikmaar, Hoorn, Enkhuysen, Edam, Monnikendam, Broek, Medenbik, and Parmerende are the principal towns.

"The first is a village, where, instead of a gleaner, a traveller of curiosity may gather an harvest. The single article of windmills and woodmills would afford him a sheaf. The number of each is really incredible. There are not less than two hundred and fifty of the mills to cut wood into planks, for the purpose of ship-building, of which the process will prove a morning's entertainment to any man, and of which the invention is due to Cornneille Van Uitgust. I have never seen them even in our naval island, where, assuredly, they would prove a powerful auxiliary; or am I mistaken? Have they been adopted by our ingenious countrymen? I recommend them, at all events to every traveller, who, like myself, hath never seen them before. Saardam, like the other towns of North Holland, is almost entirely of wood, painted on the *outside* with as much care, as to colour and figures, as our choicest apartments on the *inside*. Before and behind every house, even in this busy, populous, and commercial town, which contains many thousand inhabitants, are little gardens, the eighth, tenth, and even twentieth of an acre, where flowers, vegetables, shrubs, grass-plots, and cockle-shell walks, are arranged in so singular a manner, that they seem rather the property, and indeed the work of fairy

fingers and fairy people, than of a hardy, heavy looking set of men and women, whose lightest tread or touch might seem to throw them into irretrievable disorder. You cannot look at a tree of a year's growth, but its bark is painted of all hues, figures, and fancies; nor can you sit down on a bench, without pressing under you blue tigers, red wolves, green foxes, yellow rabbits, and white ravens. Taste is absolutely forbid to enter North Holland; but in lieu of it, whim is privileged to play whatever pranks he thinks proper, so as he makes no dirt. They almost quarrel with nature, whom they welcome during the spring and summer, for dropping her leaves upon their shell-walks in autumn. But of this more in its place.

"The paper-mills of Saardam are the most considerable in Holland; for, while Louis the XIVth was making an irruption in 1672, many of the most ingenious paper-makers took refuge in this town, carrying with them their families, and the art by which they were supported.

"Industry becomes stationary where most favoured, and at Saardam the encouragements were too great to permit a second emigration. Near an hundred thousand reams of post paper are annually fabricated at Saardam; and a like proportion of grey and blue.

"The Saardam vessels are also justly celebrated, and here it was that Peter the great, of Russia, gained his elementary knowledge of ship-building. It is asserted, perhaps with some boast, that a single ship-carpenter set a navy of twenty considerable vessels on float.

"But Saardam has yet other attractions, and which some travellers may think greater objects of curiosity

riosity, in a country where the Cyprian goddess is not reputed to keep her fairest court, than any I have yet mentioned. The women of this town are generally handsome; and, notwithstanding, on a first acquaintance, there is an air of distance, reserve, and even coldness, they are all, as well as men, replete with an anxious desire to break the ice, and when broken, make up lost time by such a flow of questions, and with such rapidity, that you must be gifted with uncommon speed yourself not to be overborne by the torrent, which hurries away with your answers almost before they can get them out of your mouth. This loquacious character is, indeed, a characteristic mark of a Dutch woman; and yet none but a residuary gleaner can discover it. A first, second, third, and even fourth visit, does not often serve to thaw the inveterate and chilling air which seems to bind up their tongues. They hear you, at length, with a fixed, doll-like stare, and answer you in short, exchanging a mono-syllable for a speech, or more frequently giving only some nods, of which they are all prodigal, for half an hour's conversation. But when you can once make them assimilate, which the habit of seeing you will effect, by degrees, a knot of Dutch women over their stoves, equal, if they do not surpass, in sport, chit-chat, and pleasantry, with due proportions of tittle-tattle, any female convention over their tea-tables, and even that which is supposed to be appropriate to the tea-table, and indeed a part of its equipage, namely, good solid detraction.

"The entrance of a stranger, however, has the power of stopping them in mid career. The merriest of the circle would forego

her jest; and even the most malicious would let her neighbour's reputation, when she had just got it between her teeth, fall from her lips. I had an opportunity to glean an instance of this. Some frolicksome Dutch girls started in a conversation, where, as a domestic friend, I was permitted to mingle, the character of a young woman, who was suspected of growing more suddenly corpulent than in the way of general *en-bon-point*, she ought to do. The whole party followed the trail, and joined in the cry against this poor absentee, who, by the bye, was a native of this very town of Saardam. Never was any miserable hare more hardly hunted than this luckless girl's character. It was fairly, or rather unfairly worried by the young and the old. At last, a lady, who had been hitherto the least violent of the pack, caught it from her next neighbour, who had been giving it some hearty shakes herself, and determined upon tearing it all in tatters, exclaimed in the most vehement Dutch I ever heard uttered—'tis a terrible language for anger—'take it from me, ladies, this girl, as sure as I am putting this fire under my petticoats, is, and always was, a most designing, forward, good-for-nothing hussy; and if she is not now big with child, I, that am the honest mother of two-and-twenty, am a maid—yes, take it from me, she is a vile strum—' Strum-pet she would have said, but the husband of one of the party leading in a stranger, cut off the last syllable, which fell to the ground with the remains of the mangled reputation.

"The stranger remained till the party broke up, but, whether from the severity of the disappointment, or any other cause, the loudest and the

the most voluble groupe that slander ever gathered together, became the most taciturn and sullen: insomuch that the stranger, whom I met the next day at the coffee-house, asked me, if I had ever seen such an horrid silent meeting, assuring me at the same time, that he had employed all his morning in sending to his friends in England a true picture of a visit to a Dutch family, where nothing was either looked or said for several hours, though there were near a dozen females in company!

"I contented myself with observing, that if he remained in the country long enough to become domestic in the family, he might possibly collect materials for a letter of a very different cast: in the mean while, his friends would doubtless be much entertained.

"Long enough in the country! 'no,' cried the gentleman! 'I have had enough, and do not mean to repeat my visit, I thank you. I love society, and must hear a little conversation, as well as see a good deal of beauty, which, I own, to my great surprise, I observed, amidst the still-life of last night. No, sir, I have had enough of Dutch ladies, and shall go into a country where women can speak, as well as hold their tongues, as soon as possible.'

"As it would have been impossible to remove these impressions, I let them pass; for it would have been in vain to assure this hasty traveller, that the fair Hollanders he had thus accused of being dumb, were they to exert their powers, could talk him deaf; add to which, the tradition goes, that a Dutch wife is always the head of the house.

"Their general complexion is clear and fine, as to a proper quan-

tum of white and red, but the effect is lost by the immoveable fixture of both. A stranger to the settled colours would pronounce them artificial: the red forms one strong circle in each cheek, and yields, no, not for a moment, to occurrences or to passions. In rage, in jealousy, in love, in surprise, and even in fear, this rubied hue neither increases nor diminishes; the same inflexibility holds good as to the white, which gives their countenances the air of wax-work painted. These steady colourings are scarcely removed by age: I have seen a great many women who possessed them unmixed, and unimpaired, to their seventieth year. The old women of Liege are the only part of the sex, who are, almost without an exception, of the worst colours, forms, and features; insomuch, that had not male gallantry long since set it down amongst the inviolable etiquettes, that a female cannot be ugly, I should not scruple to say, that at Liege a race of women might be found, who resembled rather Vulcan than Venus, both in shape and hue. This strength of allusion, however, being inhibited, I shall only observe, that all ranks of the sex are, in the part of Germany above-mentioned, less likely to make a man shoot himself through the head, after being shot through the heart, than in any other country I have yet visited. In my first tour through Flanders, I wished, out of the spirit of candour that is in me, added to a sincere love and admiration of the sex, to vindicate the females of this town from this censure. To which end I sallied forth on knight-errant principles, to do the damsels and the dames justice. The morning was fine, the

weather was warm, and the sun had drawn every body abroad. How assiduously, how generously did I follow every petticoat, and meet every apron, to discover pretty features and a good complexion; yea, and often disappointed as I was, I still cherished the hope of finding, in the next comer or goer, a fate that might ransom the rest. I could, returning at dusk, only glean a few handsome eyes, more to be admired for their blackness than the teeth, which seemed to vie with them, as asserting the charms of a finer jett. Of Liege, you know, it has been said, that it is the hell of women, because the poor of that sex do the work of our coal-heavers. I could not help assigning another reason for this appellation, viz. because both rich and poor of that large and ancient town were———fill up the blank, my dear friend; for it cannot be expected I should so little respect the laws of pre-determined politeness, as to insinuate any thing about ugly as the deuce. The hell of women it is still called, be the reason what it may: also the purgatory of men, because they are almost all governed by their wives, their sappho-faced partners,—and the paradise of monks, because of the rich benefices. The latter, however, is just now a little out of repair, as the ecclesiastical fruits have been more than once seized upon by the spoiler.

“The village of Alkmaar is so environed by gardens, orchards, canals, avenues, and meadows, that, if we include the beautiful little wood in its neighbourhood, it may be pronounced one of the most highly cultivated and blooming spots in the world. Many Christian communities assemble here; and

you are shewn a set of buildings sacred to age, known in Holland under the name of *Hofje*, the houses of elderly women.

“It is an article of admittance into this place, that the party entering renounces marriage for the rest of her life, whether ancient virgin, or widow, and to break all sort of intercourse with mankind. This vow resembles not a little that of the monastery, but then it is a little easier to be observed, since it is not imposed till age itself has made it a matter of no great difficulty.

“Fruit and flowers, and groves, and fair meadows, in Holland! methinks I hear you exclaim. Yes, truly, my dear friend; albeit thorough-fare travellers have assured us, 'tis only a collection of dykes and ditches, with a few huge rows of trees, where half the platform just reflects the other, I again and again assert, that in this sequestered village of Alkmaar, and in very many other sweet nooks and corners, where travellers of the above description disdain to go, there is very beautiful scenery, and worth a visit, were there no other attraction, because the ornaments, the disposition of the ground, the arrangement of the flowers, and the novelty of the walks, are curious and original.

“In the next town, which is a considerable sea-port on the banks of the Zuyder Sea, (Horn) the meadow grounds are delicious. The public walks are extremely fine, and to variegate the prospect of eight or ten thousand industrious people at work in the docks and vessels, you have, close under your eye, upwards of four hundred gardens, in which a weed would be looked upon as an offence scarce less

less heinous than a morsel of dirt in any part of their houses.

“ Enkhuizen, Edam, and Monnikendam, have the same sort of beauties in the same abundance; nor is Mendenbik or Parmerende unworthy notice. But the beautiful and singular village of Broek will command a more particular description. Mr. Peckham has, with great justice, called it one of the prettiest little towns in the world. A journey of a thousand miles would be repaid with pleasure, were there no other objects than such as assemble in the village of Broek. The whole of it is a cabinet of curiosities, on which one can scarce gaze, without trembling, lest some injury should be done them even by our homage. My pen seems not sufficiently delicate to describe them. There is but one street through which carriages of any kind are permitted to pass; and that, as if profaned, is but thinly furnished with inhabitants. Every part of every house, within and without, is painted with the most costly colours; and though separately examined, the figures and ornaments would be found to violate all laws of proportion, the general effect is really charming. Every street (the one above excepted) is, in every part, clean beyond all comparison, and little gardens, where perennial verdure and bloom seems to preside, (for not a blade of grass, nor a withered leaf is suffered to rest on the ground) extend from one end of the street to the other; each man's proper bounds being distinguished by fences of every sort and kind, but all ornamented with a care that makes one rather afraid to touch them. The houses are roofed with tiles so glossy that in the sun-shine they glitter like spar. The pavement

of the street is inlay-work, of beautifully small pebbles of various forms and colours, squared or diamonded, crossed and intercrossed, if I may so express myself, agreeable to the taste or fancy of the proprietors. Shells, pieces of glazed brick, marbles, glass beads, &c. are called in as auxiliaries. To tread upon them seems not only profanation, but peril; and indeed the inhabitants seem to be of the same opinion; for the greater part tread with a most distressing caution, and look critically at the shoes of every passenger. In short, were not the age of enchantment past, even from the fairy land of fiction, and could one reduce the solid limbs and unwieldy forms of the owners of this wonder-working village, a traveller coming into it, from the city of Amsterdam, might fancy himself transported by some magician into a region of fairies.

“ As the fact is, it seems, on a comparison of the place with the people, that the natives of Brobdignag have here established themselves in a town of Lilliput.

“ Broek is divided and subdivided by numberless little rivulets that serpentine by the sides of the houses; the paintings and ornaments on the outside of every house look so vivid, as to the colours, as to seem but just finished; yet they have, most of them, stood the tyranny of wind and weather three or four years. In such pretty baby-houses for grown, and I am sure, I may say full-grown ladies and gentlemen, there reigns more simplicity than you would suppose. I speak of the interior of these little paradises, where, by the bye, it is not very easy for a traveller to gain admittance. The North Hollanders are excessively shy at first sight—at Broek more parti-

particularly—and ‘of somewhat a jealous complexion;’ for if a stranger of a wild air, and rude manner, appears amongst them, they return his behaviour in kind, by shutting their doors in his face; and as a farther proof of dislike or fear, order their wives and daughters into the most retired apartments, where they remain prisoners, till they have assurance of the intruder having left the place. It is, however, only impertinent curiosity, or that air of rude command, which too often accompanies a stranger who refuses to make allowances, that is thus disappointed. While I was drinking coffee with a family at Broek, two strangers passed the window in a disorderly manner, peeped into the room, and were rushing forward without any other notice. Two very pretty daughters and their mother, were put to flight instantly, and the master of the house ran to fasten his door, after which he came and took my hand, observing, that although he did not keep an inn for every saucy or lazy fellow to come and do what he thought proper, he knew what was due to a quiet and well-disposed guest, saying which, he took the opportunity of the ladies absence to walk over the apartments, all of which, and particularly that which held his best bed, were, he assured me, entirely at my service, so long as I thought proper to make use of them.

- “In Broek there is a great deal of female agreeableness amongst the people of higher ranks; but the peasant girls who inhabit the environs, are of a complexion so delicate, and the white and red so sweetly diffused, and in such just proportions, that it is worth any person’s while to deport himself peaceably, were it only for the sake

of getting a sight of them; which certainly would not be done by an hurry-scurry traveller, were he to remain in the town for a twelve-month. The Dutch women seldom stir abroad, and scarce ever to take a walk, as it is called.

“Peckham tells us of a singular custom retained in North Holland, of having a door in every house, which is never opened but when a corpse is carried out: he should have added the information of this door’s being opened only on two occasions—the marriage or death of some one of the family. There is something very solemn in the custom, and may conduce, perhaps, to some domestic morality. It is the great door in the centre of the house. A smaller one, on the left hand side, is that which serves for ordinary purposes.

“The inhabitants of Broek are chiefly persons who have retired from business, or who are connected with some commercial houses in Amsterdam. They are extremely rich; and it is here that the practice still prevails amongst the wealthy peasantry of disposing of their children in marriage by weight of metal. A countryman dressed in a coarse blue doublet is the father of a young man, who is to be sold in wedlock: he meets the buyer, another countryman, who is the parent of the girl, that is to be bought. While the parties thus to be disposed of, are trying to become agreeable to one another, or, at least, to accommodate, the old folks are making the bargain for them, over a pipe of tobacco.

“Will you give your son to my daughter with so many barrels of gold?

“I cannot.

“She cannot be afforded for less.

“Well, I will give it.

Thea

"Then take her.—I will cart the cash to-morrow.

"Done. A match.

"The business is done, and they are as happy, at least, as money can make them.

"The painful neatness of the houses within, and the streets without, have been productive of the following anecdote. The ancient vicar of Broek being dead, and much lamented, his successor tried every method that a worthy priest could think of, to repair the loss, not only as to his pastoral duty, but as to society. 'I would fain gain your good will, and conciliate your esteem, my dear parishioners,' said he, 'How is it I fail?'

"The want of confidence in the inhabitants, made the new vicar unhappy: and yet for many months, he could get no one to assign a reason for it. At length, an old man, one of his congregation, after some hesitation, spoke as follows: 'I will tell you, Mr. Vicar. You are a fine scholar: you talk Greek and Latin: your discourses are very learned; but you mount the reading desk and pulpit in your shoes, after having walked through the street. Your predecessor always put on a pair of slippers, which are still left for your use in the consistory. You know, now, the cause of the shyness and disaffection of the parish: and you know also the way to remove it.'

"The vicar took the hint, and ever after adopting the slippers, very soon became as great a favourite as the good man he succeeded.

"Peckham has noticed very exactly, the curiosity of the head-dresses of the women of North Hol-

land. A little hair cut very short and thin, which is combed down on the forehead, and powdered. The cap sticks close to their ears, and under it are two pieces of silver or gold, which appear at each temple, and a broad piece is under the cap on the back part of the head.

"Of the saw-mill, his description is the most accurate that can be given. Forty boards can be sawed at the same time. The flies of the mill are fixed to a large beam, which turns on an axis; in the centre of the beam is the grand wheel, which puts in motion another immediately below it; this is likewise fixed on the middle of a piece of timber, which hangs on an axis, and to which four perpendicular saws, ten in each compartment, are fastened; which, as the wheel goes round, are elevated, and again thrust down. At the end of this beam are two iron hooks, which catch a wheel, and each time the saw goes up and down, it moves this wheel one cog, that wheel moves another, which catches into a piece of iron, and draws it towards itself. At the end of this iron is a cross bar, which presses against the end of the tree, while the other end is sawing, and pushes it on to the teeth of the saw, with a motion proportionate to the dispatch of the saws.

"When you compare, my friend, the effect of all this, with the tedious process of our common English saw-pit, you will wish with me, that such of our timber merchants as are ignorant of it, would take the hint, and condescend to be instructed.

"The oil and tobacco-mills are equally curious, but as their construction is more generally known, I shall

I shall not take up your time in describing them.

"Upon the whole, the village of Broek is one of the greatest curiosities of the united provinces; and indeed, North Holland generally will be found to justify even more than has been said in its favour.

"The village of Medemblic, which I have not yet mentioned, and which, before the building of Encheuson and Hoorn, was the capital of North Holland, is still remarkable for its immense dams, which have resisted the violence of the turbulent Zuyder sea so many centuries. The water is here much higher than the land, and in tempestuous weather threatens to overflow the banks, enormous as they are, by which the country would be instantly deluged. To prevent this dreadful event, the inhabitants cover the banks with many folds of sail-cloth, which, simple as it appears, checks the fury of the waves in their most violent career. A million of human beings trust their lives to this seemingly slight invention. The above adventurous little town looks, as you approach it, to be just rising out of the ocean: the savage roaring of the waves vainly menace it every moment. When they swell beside the banks, mountain high, ladies are to be seen walking, and children at play, while the boldest stranger would tremble for their safety and his own. So reconciling is the power of custom. All that you have ever seen in your own country of sublime pier-heads, moles, &c. though they may surpass in majesty, fall infinitely short of the dam of Medemblic, in point of the terrible, and the industrious. I have looked down from the heights of Shakspeare's cliff, and from those

'Where huge Plinlimmon lifts his awful head:'

but the sensation was in neither instance so full of tremendous imagery. And the contrast, from the smiling and peaceful retirements of Broek, made it more impressive.

"The character of the North Hollander is that of phlegm, and even apathy. He is certainly more saturnine than his countrymen farther south. Slow in decision, persevering in opinion, but unshaken, as the banks of Medemblic, in a resolve when taken. They are also more muscular in their forms, and of a superior size, but neither clumsily put together, nor coarse in their feature. The beauty of the women as to their grand articles of red and white of nature's own putting on (though she mixes them better in some countries) I have already spoken. I have, therefore, only to add a grace which has been in and out of fashion, many times on your side of the water; I mean a very high forehead. The North Holland ladies consider this as so indispensable, that they press down, and even eradicate the hair, bind it with ribbons and fillets, and use every other art to expand the brows. A low forehead, and an abundance of hair near the temples, is, of course, deemed a grand personal defect. The females of North Holland have also a beauty which the other provinces rarely shew us; that of good teeth, which is, in any of the great towns, a rarity in either sex, and seemingly one but little desired.

"Their complexion is almost invariably fair. A Dutch brunette is scarce to be seen, and when seen, not either envied by one sex, or admired by the other. They par-
take,

take, however, in a very high degree, the defects as well as beauty of that fine colouring—extreme indolence.

“We are told, that lovers are more constant, husbands more obsequious in North Holland, than in any other part of the republic, which even in general has the reputation of being under the government of the petticoat. This must be understood to extend only to household affairs. In matters of

public concern, the North Hollander is the most independent assertor of his rights, and the amor patriæ is here more vitally felt, and has been more strenuously maintained, than in any other parts of the provinces.

“Enough has now been said to induce every reader of these our Gleanings, to make the tour of this very singular and beautiful little province.”

DUTCH METHOD OF EMPLOYING DOGS.

[From the same Volume.]

* **T**HE very dogs of Holland are constrained to promote the trade of the republic, inasmuch, that save the great dogs of fashion and state, which run before or after their lords and ladies equipages; and, in imitation often of their betters, are above being of any use; there is not an idle dog of any size in the seven provinces. You see them in harness, at all parts of the Hague, and some other towns, tugging at barrows, and little carts, with their tongues almost sweeping the ground, and their poor hearts almost ready to beat through their sides. Frequently three, four, five, and sometimes six abreast, carrying men and merchandize, with the speed of little horses. And in your walk from the Hague gate to Scheveling, (where we will presently make an excursion,) you encounter, at all hours of the day, an incredible number loaded with fish and men, under the burden of which they run off at a long trot, and some-

times (when driven by young men or boys) at full gallop, the whole mile and an half, which is the distance from gate to gate; nor, on their return, are they suffered to come empty, being filled not only with the aforesaid men or boys, (for almost every Dutchman hates walking when he can ride, though half a mile); but with such commodities as cannot be had at the village.—I have seen these poor brutes, in the middle of summer, urged beyond their force, till they have dropped on the road to gather strength; which is seldom the case, however, except when they have the misfortune to fall under the management of boys; for the Dutch are the farthest from being cruel to their domestic dumb animals, of any people in the world; on the contrary, an Hollander, of whatever rank, is so merciful unto his beast, whether horse, dog, cow, &c. that they are the objects of his marked attention, as sleek skins, happy faces, and plump sides, sufficiently

sufficiently demonstrate. The cows, and oxen for draft, they rub down, curry and clean, till they are as glossy as the most pampered steed in England. Nay, you frequently see them with a light fancy dress, to guard them from the flies, and other annoying animalcula in the meadows, which are the finest in the world, and in a warmer suit of cloaths during the winter; even these canine slaves look hale and well as to condition, and being habituated to labour, feel little hardship in it. Happy, however, thrice happy is the dog who has the luck to be born of humbler and lowly parents, and is sacred, by his insignificance, from labour. Like many a man, who, having neither talents nor size for a hero, derives many a snug enjoyment from his unsuitness to take an active part in the toils of ambition. But dogs of this description have yet greater privileges in Holland than you imagine. Like other little things, they are held precious, and so fondled and patted, that either a lapdog, or a lover in England, where those animals, you know, are sometimes neglected, as indeed, in that country are all favourites, might envy them; for, if you think a Dutch woman and a beautiful woman are incompatible, you are mistaken, as I shall take occasion to shew.

"In my first visit (a winter one) to the Hague, I entered into the interests of these poor day-labouring dogs so truly, that I wondered they did not go mad, or that I did not hear of the canine distraction more in this country than in ours; and on being told there were certain times (the dog days) when a heavy fine was to be paid upon any dog being seen in the street, I sup-

posed this was the case, till the summer following, being at this delightful sea-side village of Scheveling, I observed, several times in the day, these draft dogs brought down to the beach and bathed; a practice which no doubt equally prevented them from this dreadful disorder before-mentioned, and gave them strength to go through their work.

"It is fortunate also, that Holland is a country somewhat prone to be strict in the ceremonies of religion, by observance of which, the dogs, like their masters, find the seventh a day of unbroken rest: for 'Sunday shines a sabbath day' to them.' The first impression (which is allowed a grand point, you know) being much in favour of these industrious creatures, I had an eye on them, as well in the hours of their repose as toil; and felt my heart warm to see several, whom I had observed very heavily laden on the Saturday, taking a sound nap, out-stretched and happy at their masters doors, on the day in which their leisure is even an allotment and bounty of heaven. All the morning and afternoon they have remained basking in the sun or in the shade, in profound tranquillity, while a number of unthinking whelps, and lazy puppies, who had been passing their time in idleness all the week, were playing their gambols in the street, not without a vain attempt to wake the seniors, and make them join in their amusement. Towards evening, I have, in my sunsetting rounds, been much pleased to notice the honest creatures sit at their respective thresholds, looking quite refreshed, giving occasionally into a momentary frolic, and the next morning returning to the labours

labours of the week absolutely renewed.

“ Reader—stranger—art thou too proud of heart—or too full of the dignity of human nature—to enter into these brute concerns? Pass on, then, and pity my weakness, but not without remembering that

‘ Dogs are honest creatures,
‘ Ne’er fawn on any that they love not;
‘ And I’m a friend to dogs. They
‘ Ne’er betray their masters.’

If therefore thou hast no feeling for their sufferings, respect at least their virtues :

‘ Mark but his true, his faithful way;
‘ And in *thy* service copy Tray.’

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

THE COMPARATIVE AUTHENTICITY OF TACITUS AND SUETONIUS, illustrated by the Question, "Whether NERO was the Author of the 'MEMORABLE CONFLAGRATION at ROME?'" by ARTHUR BROWNE, L. L. D. S. F. T. C. D. and M. R. I. A.

[From the Fifth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.]

"SO much has been said of the candour of Suetonius, and of his work being the most accurate narration extant of the lives of the emperors, that it is worth the pains to enquire how far these praises are due. Others are said to have been actuated by hatred, or slaves to adulation; he is represented alone as fair and uninfluenced. For my own part, I so much differ from this opinion, that I have ever considered the rank allotted to Suetonius, in the scale of historical merit, as elevated much beyond his deserts. I am not inclined to trust either his candour or his accuracy, particularly when opposed to, or compared with his rival historian. We are accustomed, I know not how, at an early age, from cotemporary studies, to unite the names of cotemporary historians, and from thence peraps insensibly to infer a similarity of excellence. The authors perused treat of the same facts, they are read at the same time, and the mind is yet too young for accurate discrimination. May not such associations have had some effect with respect to Suetonius and Tacitus? But the exercise of maturer judgment readily separates such

unions, and detects the apparent parallelism of objects, which, sufficiently pursued, will be found in time infinitely to diverge. This judgment, however, is in many cases never exercised at all.

"A premature perusal of the classics often prevents a subsequent cool revival of their beauties and their merits, impels the man to consider the subjects of the studies of the boy as trifling and disgusting, and indolently to acquiesce in first impressions, rather than retrace steps which appeared unpleasant because involuntary. But he who at maturer years is led by taste or inclination to examine and compare the lights of antiquity, will be astonished at their numerous detections of his errors first imbibed; and corrections of the implicit faith which he has put in some of its oracles; and perhaps no where will he find less reason for confidence than in the secretary of Adrian (for such was Suetonius), however high his post, or good his means of information.

"The title of this essay indicates my intention to confine my observations to the comparative fidelity in narration of the celebrated writers therein

therein mentioned, without touching on their other relative perfections or imperfections. The instance which I have selected to illustrate this point (for abundance of them might be found) may to some appear trifling; and it may be asked, who, in the eighteenth century, can be interested in the question, whether Rome, in the first, was burnt by the hand of her natural protector, or of what utility is the discussion which tends to wash away one spot from the bloody garb of Nero? The objection should not come from the theoretic lover of truth, never despising enquiry and discrimination; nor will the expulsion of falsehood from history ever appear trifling to its practical admirers. The question, too, is not totally unconnected with the well-known controversy in morals, on the existence of gratuitous malevolence, as any alleged motives for this supposed conduct of the tyrant are utterly unsatisfactory to the rational mind: but its chief importance rests on the grounds I have premised. If we detect an historian in any one instance, in a peremptory and dogmatical assertion of a disputed, nay, improbable charge, have we not cause to view his writings with general suspicion, and scrutinize with jealous eye his accuracy or his candour? And we cannot select a better example than that of a direct and unqualified allegation of a plain and simple fact, into which, if false, the writer could not from any circumstances be supposed to be innocently or unwittingly betrayed.

"Suetonius, then, directly and circumstantially ascribes the conflagration at Rome, in the time of Nero, to that detested emperor, while Tacitus only says, *forte, an dolo imperatoris, incertum*. The au-

thority of the former seems to have prevailed, and few traditions have been more strongly believed, or sayings more frequently applied, than 'that Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.' I apprehend, therefore, that the following arguments to the contrary will have at least the recommendation of novelty, as the opposite opinion has never been hinted by any writer whom I have met, except the abbé Millot, who annexes no reasons for his doubts.

"The reader, who recollects the idle calumnies, which, upon a similar occasion, were thrown out against a prince of our own, Charles the second, and the numberless insinuations of opposite parties at that period, branding each other with the name of incendiaries, will not incautiously assent to the rumour bred by inflamed imaginations, ascribing to malice the offspring of accident.

"Whoever has implicitly believed that Rome was burnt by Nero, will find, to his surprise, on the first peep into Tacitus, this passage, *Hoc tempore, Nero Antii agens*, the paragraph which first indeed, by exciting my wonder, drew my attention to this subject. The man who is depicted as sitting on a lofty tower of his palace, attuning to the harp the poet's numbers on the destruction of Troy, in the midst of the imperial city, with whose fires his eyes were feasted, was not, at their commencement at least, in Rome at all. This should seem almost to terminate the question: but, no! the critic will say, Antium was only ten miles from Rome, and the emperor had ample time to arrive there long before the extinction of the flames; in fact he did so, when he found that the most vigorous orders which he had issued from Antium had no effect. Such

orders he had issued, and it shews his alacrity in trying to have the fire extinguished before his arrival. Let us see then how he acted after his arrival. During the very confusion and terror of the conflagration, it may have been difficult to ascertain the conduct of the prince; and it is during that period that Suetonius charges him with encouraging the flames, and cherishing the incendiaries. 'Voices of men,' says he, 'were heard, exclaiming that they acted by orders from the emperor, and emissaries from his very household might have been apprehended in the act of spreading the flames.' That the emperor should have been absurd enough to furnish incendiaries with the authority of his name, is incredible; but let us remember, that within three years past, the destroyers of the castles of the nobility in France, pleaded authority from that king whose throne they were on the point of overturning. To these idle tales I oppose the acknowledged behaviour of Nero, after the extinction of the fire, when it stands unveiled by that cloud of confusion and rumour which always attends present calamity. He opened his gardens for the sufferers, he pitched tents for them, he laboured to provide them with necessaries, he cheapened the price of corn; such are the testimonies of Tacitus. On his previous absence, on his subsequent conduct, I might perhaps then rest his innocence; but it is confirmed by some other strong arguments, to which I now proceed.

"The emperor is charged with setting fire to the city, that he might enjoy the beauty of the sight. It appears from Tacitus, that so far from coveting the spectacle, his fault was, indolent reluctance to

move from Antium. He issued from thence the most vigorous orders for extinguishing the flames, but he refused to stir till his own palace was on fire. It was in this situation that he must be supposed to have run up with his harp, immediately on his arrival, to the top of the tower of Mæcenas; a station where he stood a very reasonable chance of being broiled for his pains. The supposition is too ludicrous to admit a doubt of its falsehood; and this being as confidently asserted as any circumstance, must make us doubt of the truth of all the rest. Let us combine, then, the absence of the emperor from the capital when the fire began, his active orders before he left Antium, his unwillingness to leave it, the situation of the city on his arrival, and his behaviour after the conflagration, and see where we can find the least probable trace of the tale of Suetonius.

"The spot where the fire broke out affords another very strong argument of want of design; in *prædiis Tigellini Æmiliani præseperat*, says Tacitus. He observes, indeed, that *plus infamia incendium habuit*, for that reason, that is, because it was on the estate of Tigellinus; but where were these *prædia*? in the district called the *Æmiliana*. Now this district was quite without the city, as any one will find upon consulting the plan of ancient Rome. *Eorum ædificia qui habitant extra portam frumentariam, aut in Æmilianis*, says Vairo, lib. iii. *De Re Rustica*. What could have induced the emperor, whose abilities do not seem to have been contemptible, to have adopted such an extraordinary method of firing the city, by kindling the flame in its remotest suburbs? 'He was accused,' says Tacitus, 'of having been actuated with a de-

fire

‘fire of founding a new city, and calling it by his name.’ Did he do so? And what prevented him? The consequence did not follow, and the imputed means were absurdly disproportionate to the motive.

“That the fire in the *Æmiliana* was accidental, will become more than probable, when we find that it was a quarter where dangerous and extensive conflagrations had happened before. It appears from Suetonius, in his account of the reign of Claudius, chap. 18. that one had obstinately raged in this region during the life of that prince: *Ubi Æmiliana portuicius arderent*. And it appears that it was of consequence enough to call for the presence and incessant labour of the emperor himself and his whole court: we may reasonably conjecture, therefore, that it was a part of the suburbs, for some reason or other, perhaps by being the site of hazardous manufactures, particularly exposed and obnoxious to these calamities.

“It is true that Tacitus, in another place, says, with a seeming contradiction, *Initium in ea parte Circi ortum, quæ Palatino. Calioque montibus contigua est*; and Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, founding the assertion on this passage, says it broke out in some shops about the Circus, without taking notice of the other alleged site of its commencement.

“The commentators on Tacitus have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, and insist that it broke out in two places, the Circus and the *Æmiliana*. Now, as to the Circus, Tacitus himself accounts for its rise and progress there, *Ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, caput ignis*. The fire began in certain shops all-

ed with inflammable materials, and naturally calculated to originate and diffuse the flames. Where they could so easily be accounted for, who would have seen, reflected by their light, the deadly visage of the tyrant, but those whose horrors of his crimes and terror of his wickedness raised on every occasion the imperial phantom before their alarmed imaginations? Let us not fear, that by deducting this little burthen of guilt, we shall leave too small a portion of infamy to satiate resentment, and deter imitation. The bloody roll of Nero’s crimes will scarcely appear diminished by expunging this inferior title to abhorrence.

“It is an inferior circumstance, yet not entirely unworthy of note, that the rumours which had reached the ears of the two historians, as to Nero’s conduct, essentially varied. To the one he had been represented as going openly and publicly to the summit of Mæcenat’s tower to sing the fate of Troy, while to the other he was depicted as retiring into his private apartments (*in domesticam scenam*), there secretly to enjoy the devastation of his groaning country. Uncertainty and contradiction are the sisters of unfounded report.

“From the account given us of this event by Tacitus, we find that the emperor’s object, in at length leaving Antium to go to Rome, was to save his palace. Now in this he did not succeed. The palace was destroyed, and yet he is afterwards accused of constructing a new palace of wonderful magnificence, out of the ruins of his country (*Usus est patriæ ruinis*, says Tacitus), not without insinuation that such might have been partly the object of the antecedent devastation. There is nothing in his

previous conduct to support the suspicion, for he was anxious to save his former residence, and to prevent the necessity of erecting a new one.

"The anxiety of Nero to avoid the charge is utterly incompatible with the narration of Suetonius. *Incendit urbem tam palam, says that historian, ut plerique consulares cubicularii ejus, cum stupra tædæque in prædiis suis deprehensos, non attigerint.* Is it credible that he, who so much dreaded the imputation, should have committed the fact without disguise? That he used every exertion to avert the charge, appears from Tacitus—by anxious and active care to expedite the rebuilding of the city—by princely largesses to the sufferers—by supplications and atoning sacrifices to the gods, he laboured to extricate himself from the infamy. It is true he was not successful. Such was the odium against him. *Non ope humana, non largitionibus principis, aut deum placamentis decederat infamia.* He then endeavoured to throw the suspicion on the Christians, since he found the world too prejudiced to ascribe the event to accident—with equal want of success indeed. But all which I wish to infer is, that this extreme anxiety confutes the notion of his rash unguarded promotion of the calamity; and that he was particularly distressed at this rumour, appears from his known character, which was, in general, to despise all rumours, *Nihil patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulit.*—Suetonius, p. 258.

"The extent of the power of prejudice against this miserable prince at this period cannot be more strongly exemplified than in the murmurs which Tacitus mentions, occasioned by his opening the city, and widening the streets,

because, as was alleged, the old narrow streets and lofty houses contributed exceedingly to the salubrity of Rome, by protecting the passenger from the heat of the sun. I will even draw an argument from the virulence of Suetonius. 'He would not suffer,' says that writer, 'the bodies of the dead, who perished in the fire, to be burnt by their friends, nor the ruins of the edifices to be removed by the owners, but took the charge upon himself, for the sake of plunder.' Whether those who were burnt already required to be burnt again, I know not; but does not the ill-nature of the remark proclaim the inclination of the author? Is it not more natural to suppose, that the fear of pestilence, from the exposition of bodies left to the random care of individuals, in a time of general distraction, required the interposition of government, and the adoption of public regulations, to prevent the possibility of private negligence? And was it not right in the governing power of the state to refuse to trust to the weakness or indolence of the subject, the office of removing rubbish and ruins, whose immense heaps forbade improvement, and postponed renovation?

"The truth is, when Suetonius wrote, invective against the race of Cæsar opened the way to honour and preferment. Abuse of the Augustan family was the fashion of succeeding times, and the instrument of flattery with succeeding emperors. With infinite caution, therefore, are we to admit the adulatory invective of the writers of the age of Trajan. The fidelity of history was made to bow to the etiquette of courts and the interests of historians.

"This propensity to blacken the Cæsars,

Cæsars, received, in the particular instance of Nero, additional height in later times from the enmity of the Christians. His cruel persecution of Christianity, and his inordinate wickedness, in averting upon its votaries the calumny thrown upon himself, with the signal martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, under his dominion, have stamped him with the most sanguinary dye in the annals of religion. It was natural to surmise, that the man who so unjustly accused others, had not been unjustly accused himself. His innocence was supposed to include their criminality; and as the empire became Christian, it became in a manner impious to doubt his guilt.

"On whom does the authority of this legend rest? As appears to me, on the authority of Suetonius alone. The careful peruser of Tacitus will, I think, agree with me, that he did not believe the tale; he wrote before Suetonius, and possessed earlier and better channels of enquiry. Suetonius was secretary to Adrian, whose reign was preceded by the death of Tacitus. The next author who mentions the charge with confidence is Dio Cassius, who lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, two hundred years after the event: no testimony can go beyond its first original; the tribe of servile copiers add not a jot of weight to the evidence.

"Aurelius Victor; Eutropius, Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus and Jornandes, the only subsequent Latin writers who repeat the clamour, merely echo the assertions of Suetonius and Dio. They could not be much better judges of the matter than we at this day, had they even taken the trouble to weigh the evidence. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius lived at a period

three hundred years distant from the time of the conflagration, in the reigns of Julian and Valentinian; Cassiodorus was consul under Theodoric, and born in 476; and Jornandes, in Justinian's age, was secretary to a king of the Goths. As to the principal modern writers who assert and insist on the fact, and particularly the ecclesiastical historians, Xiphilinus, Vitranus and Sulpicius, though they lived earlier than Fleury, who in the present century supports their opinion, their assertions can have no more weight than his, nor their knowledge of the facts be greater than ours. Xiphilinus was the professed abridger of Dio Cassius. Dio repeated from Suetonius, and upon the foundation of Suetonius's authority the whole fabric must ultimately depend. If any thing has been added, it has probably been the work of exuberant imagination, like that of Karholtus of Hamburg, a modern ecclesiastical writer, who represents the emperor at a banquet sending forth troops of incendiaries, and sitting to hear at intervals the triumphant tale of their horrid exploits, a picture of which he could not have found the least trait in any ancient historian. It remains only to observe, that Suetonius, the father of this tale, could not have been unwittingly deceived into this assertion.

"Thus have I endeavoured to scrutinize, in this instance, the accuracy and authenticity of Suetonius, which may be a clue to his general character as a writer, the only object perhaps which could have justified my calling the attention of this revered assembly to a question so remote, and seemingly so uninteresting. Always, as I have said, has that historian appeared to me to be over-rated; the

indecenty of his descriptions has been often condemned, and it was well observed, that Suetonius wrote the lives of the emperors with the same licentiousness with which they lived. Were I to compare Suetonius with any writer of our own time, in point of credit due to his narration, I would scarcely assign him a place superior to Smollet's; I mean not with respect to composition, but as to authenticity and materials. Both of them seem to have compiled from the *actus diurni*, or newspapers of the day, and to merit equal authority with those crude and hasty chronicles. If the one has lived for eighteen centuries, while the other possibly may not for one, it has perhaps been owing to the charms of his com-

position, not to the dignity of his history.

"If these remarks shall in any degree tend to ascertain the rank of this famed historian in the scale of history, or rather by calling the attention of more accurate observers to the general complexion of his works, to induce them to ascertain it, they will have an importance which at this remote time they could not borrow from the subject itself. They may, perhaps, also derive some additional claim to attention, from the circumstance of a celebrated attack having been lately made by Mr. Whitaker of Manchester, on the authenticity of his rival historian, in a comparison between Tacitus and Gibbon."

OBSERVATIONS ON DIDACTIC POETRY, and on the GENIUS of AKENSIDE.

[From a Critical ESSAY prefixed to a new Edition on the PLEASURES of IMAGINATION, by Mrs. BARBAULD.]

"**D**IDACTIC, or preceptive poetry, seems to include a solecism, for the end of poetry is to please, and of didactic precept the object is instruction. It is however a species of poetry which has been cultivated from the earliest stages of society; at first, probably, for the simple purpose of retaining, by means of the regularity of measure and the charms of harmony, the precepts of agricultural wisdom and the aphorisms of æconomical experience. When poetry came to be cultivated for its own sake, it was natural to esteem the didactic, as in that view it certainly is, as a species of inferior merit compared with those which are more pecu-

liarly the work of the imagination; and accordingly in the more splendid era of our own poetry it has been much less cultivated than many others. Afterwards, when poetry was become an art, and the more obvious sources of description and adventure were in some measure exhausted, the didactic was resorted to, as affording that novelty and variety which began to be the great desideratum in works of fancy. This species of writing is likewise favoured by the diffusion of knowledge, by which many subjects become proper for general reading, which, in a less informed state of society, would have favoured of pedantry and abstruse speculation.

tion. For poetry cannot descend to teach the elements of any art or science, or confine itself to that regular arrangement and clear brevity which suits the communication of unknown truths. In fact, the Muse would make a very indifferent school-mistress. Whoever therefore reads a didactic poem, ought to come to it with a previous knowledge of his subject; and whoever writes one, ought to suppose such a knowledge in his readers. If he is obliged to explain technical terms, to refer continually to critical notes, and to follow a system step by step with the patient exactness of a teacher, his poem, however laboured, will be a bad poem. His office is rather to throw a lustre on such prominent parts of his system as are most susceptible of poetical ornament, and to kindle the enthusiasm of those feelings which the truths he is conversant with are fitted to inspire. In that beautiful poem the *Essay on Man*, the system of the author, if in reality he had any system, is little attended to, but those passages which breathe the love of virtue are read with delight, and fix themselves on the memory. Where the reader has this previous knowledge of the subject, which we have mentioned as necessary, the art of the poet becomes itself a source of pleasure; and sometimes in proportion to the remoteness of the subject from the more obvious province of poetry, we are delighted to find with how much dexterity the artist of verse can avoid a technical term, how neatly he can turn an uncouth word, and with how much grace embellish a scientific idea. Who does not admire the infinite art with which Dr. Darwin has described the machine of sir Richard Arkwright?

His verse is a piece of mechanism as complete in its kind as that which he describes. Allured perhaps too much by this artificial species of excellence, and by the hopes of novelty, hardly any branch of knowledge has been so abstruse, or so barren of delight, as not to have afforded a subject to the didactic poet. Even the loathsomeness of disease, and the dry maxims of medical knowledge, have been decorated with the charms of poetry. Many of these pieces, however, owe all their entertainment to frequent digressions. Where these arise naturally out of the subject, as the description of a sheep-shearing feast in *Dyer*, or the praises of Italy in the *Georgics*, they are not only allowable but graceful; but if forced, as is the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in the same poem, they can be considered in no other light than that of beautiful monsters, and injure the piece they are meant to adorn. The subject of a didactic poem, therefore, ought to be such as is in itself attractive to the man of taste, for otherwise all attempts to make it so by adventitious ornaments, will be but like loading with jewels and drapery a figure originally defective and ill-made.

“Of all the subjects which have engaged the attention of didactic poets, there is not, perhaps, a happier than that made choice of by Akenfide, *The Pleasures of Imagination*; in which every step of the disquisition calls up objects of the most attractive kind, and Fancy is made, as it were, to hold a mirror to her own charms. Imagination is the very source and well-head of poetry, and nothing forced or foreign to the Muse could easily flow from such a subject. Accordingly we see that the author has kept close

to his system, and has admitted neither episode nor digression; the allegory in the second book, which is introduced for the purpose of illustrating his theory, being all that can properly be called ornament in this whole poem. It must be acknowledged, however, that engaging as his subject is to minds prepared to examine it, to the generality of readers it must appear dry and abstruse. It is a work which offers us entertainment, but not of that easy kind amidst which the mind remains passive, and has nothing to do but to receive impressions. Those who have studied the metaphysics of mind, and who are accustomed to investigate abstract ideas, will read it with a lively pleasure; but those who seek mere amusement in a poem, will find many far inferior ones better suited to their purpose. The judicious admirer of Akenfide will not call people from the fields and the highways to partake of his feast; he will wish none to read that are not capable of understanding him.

"The ground-work of *The Pleasures of Imagination* is to be found in Addison's *Essays* on the same subject, published in the *Spectator*. Except in the book which treats on ridicule (and even of that the hint is there given), our author follows nearly the same track; and he is indebted to them not only for the leading thoughts and grand division of his subject, but for much of the colouring also: for the papers of Addison are wrought up with so much elegance of language, and adorned with so many beautiful illustrations, that they are equal to the most finished poem. Perhaps the obligations of the poet to the essay-writer are not sufficiently adverted to, the latter being only slightly mentioned in the preface

to the poem. It is not meant, however, to insinuate that Akenfide had not various other sources of his ideas. He sat down to this work, which was published at the early age of three and twenty, warm from the schools of ancient philosophy, whose spirit he had deeply imbibed, and full of enthusiasm for the treasures of Greek and Roman literature. The works of no author have a more classic air than those of our poet. His hymn to the Naiads shews the most intimate acquaintance with their mythology. Their laws, their arts, their liberty, were equally the objects of his warm admiration, and are frequently referred to in various parts of his poems. He was fond of the Platonic philosophy, and mingled with the splendid visions of the academic school, ideas of the fair and beautiful in morals and in taste, gathered from the writings of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and others of that stamp, who then very much engaged the notice of the public. Educated in the university of Edinburgh, he joined to his classic literature, the keen discriminating spirit of metaphysical enquiry, and the taste for moral beauty which has so much distinguished our northern seminaries, and which the celebrity of their professors, and the genius of the place has never failed of communicating to their disciples. Thus prepared, by nature with genius, and by education with the previous studies and habits of thinking, he was peculiarly fitted for writing a philosophical poem."

"If the genius of Akenfide be to be estimated from this poem, and it is certainly the most capital of his works, it will be found to be lofty and elegant, chaste, classical, and correct: not marked with
strong

strong traits of originality, not ardent nor exuberant. His enthusiasm was rather of that kind which is kindled by reading and imbibing the spirit of authors, than by contemplating at first hand the works of nature. As a versifier, Akenfide is allowed to stand amongst those who have given the most finished models of blank verse. His periods are long but harmonious, the cadences fall with grace, and the measure is supported with uniform dignity. His Muse possesses the mien erect, and high commanding gait. We shall scarcely find a low or trivial expression introduced, a careless or unfinished line permitted to stand. His stateliness, however, is somewhat allied to stiffness. His verse is sometimes feeble through too rich a redundancy of ornament, and sometimes laboured into a degree of obscurity from too anxious a desire of avoiding natural and simple expressions. We do not conceive of him as pouring easy his unpremeditated strain. It is rather difficult to read, from the sense being extended sometimes through more than twenty lines; but when well read fills and gratifies the ear with all the pomp of harmony. It is far superior to the compositions of his contemporary Thomson (we speak now only of the measure) and more equal than Milton, though inferior to his finest passages. It is indeed too equal not to be in some degree monotonous. He is fond of compound epithets, led to it, perhaps, by his fondness for the Greek, and delights in giving a classic air to his compositions by using names and epithets the most remote from vulgar use. Like Homer's gods his poetry speaks a different language from that of common mortals.

That an author who lived to near fifty should have produced his most

capital work at three and twenty, seems to imply (as his professional studies did not cause him to lay aside his poetical pursuits) a genius more early than extensive, a mind more refined than capacious. And that this was the case in reality, will appear from his having employed himself, during several years, in correcting, and indeed entirely new moulding this his favourite poem. To correct to a certain degree, is the duty of a man of sense; but always to correct will not be the employment of a man of spirit. It betrays a mind rather brooding with fond affection over old productions, than inspired by a fresh stream of new ideas. The flowers of fancy are apt to lose their odour by much handling, the glow is gone, and the ear itself, after a certain time, loses its tact amidst repeated alterations, as the taste becomes confounded by the successive trial of different flavours.

"The edition which he was preparing, was, however, left in too imperfect a state to justify its being presented to the public, at least of superseding the complete one which is here given, and which passed rapidly through many editions soon after its first appearance. In the posthumous poem the ordonnance is greatly changed: novelty is left out as a primary source of the pleasure of the imagination, and placed among the adventitious circumstances which only increase it. The greatest part of the lines on ridicule are also omitted; and he has abandoned the idea of its being the test of truth, an idea which had given offence to the severer moralists. Instead of the allegory of Virtue and Euphrosyne, the third book consists of a story concerning Solon, on which Dr. Johnson makes this single observation, that it is

too long. The probability is, that the critic never read it through, as, for the author's purpose, it is too short, since it breaks off so abruptly, that though the purport is declared to be to shew the origin of evil, the story is not far enough advanced to allow the reader even to guess at the intended solution. Of the fourth book, the beginning is barely sketched. But had the whole been completed, we may venture to pronounce, that if the system was improved, the poetry would have been weaker. He has amplified what had before a tendency to be redundant; he has rendered abstruse what was before sufficiently difficult of comprehension; and in proportion as he has departed from the chaste elegance of Addison, he has given to his subject a dry scholastic air, and involved it in metaphysical subtleties. Of amplification the following are instances. In the poem before us we meet with the line

"And painted shells indent their speckled
wreathc."

Not being willing to let these shells pass without the lustre of an additional polish, he has altered it to

"And painted shells a'long some winding
shore
Catch with indented folds the glancing
sun."

"He had spoken in the former
of

—— "the thymy vale
Where oft enchanted with Socratic sounds
Ilissus pure devolved his tuneful stream
In gentler murmurs."

"The thought of a river listening to eloquence is but trite, and therefore sufficiently spread; but not content with the image, he has, in the later work, added Boreas and Orithyia to the dramatis personæ.

—— "Where once beneath
That ever-living plantane's ample boughs
Ilissus by Socratic sounds detained
On his neglected urn attentive lay,
While Boreas lingering on the neighbour-
ing sleep
With beauteous Orithyia his love-tale
In silent awe suspended."

"Sometimes, however, we meet with a happier image. The following is very picturesque:

—— "O ye dales
Of Tyne, and ye most ancient woodlands
where
Oft as the giant flood obliquely strides
And his banks open ——"

"The following description of universal or primitive beauty, though somewhat too awful for a Venus, is striking, and merits preservation.

"He, God most high, page 130 to
—— and owns her charms," p. 134:

"On the whole, though we may not look upon Akenfide as one of those few born to create an era in poetry, we may well consider him as formed to shine in the brightest; we may venture to predict that his work, which is not formed on any local or temporary subject, will continue to be a classic in our language; and we shall pay him the grateful regard which we owe to genius exerted in the cause of liberty and philosophy, of virtue and of taste."

PRACTICAL REMARKS ON RURAL ORNAMENT.

[From a REVIEW of the LANDSCAPE, a DIDACTIC POEM, and an ESSAY on the PICTURESQUE; by the AUTHOR of "PLANTING and ORNAMENTAL GARDENING, a practical TREATISE."]

"WE now proceed to take a general review of the face of nature; to examine some of its various qualities, attributes, or characteristics, as they strike the human mind, through the sense of vision; and to treat of rural ornament, as an art independent of every other, and as having no other principles than what are immediately deducible from nature.

"The visual qualities of the passages of surface, most frequently observable in this island, are,

"1. *Simplicity*. This is either fortuitous or designed. It is given by a flat naked surface of a uniform colour; as an extensive flat of marshes; or a bowling-green; or a larger flat of made lawn, if any such a surface has ever been formed.

"2. *Simple beauty*. This, also, is fortuitous and designed: fortuitous, as the billowy surfaces of the naked sheep downs in the south of England, and the wolds in Yorkshire; designed, as the lawns of modern gardening, when they are neither so flat as to be insipid, nor so abrupt as to break the lines and playful undulations of beauty: the billowy surfaces; above-mentioned, on a smaller scale.

"*Observations*. The modern lawn being formed (where any forming is required) merely by freeing the natural surface from incumbrances, doing away the deformities and broken lines which art may have previously occasioned, and clothing the whole with one uniform veil of green sward; of course, no ge-

neral rules of art, no regular plan, no authority being observed in forming such a lawn,—the natural inequalities, or the fortuitous circumstances attending it at the time of forming, give the eventual surface, form, and features of any given ground; so that, like the human face, which may well be deemed the archetype, no two are the same; no monotony can take place: variety must, necessarily, be as endless as the places or lawns thus formed.

"3. *Ornamented beauty*. This, likewise, we find in fortuitous, as well as in designed scenery. We observe it in the richer vallies, and softer scenery, of the forest; very commonly in park scenery; as well as in hanging sheepwalks, broken fortuitously by masses and tufts of wood: which, seen at a proper distance, has sometimes almost all the effect which wood and lawn are capable of giving, and almost all the perfection which the rural art can boast of. Indeed, the most it aspires to is, to render a passage like this, sufficiently beautiful, to bear examination immediately under the eye, and sufficiently ornamental, to be in character and harmony with the architecture, the finishings, and the furniture of the house, whose environs are required to be ornamented.

"*Observations*. If we approach a fortuitous mass of brush-wood, its beauties vanish. At some seasons, a flower perhaps may be found; but at others, nothing is to be seen, but mutilated spray, cropped

ped by the pasturing stock, and half smothered in noxious weeds and rubbish. Even the lawn, which at a distance may appear even and free from obstructions, we shall generally find, in crossing it, fouled with roughnesses, and encumbered with troublesome weeds and shrubs, altogether unfriendly to the female dress.

“ One of the great ends aimed at, in forming an ornamental ground, is to render it an object capable of being examined;—equally satisfactory to the eye on a near view, and commodious to the habits and dress of the more fashionable ranks of the sex; affording them the most natural promenade they can partake of and enjoy. This is done by keeping the beautiful surface smooth and free from obstructions—a carpet of green velvet,—broken and varied by suitable relieves of shrubs and flowers, and partially outlined by loftier trees; furnishing those who traverse it, with something interesting, at every season; and spreading under the windows of the more frequented rooms, or other point of view, a scene which, when animated with the presence of ornamented beauty, certainly becomes, to cultivated minds, one of the most interesting that cultivated nature can exhibit.

“ Such a passage of ornamented nature bears some resemblance to the human face, ornamented with ringlets, flowing in the line of beauty and grace;—to a beautiful horse with his flowing mane and crest, rising in the same graceful line; to the polished vase, richly ornamented; or the Corinthian building with its smooth masonry and relieved embellishments; corresponding with every thing which the human eye has deemed beautiful and ornamental, in nature or art.

“ 4. *Defaced beauty.* Fortuitous beauty may be defaced, by withdrawing the pasturing animals, which give smoothness to the lawn: where the soil is not fertile, changing them from sheep to cattle will generally be sufficient. Designed beauty, in like manner, may be defaced, by withdrawing the sith and roller, and giving up the polished lawn to neglect and the browsing herd; which has a similar effect on beautiful grounds, as withdrawing the brush and comb has on a beautiful horse, and giving him up to neglect and the straw yard; or giving up a beautiful face to neglect and filth; suffering the tear, whether of joy or grief, to furrow the filthy cheek, after the manner of weather stains on neglected buildings; and the hair to hide it partially with its ragged mats, after the manner of tussocks on neglected ruins; and fully stocked with filthy vermin, to give, in their excursions, additional intricacy and variety to the face; not less by their delicious selves, than by the dear pimply roughnesses they may leave behind them.

“ 5. *Ordinary scenery.* This comprises all inclosed lands, in the hands of tenantry. Also the extensive tracts of open common fields, which are still suffered to remain, in different parts of the island; also such portions of commons and wastes, which remain a still greater disgrace to the rural œconomy of these kingdoms,—as are not sufficiently smooth to be beautiful, nor have been formed by fortuitous circumstances, into compositions sufficiently expressive, to be deemed ornamental. Three-fourths, or a much greater proportion, of the surface of this island falls under these descriptions.

“ *Observations.* It is among scenery

nery of the first description, the rural art may best exert its powers; in breaking the monotony, so disgusting to the eye of a traveller of taste; and in giving ornamented beauty, domestic conveniency, and wholesome air, to those who are willing to purchase, and able to enjoy them; and this, in many cases, without injuring, materially, the produce of the land.

"If a place be of the largest order, some extent of park or pasture land ought to embrace the embellished grounds; but, in general, arable inclosures may enter freely into the views from the house; provided the fences and the soil be managed with the accuracy and neatness which are inseparable from good husbandry; and provided suitable masses, groups, and single trees, be left, or planted, to unite such cultivated lands with the ornamented grounds, on the one hand, and with the fortuitous scenery of the given country, on the other.

"This, in some situations, is a matter which is entitled to the first attention; as nothing tends more to harmonize and blend the parts of the general scene, so much, as a proper attention to the hedges and hedgerow timber which mix in it; and no part of rural ornament is executed at less expense. In places of a lower order, this attention alone is capable of producing a sufficient degree of ornament; except immediately about the house.

"6. *Adorned ugliness.* This is chiefly fortuitous, and is peculiar to broken surfaces, and the wilder scenery of nature.

"The ugliest surface is that which we not unfrequently see in mountainous districts; namely, a valley, or wide glen, broken into ill-shaped fragments, separated by waterless giffs, or angular chafms;—their

surfaces in a manner naked of every thing vegetable; shewing a loose gravel or shaley covering, which is made to trickle down their sides, by heavy rains, and by the feet of animals running along the slopes.

"But unflighly as such grounds are, while naked and waterless, they are no longer so, when covered with luxuriant wood, and divided by foaming torrents, rushing down between them.

"If a mountain valley,—instead of being filled with unmeaning fragments, crowded together in its bottom, while its brows are equally tame and inexpressive,—were open at the base, and had its sides formed irregularly, with rocky promontories, but without wood or water,—such a valley, unless when the sun threw its rays across it, from near the horizon, would still have little to interest the attention of any man, and, by men in general, would be deemed ugly. But clothe it suitably with wood, and let a copious stream be seen partially among it, especially if, at intervals, the water should spread itself to the eye, in broad brilliant falls, broken and partially shaded by rocks and wood, and it acquires strength of expression, is viewed with pleasure by ordinary observers, and becomes truly interesting to an eye, conversant in natural scenery: as forming a happy contrast with the softer scenes of cultivated nature; and as affording matter of reflection, on the haunts of men in the savage state, and of gratitude for the train of circumstances which have led them from the mountains to the more fertile plains; which have taught them to cultivate and enjoy the better gifts of nature; and have raised them to a state, as superior to that of savages, as cultivated nature is to the savage scenery

scenery we have just been describing.

"*Observations.* Among scenery like this, art can do but little, with good effect. However, in the higher style of mountain scenery, where the valley has a degree of width and flatness of base, and where the tops of the promontories are likewise flatted, something may be done, without offending. A rustic cottage, judiciously placed in the meadowy bottom, will ever be in character with the scene. If the ruins of a fortress, on the point of a promontory, be hid by wood, the skreen may be broken not formally, as if done by design; but irregularly, as if torn by a hurricane. In the lower part,—towards the mouth,—of a mountain valley opening into an extensive cultivated country, a rustic observatory of unhewn blocks of stone, rearing its head above the natural skreen of wood; especially if it should command, not only the wildnesses of the valley above it, but a broad panorama view of the country below, could not displease the most experienced eye, and would be highly interesting to ordinary observers.

"7. *Ragged ugliness.* This is a style of scenery similar to the last, but less adorned. The rocks scattered, pointed, staring; the trees also scattered, and dismantled, by premature decay, or the fury of the elements; or the natural bleakness of the situation. The underwood checked in its growth; its dead stumps staring above the meagre foliage; and, in patches, cut entirely off; exposing the bare mouldering side of the hill. The water small, and nearly hid among rugged stony fragments; seen partially, rushing down narrow gullies, worn in the shelfy rock: ex-

hibiting altogether a bleak, barren, savage, inhospitable scene; equally forbidding to men and animals; affording, to the human eye, no other gratification than what arises from contrast; nor conveying, to the human mind, any other satisfaction than what gratitude is ever capable of giving.

"8. *Naked ugliness.* This has been already described as the ill-shaped masses of matter, seen in the vallies, or on the shelving sides of mountains, and which are equally destitute of wood, lawn, water, or rock; and as affording to the human eye, viewing them abstractedly on the principles of taste, nothing interesting.

"9. *Greatness.* Nevertheless, mountains themselves, with no better form, and entirely naked, have, as principals, an effect which their subordinates are unable to produce. This peculiar effect we will name greatness.

"10. *Grandeur.* Let their sides be suitably adorned with extensive tracts of wood, and high broad-fronted precipices of rock, they become more interesting, and may be said to impress us with ideas of grandeur.

"11. *Magnificence.* A composition of grandeur,—as two mountains, strongly featured, with bold promontories, rocks, and woods,—separated by a wide rich vale,—watered by a copious river,—issuing from a broad well-margined lake,—every part being interesting, but no part, nor the whole, exciting emotions higher than those of admiration, or some slight degree of astonishment,—might be styled magnificent.

"12. *Sublimity.* This attribute of objects of sight seldom occurs on the face of nature, in its natural state, comparatively with most of those

those which have been enumerated. Mountain scenery, how grand or magnificent it may be, is not, on that account, the more sublime; an extent of water, though wide as the sea itself, will not admit of the epithet, while it remains in a calm unagitated state, any more than will an extent of country covered with snow, unless the idea of unbounded space raise it in some degree: but how infinitely more is this idea capable of exciting it, in viewing space itself,—in beholding the universe,—in looking towards infinity!

“The sublime seems to require that the higher degrees of astonishment should be roused, to demonstrate its presence: a degree of terror, if not of horror, is required to produce the more forcible emotions of the mind, which sublimity is capable of exciting.

“A giant precipice, frowning over its base, whether we view it from beneath, or look downward from its brink, is capable of producing sublime emotions. A river tumbling headlong over such a precipice, especially if it be viewed with difficulty, and a degree of danger, real or imaginary, still heightens those emotions. Lightning, thunder, and hurricanes, may produce them.

“But of all natural scenery, the

ocean, agitated by a violent storm, attended with thunder and lightning, is, perhaps, the most capable of filling the mind with sublime emotions; and most especially the mind of a spectator who is himself exposed on its frail surface; and who is not incapable, either from constant habit, or from an excess of apprehension, of contemplating the scenery which surrounds him.

“On the whole, sublimity must rouse some extraordinary emotion in the mind; it cannot be dwelt on with indifference, by an eye unhabituated to its effects, and a mind possessing the least sensibility. Magnificence, grandeur, or simple greatness, may excite some degree of astonishment; but it must be unmingled with awe; the emotions they excite are of the more pleasurable kind. Ugliness disgusts; yet when adorned, it is capable of giving delight; as a contrast to the more rational gratifications of ornamented beauty. All that simple beauty has to bestow is pleasure, heightened, perhaps, by a degree of admiration. Even simplicity, in a state of polished neatness, is capable of giving a degree of pleasure; but, in a state of slovenliness and neglect, it disgusts, as ugliness, or deformity, which is simplicity, or beauty, disgustingly defaced.”

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

On the CONVERSION of ANIMAL SUBSTANCES into a FATTY MATTER resembling SPERMACETI, by GEORGE SMITH GIBBS, B. A.

[From the Second Part of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, for the Year 1795.]

“IN a paper which the Royal Society have done me the honour of inserting in the last volume of their Transactions, (vide our last volume) I related some experiments on the decomposition of animal muscle. I regret that it has not been in my power to pursue these inquiries with the attention the subject seems to demand. I beg leave, however, to present the few additional facts contained in this paper, not by any means as a full investigation of the subject, but as serving to excite the attention of those, who have more opportunities, and are better qualified to pursue such inquiries.

“I mentioned in my former paper, that the substance procured either by means of water, or the nitrous acid, appeared to me to have precisely the same external characters; but I have observed since, that there is a difference between that which I obtain from quadrupeds, and that which is procured from the human subject: the former seems not disposed to crystallise, while the latter assumes a very beautiful and regular crystalline appearance.

“The matter which I procured

from human muscle was melted, into which I plunged a very sensible thermometer, which soon rose to 160° ; it began congealing at 112° , and became so solid at 110° that the thermometer could not easily be taken out.

“I took some of the spermaceti of the shops, and under the same circumstances I plunged the same thermometer into it. It soon rose to 170° ; a pellicle was formed at the top of it when at 117° ; and it became so solid at 114° , that the thermometer could not easily be taken out.

“I dissolved a piece of the substance, which I had formed by means of water and the nitrous acid, in boiling spirits of wine; on cooling this mixture, a great quantity of this waxy matter was separated in the form of beautiful flakes. I could not procure large crystals, but the flakes assumed a crystalline appearance.

“I put into an earthen retort some of this waxy matter, to which I added some finely powdered charcoal; on applying a pretty strong fire, a small quantity of an oily fluid came over, which concreted on cooling; after which came over a pro-

a prodigious quantity of thick white vapours, which were very suffocating and offensive.

"I had a copper retort made, for the purpose of trying some experiments on this matter. I put a small quantity into it, and placed it on a common fire; there came over first a limpid fluid like water, without much smell; on the addition of more heat, there came over an oily fluid, which soon coagulated, of a firmer consistence than when put in, and coloured of a beautiful green by the copper; this last circumstance proves that it contained no ammonia.

"Having procured some very pure quicksilver, I took a glass, which contained about 10 pounds of that fluid, with which I filled it; I inverted it in a basin, which contained the same fluid; I introduced a small piece of lean meat, and also a small quantity of water; at the end of about six weeks, so great a quantity of gas was disengaged as nearly to occupy the whole of the vessel; the meat had assumed a white appearance.

"Since I mentioned my former experiments on the cow, which I had submitted to the action of running water, I have observed a few facts relating to the changes which took place. This cow was placed in a situation where the water could come twice every day, as before described; over it some loose earth was thrown: after it had remained some time in this place, I used frequently to push a stick through this earth to the cow; every time this was done there came up a prodigious quantity of air, after I had suffered it to remain quiet for a short time. Since I put this cow in this situation, I have had two horses and another cow placed un-

der the same circumstances; in all of them this disengagement of air takes place; this air is extremely offensive.

"In the former cow the whole muscular part seemed changed; and from the substance formed I have procured a very large quantity of a waxy substance by means of the nitrous acid. Though the nitrous acid takes off the greatest part of the foetor from the substance thus formed, yet it gives it a yellow colour which is with difficulty removed, and a peculiar smell, evidently similar to the smell of the acid employed, which mere washing and the addition of alkalies will not entirely remove.

"My father, who has been indefatigable in his attempts to whiten this substance, finds that the following process will make it very pure, and very beautiful, though not so white as the spermaceti of the shops. The cow, which had lain in the water for a year and an half, was taken up, and we found that the whole muscular part was perfectly changed into a white matter; this was broken into small pieces, and was exposed to the action of the sun and air for a considerable length of time. By these means it lost a great deal of its smell, and seemed to acquire a firmer consistence. The appearance of this substance was somewhat singular; for on breaking it, we found little filaments running in every direction, exactly similar to the cellular substance between the muscular fibres. These pieces were then beaten to a fine powder, and on this powder was poured some diluted nitrous acid; after the acid had been on it for about an hour, a froth was formed at the top; the acid was then poured off, and the substance

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substance

substance was repeatedly washed; it was then melted in hot water, and when it concreted it was of a very beautiful straw-colour, without the least offensive smell; on the contrary, it had the agreeable smell of the best spermaceti. May not this substance be applied as an article of commerce? Great quantities of it may be obtained. It burns with a fine flame; and dead animals, which at present are of little or no use, may be changed into it. I am very sorry that it has not been in my power to ascertain the precise quantity which may be obtained from a given quantity of flesh; but from what I have obtained, I can say that it would be very considerable. The running water carries off a great deal of it, but that might be obviated by the addition of strainers. Moreover, that which is carried off by the water is the purest, for I always take care to get as much as possible of it, because I find it gives me less trouble in purifying it. The water over the animals, and for some distance round them, is covered with a very beautiful pellicle, which is white in general; sometimes it refracts the sun's rays, producing the prismatic colours.

"Fish may be also changed; and I recollect having seen in some old author, whose name I cannot recollect, a passage in which he mentions a circumstance where something of this kind happened in a whale. He says, that after this fish has been putrifying on the shore some time, the people have a secret by which they can procure and purify lumps, which they find to be similar to the spermaceti which they get in the usual way.

"I have heard from many people, observations which they had made where this substance had been

formed, and which they could not account for; but as the circumstances were the same as those beforementioned, I shall forbear giving additional trouble.

"On seeing a body opened some time ago, where there was a great collection of water in the cavity of the thorax, I observed that the surface of the lungs was covered with a whitish crust. I remarked to a friend, that I thought this crust was owing to some combinations which had taken place between the lungs or pleura and the serous fluid effused, similar to what I had observed between flesh and water; or that the serous fluid had acted on the coagulable matter, and had produced a similar change.

"Dr. Cleghorn mentions a circumstance, which in some measure seems to agree with the observation then made. As the fact is a curious one, I shall subjoin the following extract. He is speaking of abscesses formed in the lungs. 'These abscesses had sometimes emptied themselves into the cavity of the thorax, so that the lungs floated in purulent serum, their external membrane, and likewise the pleura, being greatly thickened, and converted as it were into a white crust, like melted tallow grown cold.' In a note he says, 'I am now doubtful if this crust was the pleura and external coat of the lungs, changed from a natural state by soaking in a purulent fluid, and if it was not altogether a preternatural substance, formed by fluids deposited on those membranes, and compacted together by the motion of the lungs.'

"Much has been said by many authors on the subject of secretion. It was at one time supposed that it depended on some peculiar property

METHOD of preparing a SULPHUREOUS MEDICINAL WATER. [147]

property of the living principle; and it was thought impossible to form any secretion but through the medium of secreting organs. M. Fourcroy has, however, contradicted this by the experiments where he forms bile.

"Spermaceti is an animal substance, secreted in a particular species of whale, and the substance which is formed in the foregoing experiments, as far as I can judge, agrees with it in every particular.

"M. Fourcroy says, that M. Poullietier de la Salle found a crystallized inflammable substance similar to spermaceti in biliary calculi.

"May not the suety matter in steatomatous tumours arise from something of this kind?

"By attending to the various secretions of the body, by examining their composition in the healthy and morbid states of the system, may we not expect to derive great advantage, particularly when accurate experiments are applied towards the relief of disease?

"Some excuse may perhaps seem necessary for the little attention which had been paid to the accurate results in the different experiments; particularly so, as the analysis of every part of the animal body, except the bones, is at present so incomplete; but I hope that the time necessary for my medical pursuits, and the want of a complete chemical apparatus, will not render the simple facts I have here related less useful.

"I have not attempted to account for the various phenomena which appear in the experiments, because the facts seem too few to admit of any general conclusion.

"If the above experiments should appear to the society worthy of their attention, the application of my former experiments, and the results of some which I hope to make, on some animals that are placed under different circumstances favourable to their decomposition, shall be the basis of a future paper."

METHOD of preparing a SULPHUREOUS MEDICINAL WATER, by the REVEREND EDWARD KENNEY.

[From the Fifth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.]

"CHEMISTS differ in opinion concerning the process of nature in the formation of sulphureous waters. Whilst all agree that sulphur by itself is not soluble in water, some consider sulphureous waters as impregnated by the fumes only of sulphur: others assert that these waters contain sulphur combined with an alkali; and each party thinks, and possibly justly, that its opinion respecting particular

waters is supported by the analysis of them. Artificial sulphureous waters have often been prepared on the former of these principles; and they have been prepared on the two principles combined by M. Le Roy of Montpellier, who applied a strong and continued heat to water mixed with small quantities of sulphur and magnesia, until the fumes of the sulphur had strongly impregnated the water.

"My method is founded on the second principle. Its simplicity, and the probability that it is similar to that pursued by nature in the formation of some of the most powerful sulphureous waters, induced me to make trial of it. The same considerations may possibly be deemed by gentlemen of the medical faculty a recommendation of this artificial medicinal water for trial in the course of their practice.

"The method is this: Mix sulphur and magnesia, in the proportion of four drachms of each, with one quart of cold water. Care must be taken that every particle of the sulphur and magnesia be made so wet as that none shall float. Pour this mixture into a vessel in which it may be conveniently shaken several times every day during the space of three weeks. Let it then settle for two days, and rack off the liquor. This, first racked off from the sulphur and magnesia, will be of the colour of water, and free from any bad smell. If a like quantity of water be poured into the vessel in which the magnesia and sulphur remain, and be frequently shaken, it will in a fortnight be found to be as strongly impregnated as the former; and in like manner may many successive impregnated liquors be obtained; but they will differ from the first in having a yellow tinge and emitting a foetid odour. However, in their component parts and medicinal properties, all these impregnated liquors seem to me, from the trials I have made of them, perfectly to agree. These liquors almost instantly change the colour of silver. They are most effectually decomposed by powdered nutgalls and alum, the alum being added a few minutes after the nutgall. In

this process a very copious precipitation ensues.

"Flowers of sulphur and magnesia are to be mixed with water in the proportion of four drachms of each to a quart of water. They should previously be ground together in a glass mortar, for the purpose of breaking all the small lumps of sulphur which would otherwise float on the water. They should then be gradually wetted with the water, and worked up with it by the hand. When so mixed, as that none of the sulphur floats, the whole is to be poured into a close vessel, in which it may conveniently be shaken two or three times every day for three weeks. After that time it is to settle for two days, and then the liquid to be racked off fine. The same ingredients will impregnate the like quantity of water two or three times, to an equal degree of strength, in a space of time somewhat shorter than the first.

"N. B. I have not found that the finest, light, white, magnesia, succeeds as well as a darker and heavier sort.

"The liquid thus racked off contains in solution what may be named a magnesiatic liver of sulphur.

"Some powdered nutgalls being mixed with this liquid, and afterwards some alum, the water is by their styptic quality rendered incapable of holding the magnesiatic liver of sulphur in solution: the latter is therefore precipitated, but not decomposed.

"One ounce of this solution of magnesiatic liver of sulphur, mixt with a quart of pure water free from any styptic or acid mixture, makes a medicinal sulphureous water fit for use. If an acid be added to it, it decomposes the liver of sulphur, uniting

uniting with the magnesia to form a sal catharticus amarus. Fixed air would therefore be an improper addition to this medicinal water.

"A grown person may take of this medicinal water, at first, half a noggin twice in the day; and gradually increase the quantity to three noggins in the day. I have not known it to cause the head-ach in any person except myself; and I have always been immediately relieved by taking six grains of camphor and six drops of ether in honey and water.

"I have had ample experience of the efficacy of this medicinal water in the cure of those disorders which are sometimes called the land scurvy, and sometimes said to proceed from impurities of the blood; such as eruptions on the head; the herpes exedens; a white, dry, scaly scurf; and those various infectious eruptions which in Scotland are named the fibbens, and amongst the common people of this country pass under a variety of names.

"The itch is also effectually cured by this water.

"It has had remarkably good effects in the few cases of scrofula in which I have had opportunity of trying it.

"In every case of worms in which I tried it, and they have

not been few, it has destroyed them; those particularly called ascarides. In some of those cases the patients were in a state of high fever when they took this medicine. This is the only case in which I give this water whilst symptoms of fever are perceivable.

"I have also found this water to be very successful in the cure of the chronic rheumatism.

"I have thus, my dear sir, noted down the particulars which you wished me to commit to writing for you, and am

Your very affectionate,
Humble Servant,
EDWARD KENNEY.

"THE method of preparing the medicinal sulphureous water from this strongly impregnated liquor is very simple, being as follows, viz.

"Mix one ounce of the impregnated liquor with twelve ounces of cold water.

"This medicinal water should be used with caution. Two ounces at a time may be, in general, a proper quantity for a person to begin with.

"The strongly impregnated liquor, and the medicinal water prepared from it, may be kept a long time unimpaired.

Moviddy, Cork, Edw. KENNEY.
Jan. 28, 1793.

ACCOUNT of the CINNAMON of CEYLON.

[From the Fourth Volume of PROFESSOR THUNBERG's TRAVELS in EUROPE, AFRICA, and ASIA.]

"CINNAMON is the chief commodity which the East India company fetch from this island; and the bark of this spice is here finer and more valuable than in any other place in the world. All prime cinnamon is taken from the *Laurus*

Cinnamomum, a tree of a middling height and size. It is distinguished by broader and more obtuse leaves from the *Laurus Cassia*, which yields a coarser kind of cinnamon, and seems to be merely a variety of the former. It is so much the more

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probable, that the coarser and finer cinnamon, or the *Laurus Cinnamomum* and *Cassia*, are merely different varieties, arising from the climate, and especially from the soil; as Ceylon itself does not commonly yield cinnamon of an equally good quality, throughout the whole island, and in all its various tracts. The south-west angle of the island is the only part which produces the finer sort of this pleasant and excellent cordial spice; and the places, whence it is chiefly procured, are near Negumbo, Columbo, Caltere, Barbary, Gale, and Mature, all which lie along and near the sea-coast. The cinnamon, which the more inland parts produce, is always coarser, thicker, more pungent, and biting to the tongue.

"I visited, out of the town, the governor's villa, which is called Pafs, and consists of an elegant house, and a large pleasure-garden, in which cinnamon has been planted for several years back. The cinnamon-tree grows in abundance in the woods, and has been propagated without the adventitious aid of art. The Europeans have believed, and the Cingalese even maintained, that cinnamon, to be good, must always grow wild, and be left to itself, and, that when planted, it neither thrives nor continues to be genuine. The tree is propagated in its wild state by birds, which eat the soft berries, (the kernels of which do not dissolve in their gizzards), and afterwards disperse and plant them up and down in the woods. This prejudice prevailed till the end of the sixteenth century, when the governor, Yman Wilhelm Falck, first made the attempt, in small, to rear cinnamon-trees by art, in this garden at Pafs. The berries were then sown, which grew up well and quickly, but had

the untoward fate, that the plants some time after withered and died. On accurately investigating the cause of this, it appeared, that a Ceylonese, who earned his livelihood by barking cinnamon in the woods, and saw with vexation the planting of it, which, in time, would render the gathering of it more easy and convenient, had secretly besprinkled them in the night with warm water. After the discovery of this stratagem, the governor caused again, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, several berries to be planted, and in several places, both upon a small and large scale, which grew up, thrived well, and had already yielded several crops of cinnamon: Thus several thousand cinnamon-trees were now seen in this garden, and in this garden alone, to thrive and turn out to be of a good sort.

"Marendán is the name given by the Cingalese to the sandy downs along the sea-coast. The cinnamon which grows in these sandy plains, is accounted the best and most delicate. When the tree is cut down here, and fire afterwards made on the spot, the roots shoot up again in long, strait shoots, which yield an incomparably fine cinnamon-bark. And from these shoots come the so called cinnamon walking-sticks, which in appearance resemble those from the hazel-tree, but of which the bark has a cinnamon-smell, whenever it is rubbed. I several times received such sticks, by way of presents, although it is said they are scarcely allowed to be exported.

"The cinnamon-leaf has a strong scent of cloves; the root, on the other hand, which, by means of sublimation, yields camphor, smells altogether like sassafras. Cinnamon is generally called by the Cingalese Kurundu,

Kurundu, and is said now to be greatly diminished in the woods, compared to what it was in former times, so much indeed, that the cinnamon-bark-ers, for several years, have not been able to procure the quantity required."

"Before the cinnamon is packed up, it must always first be examined by surgeons appointed for that purpose, as well by the surgeon who resides at the place where the package is made, as by him that accompanies the ship: I had very frequently an opportunity, in the course of this year, to assist at this employment, and was obliged afterward, in conjunction with the others, to be responsible for the goodness of the cinnamon. From each bundle a few sticks are taken out, which are examined by chewing, and by the taste. This office is very disagreeable and troublesome, because the cinnamon deprives the tongue and lips of all the mucus with which they are covered, and causes afterwards an intolerable pain, which prevents one from going on any farther with the examination. So that one must perform this business with great caution, and at the same time eat a piece of bread and butter between whiles, which in some measure mitigates the pain. It is but seldom that one is able to hold out two or three days successively.

"The superfine cinnamon is known by the following properties, viz. in the first place, it is thin, and rather pliable; it ought commonly to be about the substance of royal paper, or something thicker. Secondly, it is of a light colour, and rather inclinable to yellow, bordering but little upon the brown. Thirdly, it possesses a sweetish taste, and at the same time is not stronger than

can be borne without pain, and is not succeeded by any after-taste.

"The more the cinnamon departs from these characteristics, the coarser, and less serviceable it is esteemed; as for instance: in the first place, if it be hard and as thick as a half crown piece: secondly, if it be very dark or brown: thirdly, if it be very pungent and hot upon the tongue, with a taste bordering upon that of cloves, so that one cannot suffer it without pain, and so that the mucus upon the tongue is consumed by it, when one makes several trials of it; fourthly, if it has any after-taste, such as to be harsh, bitter, or mucilaginous.

"Such are the sorts of cinnamon, when they are selected from the store-houses, and sorted for exportation; but the barkers, who examine the cinnamon-trees in the woods, and strip off the bark, speak of more and different sorts of cinnamon, the leaves of which, in their external appearance, bear some resemblance to each other, and are not all used indiscriminately for barking, but are picked and pointed out by those that are judges of the matter. These cinnamon-bark-ers are called, in the Cingalese language, Schjalias.

"The sorts of cinnamon which the Schjalias reckon, are the following ten:

"1. Rasse Curundu, or Penni Curundu, i. e. honey-cinnamon, which is the best and most agreeable, and has large, broad, and thick leaves.

"2. Nai Curundu, or snake-cinnamon (Slange-Canel), which approaches nearest to the former, in deliciousness of flavor, (although it does not absolutely arrive at the same degree) and has also large leaves.

"3. Capuru Curundu, or camphor-cinnamon; this sort is only to be found in the king's lands, and from its root camphor is distilled.

"4. Cabatte Curundu, that is, astringent or austere cinnamon; it has rather smaller leaves than the former sorts. These four sorts, which are all together from one and the same species of *Laurus Cinnamomum*, are nothing more than varieties, nearly resembling each other, which are distinguished by the Schjalias merely by the taste, and are the only ones, which ought to be barked, and indeed can be barked, for good cinnamon.

"The following sorts, on the other hand, are never barked at all:

"5. Sævel Curundu, that is, mucilaginous cinnamon, the bark of which, when chewed, has a mucous slimy after-taste, like a mucilage. The bark of this is soft, and of a fibrous, or stringy texture, and not so compact nor firm as that of the others: it is likewise tough, and bends easily, without immediately breaking. This is likewise a variety of the *Laurus Cinnamomum*.

"6. Dawul Curundu, that is flat, or broad cinnamon; which name it bears, because the bark, in drying, does not roll itself up together, but remains flat. This sort is from the *Laurus Cassia*.

"7. Nica Curundu, i. e. cinnamon with leaves which resembles the *Nicacol*, or *Vitex Negundo*, viz. in being lanceolate, or long and narrow. This seems to be a variety of the *Laurus Camphora*.

"Besides these seven sorts, they reckon yet three more, which obviously differ from the genuine cinnamon. And indeed one may immediately see, that they can in no wise with justice be reckoned among the cinnamon-trees. Of these I have seen one sort only, viz. the

Thorn-cinnamon: the other sorts are very rare, and are found only in the emperor's domains.

"8. Caturu Curundu, i. e. Thorn-Cinnamon (*Dorn Canel*): this is of a quite different genus from the *Laurus*, and the bark has not the least taste of cinnamon. The leaves bear no resemblance to the *Laurus*, and the branches have thorns (*spinæ*) upon them.

"9. Mal Curundu, or bloom-cinnamon, and

"10. Tompat Curundu, i. e. trefoil cinnamon: because the leaves are said to divide towards the top into three laciniae.

"Cinnamon is barked in the woods at two different seasons of the year. The first is termed the grand harvest, and lasts from April to August: the second is the small harvest, and lasts from November to the month of January.

"It is in the woods on the company's own domains, that the Schjalias seek and peel the cinnamon bark; although it sometimes happens that they steal into the emperor's woods, and at times go as far as within half a league of Candi, in order to fetch it; but if they chance in the latter case to be discovered and taken, they must expect to have their nose and ears cut off.

"Each district or hamlet in the company's dominions is bound to bark and furnish yearly a certain stated quantity of cinnamon; whereas the Cingalese there have a certain portion of land rent-free, to cultivate and inhabit, with other privileges. Over a certain number of Schjalias are placed other superior officers, who have the inspection over them and the cinnamon, and are likewise authorized to punish small offences. Over all together is placed a European, who is called their captain (*Hoofd der Maha*,

Mahabaddé, or frequently in common discourse captain Cinnamon), who receives and is answerable to the company for all the cinnamon. He is likewise vested with authority to try and punish offences of a deeper die.

“The barking of cinnamon is performed in the following manner: first, a good cinnamon-tree is looked out for, and chosen by the leaves and other characteristics: those branches which are three years old, are lopped off with a common crooked pruning knife. Secondly, from the twigs that have been lopped off, the outside pellicle (epidermis) of the bark is scraped off with another knife, which is convex on one edge, and concave on the other, with a sharp point at the end, and sharp at both edges. Thirdly, after the bark has been scraped, the twigs are ripped up longways with the point of the knife, and the bark gradually loosened from them with the convex edge of the knife, till it can be entirely taken off. Fourthly, the bark being peeled off, is gathered up together, several smaller tubes or quills of it are inserted into the larger, and thus spread out to dry, when the bark of its own accord rolls itself up still closer together, and is then tied up in bundles, and finally carried off. All these offices are not performed by one single man, but the labour is divided among several. The Schjalias afterwards deliver the cinnamon into store-houses, erected in several places by the company, for that purpose, whither it is either carried by porters, or, where there are rivers, transported in boats. Each bundle is at this time bound round with three slender rattans, and weighs about thirty pounds. In the store-

houses these bundles are laid up in heaps, a separate heap for each village, and covered with batten mats.

“When the ships are afterwards ready to take in their lading of cinnamon, it is packed up, after having previously undergone an examination. Each bundle is then made nearly of the length of four feet, and is weighed off to eighty-five pounds neat: although it is afterwards marked and reckoned for only eighty pounds; so that five pounds are allowed for loss by drying during the voyage. Subsequently to its being well secured and tied hard round with cords, the bundle is afterwards sewed up in two sacks, the one within the other, on which latter are marked its weight and the place where it was packed up. These sacks ought not to be made of sail-cloth, or linen, but of wool, or such as in India bear the name of Gunjesakken, from which the cinnamon receives no injury in the transportation.

From the store-houses the sacks of cinnamon are carried to the ships, and after they have been stowed in there with other goods, loose black pepper is sprinkled over them, to fill up every hole and interstice. The pepper, which is of a dry and hot quality, attracts to itself, during the voyage, the moisture of the cinnamon, and has been found, by these means, not only to preserve the cinnamon in its original goodness, but even to increase its strength.

Cinnamon-plantations, towards the end of the sixth, and beginning of the seventh decennium, of the present century, have, by the wife, provident, and unwearied exertions of governor Falck, been established in several places, where many thousands

sands of trees have been reared in sandy ground, which is the soil the best adapted of any to cinnamon. At Situwaka, which lies on the boundaries between the emperor's domains in Candi and the territories of the company, there are very large cinnamon grounds, from whence cinnamon has been already three times barked, and from which likewise this year a quantity was sent to Europe. At Pafs, which is a county-seat belonging to the governor, not far from Columbo, and even out before the town and forests of Columbo itself, one may see similar plantations. At Kature and Mature I had now an opportunity of seeing with my own eyes, exceedingly large plantations of cinnamon, which had been established two or three years before. When all these, and several more of the same kind shall have attained their full growth, it will be inconceivably more convenient for the Dutch East India company to fetch their cinnamon from a garden, where the trees stand at proper distances and in rows, than for the Schjalias to creep about far and wide in the pathless woods to seek and procure it. Add to this, that the cinnamon in the woods is greatly reduced in quantity, compared to former times; which is partly owing to this, that the portions of land which yielded the best cinnamon have been taken for other uses, and partly, that the cinnamon-trees in the wild forests were left without any guard.

After the cinnamon in Columbo has been packed up, the distilling of the oils commences. Oil of cinnamon, the dearest and most excellent of oils, is distilled nowhere but in the company's laboratory in Columbo, from the fragments and small pieces of cinnamon, which

break off and fall from it, during the packing of it. This dust and refuse is laid in large tubs, and a quantity of water poured upon it, sufficient to cover it completely. In this manner it is left in several different tubs, which are got ready in daily succession, for six or eight days together, to macerate. One of these tubs commonly holds one hundred pounds weight of cinnamon-dust. All this is poured, a little at a time, into a copper alembic, and drawn off with a slow fire. The water, called Aqua Cinnamonomi, then comes over quite white, nearly of the colour of milk, together with the oil, which floats at top in the open glass recipient placed underneath. A tub is distilled off every four-and-twenty hours. During the whole time of distilling, two commissaries, or members of the council of justice, are appointed to be alternately present, although this is not precisely the case: but they come mostly every time that the oil is to be separated from the water. Upon this the oil is poured into a bottle, which the commissaries seal, and keep in a chest, which is likewise sealed by them. In this manner the apothecary cannot have access to embezzle any, unless he takes care to provide himself with some out of the recipient, before the commissaries attend. I was at great pains to ascertain, how much oil is procured from a hundred weight of cinnamon-dust, but constantly without effect; as it is against the apothecary's interest to let this be known. Thus much however is certain, that cinnamon does not yield much oil, in proportion to other spices, and that therefore such cinnamon as is useful, cannot be employed for this purpose; but only

ly the refuse, that cannot be sent to Europe. The oil was sold here on the spot for nine and three-fourths of a Dutch ducat per ounce. It is in the present case of a pale yellow colour, and not of a dark brown, which it generally is, when extracted from the coarser kind of cinnamon. The other parts of the cinnamon tree, besides the bark, are neither used for cinnamon, nor yet for oil. The wood of the tree is of a loose and porous texture, and handsome enough: when sawed into planks, it is sometimes manufactured into caddies, and the like; but its scent does not secure it from the attacks of worms."

ANTIQUITIES.

SKETCH of the MILITARY HISTORY of FRANCE, and the ATROCITIES connected with it, during the Age of HENRY III.

[From the Second Volume of the HISTORY of FRANCE, from the ACCESSION of HENRY III. to the Death of LOUIS XIV. by NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL.]

“BEFORE the accession of Francis the First, in 1515, the French kings can scarcely be said to have possessed any permanent military force. The conquest of Naples, and the battle of Fornova, under Charles the Eighth, were gained by the impetuosity and valor of the cavalry, composed principally of nobility, who overbore the feeble and unwarlike Italians. Louis the Twelfth conquered the Milanese, and beat the Venetians at Ghierra d'Adda, with troops formed upon similar principles. But, when it became necessary to carry on war for several campaigns, in Flanders, Italy, and Germany, against the veteran, and formidable Spanish bands of the emperor Charles the Fifth; a new system was adopted. The infantry, which antecedently had been neglected and despised, rose into consideration; though the cavalry still continued to be the favourite service for the young nobility. Nothing could be more grotesque and savage than the dress and appearance of the ancient foot soldiers, under Charles the Eighth, in 1495. They wore their hair long and floating on their shoulders, in order to increase the fierceness of their aspect;

together with shirts, which had large hanging sleeves, and which they continued to wear for several months, without washing. It was a distinctive mark of their profession to go without stockings, or, at least, with one leg bare. Even the officers and captains adhered to this badge of the infantry. They commonly carried their stockings tied, or hanging at their girdles. As late as the time of Henry the Second, in 1552, when the foot soldiers were dressed and disciplined in a much superior manner; it was customary for the officers and private men to cut their stockings at the knee, when going to the assault of a town. As their dress, from the waist to the ankle, consisted only of one piece, it facilitated their scaling a wall, or mounting a breach.

“Cross-bows, with which the infantry were principally armed, till the close of the fifteenth century, fell then into disuse; and the arquebuses was substituted in their place, when powder became common: but, the French foot were, for a long time, far from attaining any dexterity in the use of fire-arms. Under Louis the Twelfth, no intermediate military rank, or title

title between a captain and a general, was yet invented. Colonels and quarter-masters were unknown. The famous chevalier Bayard commanded a thousand foot in 1507, as a simple captain. But, eight years afterwards, in 1515, at the battle of Marignan, under Francis the First, Claude, count of Guise, is said to have commanded six thousand German auxiliaries, as colonel. It was not before the year 1542, at the siege of Perpignan, that the office of colonel began to be generally known. Brisac was then created colonel of the French infantry.

"Quarter-masters were soon after instituted in imitation of the Spaniards. Montluc was the first, in 1545, and the only one in all France before the accession of Henry the Second, in 1547; after which period, others were successively named. Charles the Ninth, or, rather, Catharine of Medicis, in 1562, divided the office, and created three quarter-masters for the French infantry. They seem to have remained at that number, under Henry the Third. The employment of colonel-general of the French infantry, originated towards the close of the reign of Francis the First; and the celebrated Gaspard de Chatillon, better known as the admiral Coligny, was the second who ever occupied the situation. Even his enemies admitted, that to his wholesome severity, and excellent regulations, was due the discipline introduced among the foot. Before his appointment, they subsisted by pillage, rapine, and every sort of violence. To correct the evil, he made some terrible examples; and in 1552, when Henry the Second undertook the expedition against Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the trees were covered with

soldiers, hung upon the branches for infraction of orders, and excesses committed upon the peasants. But, the commencement of the civil wars, about ten years afterwards, was the term of their discipline; and it soon became impossible for either Catholics or Protestants to restrain the enormous depredations, murders, and profanations, committed by the soldiery. Under Henry the Third, long habit had confirmed them, and rendered the evil almost irremediable,

"The principal cause, nevertheless, of these excesses, resulted from the want of regular pay. During the whole of the sixteenth century, and particularly, between 1560 and 1590, when the dissensions of France impoverished the crown, and exhausted the treasury, the army was frequently left unpaid for several months. The duke of Nevers seems to think, that soldiers who receive annually ten months pay, instead of twelve, have reason to be highly satisfied. The officers were equally deprived of their appointments; and the wretched people became the victims of the incapacity of the sovereign to maintain the national forces. Even Philip the Second, though master of Peru, and possessing the treasures of the New World, in addition to his vast revenues in Spain, Italy and Flanders, left his troops continually in arrears; and saw the fairest cities of the Netherlands desolated, or pillaged by his own soldiers, driven to desperation from the detention of their pay. It cannot, therefore, excite wonder, that the kings of France should be unable to defray the expence of the armies, which they were obliged to retain, in a time of universal insurrection. How deplorable was the condition of the royal forces, employed

employed against the Hugonots in Poitou, in December, 1588, we may see in the Memoirs of Nevers. 'The men at arms,' say he, are 'not paid; and their sufferings are extreme, from the rigour of the season. Provisions, and even bread, are wanting. The greater part of the infantry are without cloaths, shoes, or stockings; and the men at arms say, that they are assembled for their own destruction, not for that of the protestants.' To encrease the calamity, no provision or subsistence was allowed to the officers and soldiers, when age, wounds, and infirmities, had disqualified them for active service. Many, even among the former description, at the cessation of a war, when a great proportion of the troops was disbanded, either sought foreign service; or went over to the Turks, who gladly received them; or committed piracies on the seas; or, lastly, embraced mechanical and mercantile professions. These last were, however, considered as degrading, by such a conduct, the honorable profession of arms.

"The cavalry was a far more splendid, expensive, and fashionable service than the infantry, during the sixteenth century. All the young men of the court served in it by preference, and frequently at their own expence. Their armor, dress, and accoutrements were usually superb. When Strozzi brought a troop of two hundred horsemen to Francis the First, equipped, mounted, and provided entirely at his own cost, they were the admiration of the French monarch. Their helmets and corselets were gilt, and every man had two horses. Strozzi expended twenty-five thousand crowns in forming this body, which he long continued

to maintain without any assistance from the crown. During the reign of Henry the Second, when Savoy and Piedmont were occupied by the French, that country was regarded as the school for military education and improvement. The private soldiers became rich, by the plunder of the numerous towns and castles, captured from the enemy; and they laid out the money acquired by their valor, in decorations of every kind, suitable to their profession. Fifty of them in one company had bonnets of red velvet, ornamented with gold; chains of the same metal round their necks, and velvet scarfs. A corporal, belonging to the colonel's own company, appeared at mass, dressed in green satin, and having his drawers buttoned down to his shoes, with double ducats, angels, and nobles. All these marks of opulence disappeared after the beginning of the civil wars, which produced general poverty, relaxation of discipline, and dissolution of manners, not only among the soldiery, but, through every rank of society.

"The arms, offensive and defensive, used by the troops, underwent a considerable change, between the accession of Francis the First in 1515, and the death of Henry the Third, in 1589. Pikes, the antient weapon of the infantry, gave place to the arquebuss: while, in the cavalry, lances were gradually and reluctantly changed for the pistol. Tavannes, about the year 1567, contributed principally to the latter alteration. Corselets were, likewise, in a great measure, abandoned by the infantry under Charles the Ninth. After the use of fire-arms became general, every part of defensive armor was fabricated in a manner so massive, that it was impossible

possible for the youngest, or most vigorous soldiers, long to sustain its weight. Under Francis the First, the oldest officers supported the fatigue of a whole day, completely armed: but, before 1580, it was accounted a great exertion to remain two hours in a coat of mail. The art of destroying kept pace with the art of defending. Stuart, a Scottish gentleman, and a Hugonot, who is celebrated for having mortally wounded the constable Montmorency; discovered a mode of fabricating balls of such a composition, that scarcely any armor, however exquisitely tempered, could resist their force, when discharged from a pistol. They were called "Stuardes," from the name of their inventor.

"At the famous judicial combat, or duel, between Jarnac and La Chataigneraye, fought in 1547, under Henry the Second, the defensive arms were first delivered to the two combatants, and afterwards the offensive weapons, with the utmost solemnity, in presence of the king, the constable, and the whole court. It excites astonishment, that under the pressure of so vast a weight, they exerted such agility and dexterity. Morions, or helmets, which were universally worn at that period, fell much into disuse, before the end of Henry the Third's reign. The arquebus was the principal offensive weapon, which decided the fate of battles in the sixteenth century. D'Andelot first introduced them among the French infantry, about the middle of the reign of Henry the Second, on his return from Milan, where he had been detained during several years, a prisoner; and Strozzi, who became colonel-general of the infantry, in 1569, on D'Andelot's death, rendered them general. But,

as the best were fabricated at Milan, it was long before a sufficient number could be procured to arm all the foot soldiers. Brantome expressly says, that the arquebuses would kill at the distance of four hundred paces. They were gradually supplanted by the musquet, which does not seem to have been known in France before 1571, or the following year. To Strozzi was, in like manner, due their introduction; but, he found the utmost repugnance in effecting their reception among the troops. In order to overcome it, he himself, in 1573, at the siege of Rochelle, always had one carried by a page, or lacquey, wherever he went. His example soon vanquished, in a considerable degree, the reluctance of his men; more especially, when they saw him frequently kill even a horse, at five hundred paces distant, with a musquet. Henry, duke of Guise, likewise, by constantly using the same weapon, facilitated its progress among the troops. The principal objection to them was their weight, which so fatigued the soldier, that, among the Spaniards, every musqueteer was allowed a follower to carry it, during a march.

"The first institution of guards, as distinct from the other forces, was due to Charles the Ninth, or to Catherine of Medicis, his mother; who, in 1563, formed one regiment under the command of Charry, as quarter-master: they consisted of ten companies, and were, by the king's express direction, taken from under the controul or orders of the colonel-general of the infantry, in order to depend wholly and exclusively on the sovereign, whose body-guard they constituted. In 1573, the same prince broke them; but, he issued directions to levy two companies anew, for his protection,

in 1574; a short time before his decease. We find, from the *Memoirs of the Duke of Nevers*, that in 1577, Henry the Third kept in regular pay, twelve hundred Swiss guards, two hundred archers, and a hundred gentlemen of his household. Yet, ten years afterwards, it appears, that there were only about three hundred men in the regiment of guards, which usually mounted at the palace of the Louvre, together with a few archers on horseback. In order more effectually to secure himself against the enterprises of the League, he had, before that time, created the famous band of forty-five; so denominated from the number of which it was composed. They were all gentlemen by birth, of approved valor, and mostly Gascons, recommended by the duke of Epernon. Henry never moved without them; gave them, each, a hundred crowns of gold monthly, besides other gratifications; and entrusted his person entirely to their fidelity. During the night, they always were stationed in the antichamber of his apartment; and by their hands the duke of Guise was finally immolated to the resentment of their master.

“During the course of the civil wars under the two last kings of the family of Valois, the nobility served, in a great measure, on both sides, either from loyalty, or zeal for their religion, or gratitude, or attachment to their respective leaders. Plunder supplied the want of regular pay, among the officers and men; who, inflamed by civil and religious animosity to a pitch of frenzy, were raised above considerations of a pecuniary and mercenary nature. On the side of the Hugonots, incredible instances of this spirit might be adduced. We

need only recollect the memorable one which took place in 1568, when the German auxiliaries came to the assistance of the prince of Condé. Those stipendiaries refused to join the Protestant army, notwithstanding the similarity of their faith, till they had received payment of fifty thousand crowns. The prince was destitute of money; and the greatest Hugonot nobles in his camp, had the utmost difficulty to provide a miserable, and precarious subsistence. In this extremity, Condé and Coligni having cheerfully sacrificed all their plate and jewels, the example was imitated by the officers and soldiers. Even the pages and lacqueys tore the ear-rings from their ears, to augment the general mass; and a common footman had the incredible generosity to contribute ten crowns. By this means, a sum amounting to about four thousand pounds sterling, was raised, and immediately given to the Germans. No similar act of disinterestedness and enthusiasm is to be found in the most shining periods of Greece and Rome.

“One natural, and necessary consequence of the voluntary service performed by the nobility in the field, was, that they quitted the army at pleasure, and could never be retained long under the standard. No entreaties, nor commands, were sufficiently powerful to compel their stay, when fatigue, or business, or attention to their domestic concerns, called them to their castles. To cite proofs of this fact, would be to relate the history of every campaign. Even Coligni, whose ascendancy over the Protestants, after the prince of Condé's death at Jarnac, was such as to approach to despotism; yet, could not cure an evil, inherent in the nature

nature of the military profession: nor was the effect of victory itself sufficient to induce the conquerors to pursue their triumph. After the battle of Coutras, in 1587, gained by the king of Navarre over the duke of Joyeuse; instead of profiting of so signal an advantage, that prince was instantly deserted by all the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, who formed the principal strength of his forces. Far from marching, as he might be expected to have done, towards the Loire, he returned, the very next day, into Gascony.

"A melancholy effect of the rancour subsisting between the Protestants and Catholics, during the course of the civil wars, was the continual infraction and shameless violation of the articles of capitulation, agreed on previous to the surrender of cities and garrisons. It would be endless to enumerate the examples of breach of faith, on both sides. Sometimes, the commanders themselves were either openly, or tacitly consenting to the plunder and massacre of the very enemy, to whom they had, a few hours or minutes preceding, granted and solemnly promised honorable conditions. More frequently, the brutal, and vindictive fury of the soldiers, was not to be restrained by any exhortations or commands. Among the great military characters of that period, Biron distinguished himself by his glorious and inflexible adherence to all his engagements with enemies, and by his punishment of the slightest infraction of agreement. He gave a shining proof of it, at the surrender of St. John d'Angely in Poitou, in 1569, when the protestant troops having capitulated, were pillaged by the Catholics, on quitting the town. Biron was no soon-

er informed of the outrage, than, drawing his sword, and rushing into the midst of his own men, who were occupied in plundering; he wounded numbers of them, and compelled the others to desist immediately from so scandalous a breach of honor and faith.

"The deliberate murders, committed after the close of battles, or sieges, in that age, reflect greater dishonor on the nation, as they were commonly perpetrated on defenceless men, wounded, disarmed, and delivered over to the vengeance of some implacable, or vindictive individual. Such must be esteemed the murder of Louis, prince of Condé, at Jarnac, after he had presented his gauntlet, and while he was actually sitting on the ground, between his two sureties. A circumstance which rendered it more atrocious, was, that Montefquiou, who shot the prince through the head from behind, commanded the Swiss guards of Henry, duke of Anjou, and neither received any punishment, nor even reprimand, for so odious a crime. Stuart, who, at the battle of St. Denis, had killed the constable Montmorenci, being taken prisoner at Jarnac, was, in like manner, stabbed in cold blood, by the marquis of Villars, brother-in-law to the constable, as an offering to his manes. This act was performed almost in the presence of the duke of Anjou, who expressed his reluctance, but consented, after some delay, to its commission. Chatelief, another gentleman, made prisoner on the same day, was butchered by the friends of Charry, whom he had assassinated in Paris, some years preceding.

"In retaliation for these cruelties, the Protestants, on their part, immediately put to death two persons of rank, the baron d'Ingrande,

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and Prune, who had fallen into their hands, by the chance of war. Carreliere, a Protestant gentleman, made prisoner at the engagement of Dreux, in 1562, was tied to a walnut-tree, and shot with pistol balls, by the Catholic soldiery. After the great victory of Montcontour, in 1569, many of the Hugonot prisoners were massacred from wanton barbarity, or revenge. La Noue, who was one of the captives, owed his life only to the interposition of the duke of Anjou. Charbonniere, a private soldier, having shot the count de Brissac, from the walls of Mucidan, during the progress of the siege; was, on the surrender of the place, ordered to be immediately hanged. Richard the First and Saladin could not carry on war with greater inhumanity and ferocity. Even those laws, which have been esteemed sacred among nations the least polished, were trampled on in France, during the reigns of Henry the Third, and his predecessor. Iavannes declares, that, when he besieged Auxonne, the inhabitants poisoned the wells and fountains. Not content with contaminating the water, they sent him a letter, dipped in the morbid matter of the plague, in order to spread the contagion in his camp. The historians of that age contain many similar attestations and instances of the most ferocious malignity. They contrast wonderfully with the magnanimous clemency and humanity, which characterised the reign of Francis the First, and Henry the Second. The duke of Guise's beneficent treatment of the sick and wounded soldiers of the emperor Charles the Fifth, after his repulse before Metz in 1553, was more glorious than his preceding success. During the

civil wars; quarter was rarely given on either side.

Uniforms were unknown among the troops in the sixteenth century: the private men seem to have enjoyed the liberty of dressing, and arming themselves, according to their capacity or fancy; but the nobility were all distinguished by their peculiar colours, during the civil wars. The Catholics wore crimson jackets and scarfs: the Protestants were known by white ones. They are frequently called "Les Casagues blanches." Henry the Third, in 1587, gave grey uniforms to the Swiss guard, in allusion to the colour, which he wore, himself, as a penitent of the order of the Hieronimites. The long continuance of hostilities, and the precarious intervals of repose, between 1562 and 1589, had rendered the nation universally acquainted with, and familiarized to the use of arms. Even the peasants, from necessity, more than choice, quitted the peaceable arts of husbandry, and mixed in every fray. They were, unfortunately, victims to the rage of the soldiery, on many occasions. Such was the fate of the Gaultiers, in 1589. They were peasants and labourers, who, driven to despair by the outrages of the royal forces, and by the severity of the taxes; formed themselves into a society in Low Normandy, and were persuaded to join the party of the League. Their numbers amounted to above sixteen thousand. We may judge to what a point of ferocity they had attained, and how much the oppression which they experienced, had extinguished in them all the emotions of humanity, by a circumstance which De Thou commemorates. He says, that the Gaultiers having made

made prisoner a royalist, who was occupied in pillage, they devoured him: no vestige of his body was left; the women and children having drank the blood, while the men feasted on the carcase. The horde was soon attacked by the duke of Montpensier, who put three thousand to the sword, after a fierce resistance. Four hundred were sent to labour on the public works; and the remainder, compelled to surrender at discretion, were allowed to return to their original occupation of tilling the earth.

"After the defeat of Mouvens, a Hugonot commander, by Brissac, in 1568; the peasants of Perigord, in which province the action happened, cut in pieces a greater number of the fugitive Protestants,

than had ever fallen in the engagement. Coligni took an exemplary vengeance on them, for their attachment to the Catholics. Brantome declares, that in the castle of Chapelle Faucher, not a league from his own residence at Brantome, two hundred and sixty were massacred in one room, by Coligni's express orders; they had been detained a day in confinement, and the act was a deliberate one. He adds, that on his taking the liberty to remonstrate with Coligni, because the peasants whom he had caused to be put to death, were not the same who had slaughtered the Protestants; he replied, that it was of no consequence, since they were of the same province; and that the example would operate as a warning to their comrades."

MORALS, MANNERS, DIVERSIONS, BANQUETS, and DRESS of the INHABITANTS of BRITAIN, about the close of the Fifteenth and the beginning of the Sixteenth Centuries.

[From the Second Part of the First Volume of the HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN, connected with the CHRONOLOGY of EUROPE, by JAMES PETTIT ANDREWS, F. S. A.]

MORALS.

"AS to moral habits, the English were in general still brave, humane, and (at least among each other) hospitable. That their priests and monks were luxurious and gluttonous, we know from their own prelates, and that their profligacy exceeded the usual and natural bounds of licentiousness, we are but too well assured by the report of the visitation under Cromwell; but the faults of a singularly depraved and pampered race ought not to be laid at the door of a whole nation.

"The lower orders of the commu-

nity were extremely ignorant; and, as little attention was shewn to instruct them in the religious duties of life, they repaid the neglect by plundering their superiors. But although twenty-two thousand persons are said to have been executed, chiefly for theft, in the time of Henry VIII. yet was murder almost entirely unknown, and England might in the 16th century (as she still in the 18th may do) proudly vaunt that the taking away life in cold blood, and at least without some legal colour of justice, was a practice almost unknown within her limits,

"An unhappy species of political rivalry, wherein each head of a party found it necessary to support his adherents in rapine and murder, lest he should be deserted by all, prevents the eulogy from being extended at this period to the sister-nation, wherein the example of the Douglas family, of the house of Hamilton, and of many gallant but ferocious warriors, too plainly shewed that it was possible to unite in the same persons intrepid bravery against the foreign foe, and inexorable cruelty to the defenceless neighbor.

MANNERS.

"TOWARDS the sixteenth century the manners of the English became more humane than those of their ancestors had been, whom continual warfare, and an eager thirst for conquest and spoil, had united to render ungentle and tremendous. Foreigners now visited the shores of England, and were not displeased with their reception, nor harsh in their accounts of the people. Several of the nobility and gentry traversed the continent, and brought back some knowledge of foreign languages; and the splendid pageantry which shone at the court of Henry VIII. connected as it was with the knightly gallantry, supported and encouraged a spirit of emulation and honor which paved the way to a general civilization.

"Still, every thing was truly simple in the habits of domestic life. The furniture of the knight and of the gentleman was heavy, plain, and scanty. Plate was abundant; but there appears to have been a service of pewter to use on common days.

"The entertainments and feast-

ing of the age are spoken of in another place; the following quotation, however, may be admitted here, as it satirizes some errors against good-breeding still existing in the present more polished age:

'Slow be the sewers in serving in, alwaye,
But swifte be they after, taking meate awaye.
A special custome used is them amonge,
No good dishe to suffer on borde to be
longe.

If th' dish be pleasaunte, whether flesh or
fishe,

Ten handes at once, swarme in the dishe.
And if it be fleshe, ten knives shal't thou
see

Mangling the fleshe and in the platter see.
Put there thy handes in peryl without
fayle,

Withoute a gauntlet or a glove of mayle*."

EXERCISES AND SPORTS.

"TOURNAMENTS, tilts, and jousting, as well as hawking and hunting, continued to be the favourite amusements of the nobility. Women were sometimes expert at the long bow. In the Northern district of Great Britain, the chase was followed with a degree of pomp and magnificence which astonished the eyes of even princely visitors.

"Bear-baiting, brutal as it was, was by no means an amusement of the lower people only.

"Gaming was remarkably prevalent among the inferior ranks, although prohibited by severe laws.

"With the reign of Henry VIII. an eagerness for pageants and expensive shews, attended by masques, was introduced to the court and people of England. The pageant was a moveable stage, representing a ship, a castle, or a mountain. The masques were the actors, who represented a kind of dramatic entertainment, consisting of an uninteresting dialogue, frequently on a theological subject.

In Hall, Holingshead, &c. we

have prolix descriptions of the pageant, and specimens of the quaint and pedantic verse which was used to accompany this bulky and pompous spectacle.

"The stage (if it could be said to exist) was in the hands of priests, scholars, and parish-clerks. Moralities, a tedious species of dramatic entertainment, seem to have begun with the sixteenth century; but these soon grew so polemico-lattic, that it became necessary to prevent the authors and actors by a legal restraint from touching on controversial subjects.

"The country people, it is probable, amused themselves around their winter's fire, by telling stories, or else (as a contemporary poet sings) by reciting

—Some mery fit
Of mayde Marian or els of Robin Hood;
Or Bentley's ale which chafeth well the
blood,
Of Perte of Norwich, saule of Wilberton,
Of backish Toby, well stuff'd as a ton."

"The females had other diversions:

"Then is it pleasure the yonge maides
amonge,
To watch by th' fire the winter-nightes
longe.
And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
To cover wardens for fault of other warke.
To taste white shevers, to make prophet-
roles;
And, aftir talke, oft times to fille the boles."

"He adds, with more good humor, than harmony,

—Methinks no mirth is scant,
Where no rejoicing of minstrelsie doth
want,
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable,
&c. &c.

"Dancing round the maypole
and riding the hobby-horse were

favorite country sports; but these suffered a severe check at the reformation, as did the humorous pageant of Christmas personified by an old man hung round with savory dainties.

"We have reason to think, that, gaming was the favourite amusement of the Scots in the sixteenth century. Sir David Lindsay, in a tragedy, makes cardinal Beaton declare, that he had played with the king for 3,000 crowns of gold in one night 'at cartis and dice.' And an anonymous bard (cited by the historian of English Poetry) avers, that

'Haliking, hunting, and swift horse rynn-
ning
Are changit all in wrangus wyunning,
Thur is no play bot 'cartis and dice.'

BANQUETS.

"The tables of the English were now provided with more variety than formerly, and are spoken of with great signs of approbation by strangers, who had tasted of the island-hospitality; yet, as no artificial pasturage was then known, the cattle for the family supply, from Michaelmas to Whitsuntide, were still slain and salted at the close of the summer.

"Hall, Holingshead, Stowe, Fabian, and Speed, may be consulted for minute description of the various feasts given on public occasions.

Mr. Strutt produces a bill of fare, with the prices to each article, of an entertainment in 1530, at the burial of sir John Rudstone; the articles are (allowing for the discoveries since made of turtle, John Dorees, &c.), nearly what would now afford a plentiful corporation-dinner. The fish were pikes and surgeon; there were ten swans; the other dishes were common

ones; capons, brawn, pigeons, &c. the cost exceedingly small.

"As to the table of the Scots, no particular remark occurs, unless it be that two national dishes (still cherished at the plentiful tables in the North), made in the 16th century a part of the gentleman's usual meal.

"Hospitality (from one end of the island to the other) seems to have been especially harbored at religious houses, and if the monk was to a proverb fond of good living, jollity, and conviviality, he was not backward in imparting a share of his dainties to the benighted or wandering stranger.

"In Barclay's Eclogues, we find some account of the favorite dishes of the age:

* What fische is of flavor sweet and delicious,

Roasted or sodden in swete herbes or wine,
Or fried in oyle, most saporous and fine.

The pasties of a hart:

The crane, the scaunt, the pecocke and curlewe,

The patriche, plover, bittorn and heron
sewe;

Season'd so well in licour redolent,
That the hall's full of pleasant smell and scent."

"We will close this division by inserting two extracts from treatises printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The first is from 'The Boke of Kervinge,' and proves that the pleasures of the table must have been highly valued, when so pointed an attention was paid to their minutiae.

(The termes of a kerver be as here followeth:

'Breke that deer. Lefche that brawn. Rere that goose. Lyste that swanne. Sauce that capon. Spoylle that hen. Fruche that che-

kyn. Unbrace that mallard. Unlace that conye. Disfembre that heron. Display that crane. Dysfigure that pecocke. Unjoint that bytture. Untache that curlewe. Alay that fofande. Wynges that partryche. Wynges that quaille. Mynce that plover. Thyse that pyggon. Border that pastie. Thyse that woodcocke. Thyse all maner smalle byrdes. Tymbre that fyer. Tyere that egge. Chynne that samon. Strynge that lampreye. Splat that pyke. Sauce that plaice. Sauce that tench. Splay that breme. Syde that haddock. Tuske that berbell. Culpon that troue. Fyne that cheven. Trassene that ele. Trance that surgeon. Undertrounch that porpus. Tayme that crabbe. Barbe that lopster. Here endeth the goodlye terms of Kervynge."

"The other is an epicurean carol taken from a miscellany published by the same printer, and is still retained, with some innovations, at Queen's College, Oxford:

A Carol bryngyng in the Bore's Head.

*Caput Apri deservit,
Ridens huiusmodi Domicilio.*

The bore's head in hande bring I,
With garlandes gay and rosemary,
I pray you syng me merely;

'Qui estis in convivio.'

The bore's head I understande,
Is the chiefe servyce in this lande,
Loke wherever it be fande *

'Servite cum cantico.'

Be gladd, lordes, more or lasse,
For thys hath ordayned our shewards,
To chere you alle this Chrystemasse,
The bore's head with mustarde.

DRESS.

"The habits of fashionable people, at the close of the 15th age, were truly fantastical. A petticoat hung over the loins; a long doublet,

laced over a stomacher, covered the fore part of the body; and the wide-sleeved mantle, like a woman's gown, fell over the petticoat and descended to the ancles. The materials of which these dresses were composed, were gay and costly (such as silks and velvets, cloth of gold and silver, &c.); and there seems to have been a real difficulty in knowing the well-dressed man from the woman. This puzzle was, however, completely done away by a most absurd and ludicrous fashion imported from the continent, soon after the accession of Henry VIII. a fashion which caricatured as gross and indecent buffoons, the monarch and the laborer, the judge and the watchman. At the same time the doublet and the mantle became shorter; and long breeches came into use, instead of the petticoat.

"Some time after, the monarch increasing in dimension, the loyalty of the age prescribed corpulency to the subject, and every part of the male dress was stuffed with cotton or wool, that the wearer might emulate the bulk of the sovereign. The fantastic variety of habits in the 16th century, was humorously satirized by Dr. Andrew Borde, a burlesque poet of that period, of whom we shall read more hereafter.

"As to the head, the hood of the

last age had given way to a coarse round felt hat, a cap, or a bonnet, among the men. The female, as a matron, wore a plain coif or velvet bonnet; but, if a maiden, had her head uncovered, and permitted her tresses to hang down either simply or braided with ribbands.

"The men wore their hair at full length, until the capricious Eighth Henry decreed, that his attendants and courtiers should 'poll their heads.'

"Henry directed also, that cloth of gold and tissue should only adorn the duke and marquis; purple should be reserved for the royal family; silks and velvets might be worn by the opulent commoner; but none inferior to an earl in dignity might use embroidery.

"Beneath these gay habits the legs could boast no richer or lighter covering than boots, made of cloth. A pair of black silk hose made in Spain was a present worthy the acceptance of a king.

"The Scots afford no materials for any particular observations on their dress. Their ladies, in spite of a legal ordinance, 'That no woman cum to the kirk nor mercat with her face musfalt;' appear, by the declamations of their contemporary poets, to have continued to use the fashion which they thought most becoming."

ORIGIN of the GAME of CHESS, traced to CHINA, in a LETTER from EYLES IRWIN, ESQ. to the RIGHT HONOURABLE the EARL of CHARLEMONT.

[From the Fifth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.]

"MY LORD,

"I Consider no apology necessary for this intrusion on the public situation in which your talents

and reputation have placed you. Whatever tends to the accession of knowledge, or the illustration of antiquity, cannot prove unacceptable to your lordship, when adding a

mite to the Transactions of the Academy which is distinguished by your superintendence.

"Why I have addressed a subject of this nature to the Irish Academy, when there is a society existing who seems to have a title to it from its name—or why the first offering of my researches should proceed from the remote empire of China, are, I trust, questions that are not necessary for me to resolve. If a patriot wish to promote the spirit of investigation in my country, by the exertion of my mean abilities, be not denied me, I am indifferent to censure or praise on this occasion.

"I must premise to your lordship, that, during a long residence in the East Indies, where the game of chess is generally supposed to have originated, I had often heard of its existence in China, though on a different footing, as well in respect to the powers of the king, as to the aspect of the field of battle. The Bramins, who excel in this game, and with whom I used frequently to play for improvement, had a tradition of this nature, which is a further argument in behalf of what I am about to advance. But, with all my enquiries from persons who had been there, and from the publications relative to China, I could never obtain any confirmation of the game being even known in the country, except that Chambers, in his Dictionary, mentions it to be the favourite pastime of the ladies, but quotes no authority for the assertion.

"Some unlooked-for circumstances in the course of the last year at length brought me to the quarter, which I had once wished, but never expected, to visit. I need not say, that among other objects of curiosity I was eager to as-

certain the reality of the Bramins' story. And if the difficulty of acquiring information here, not more from the want of interpreters, than the jealousy of the government, were not well known in Europe, I should be ashamed to tell your lordship that I despaired of success for some time. A young Mandarin, however, of the profession of arms, having an inquisitive turn, was my frequent visitor; and, what no questions could have drawn from him, the accidental sight of an English chess-board effected. He told me, that the Chinese had a game of the same nature; and, on his specifying a difference in the pieces and board, I perceived, with joy, that I had discovered the desideratum of which I had been so long in search. The very next day my Mandarin brought me the board and equipage; and I found, that the Bramins were neither mistaken touching the board, which has a river in the middle to divide the contending parties, nor in the powers of the king, who is entrenched in a fort, and moves only in that space, in every direction. But, what I did not before hear, nor do I believe is known out of this country, there are two pieces, whose movements are distinct from any in the Indian or European game. The Mandarin, which answers to our bishop, in his station and side-long course, cannot, through age, cross the river; and a rocket-boy, still used in the Indian armies, who is stationed between the lines of each party, acts literally with the motion of the rocket, by vaulting over a man, and taking his adversary at the other end of the board. Except that the king has his two sons to support him, instead of a queen, the game, in other respects, is like ours; as will appear in the plan

plan of the board and pieces I have the honour to inclose, together with directions to place the men and play the game.

“As the young man who had discovered this to me was of a communicative and obliging disposition, and was at this time pursuing his studies in the college of Canton, I requested the favour of him to consult such ancient books as might give some insight into the period of the introduction of chess into China; to confirm, if possible, the idea that struck me of its having originated here. The acknowledged antiquity of this empire, the unchangeable state of her customs and manners, beyond that of any other nation in the world; and more especially the simplicity of the game itself, when compared to its compass and variety in other parts, appeared to give a colour to my belief. That I was not disappointed in the event, I have no doubt will be allowed, on the perusal of the translation of a manuscript extract, which my friend Tinqu brought me, in compliance with my desire; and which, accompanied by the Chinese manuscript, goes under cover to your lordship. As the Mandarin solemnly assured me that he took it from the work quoted, and the translation has been as accurately made as possible, I have no hesitation to deliver the papers as authentic.

“In the pursuit of one curiosity I flatter myself that I have stumbled by accident on another, and have gone some length to restore to the Chinese the invention of gunpowder, so long disputed with them by the Europeans; but which the evidence on their chess-board, in the action of the rocket, seems to establish beyond a doubt. The institution of the game is likewise

discovered to form the principal æra in the Chinese history; since, by the conquest of Shenfi, the kingdom was first connected in its present form, and the monarch assumed the title of emperor; as may be seen in the extract which I have obtained from their annals.

“From these premises I have therefore ventured to make the following inferences: that the game of chess is probably of Chinese origin. That the confined situation and powers of the king, resembling those of a monarch in the earlier parts of the world, countenance the supposition; and that, as it travelled westward, and descended to later times, the sovereign prerogative extended itself, until it became unlimited, as in our state of the game. That the agency of the princes, in lieu of the queen, bespeaks forcibly the nature of the Chinese customs, which exclude females from all power or influence whatever; which princes, in its passage through Persia, were changed into a single vizier, or minister of state, with the enlarged portion of delegated authority that exists there; instead of whom, the European nations, with their usual gallantry, adopted a queen on their board. That the river between the parties is expressive of the general face of this country, where a battle could hardly be fought without encountering an interruption of this kind, which the soldier was here taught to overcome; but that, on the introduction of the game into Persia, the board changed with the dry nature of the region, and the contest was decided on terra firma. And lastly, that in no account of the origin of chess, that I have read, has the tale been so characteristic or consistent as that which I have the honour to offer to the Irish

Irish academy. With the Indians, it was designed by a Bramin to cure the melancholy of the daughter of a rajah. With the Persians, my memory does not assist me to trace the fable; though, if it were more to the purpose, I think I should have retained it. But, with the Chinese, it was invented by an experienced soldier, on the principles of war: not to dispel love-sick vapours, or instruct a female in a science that could neither benefit nor inform her; but to quiet the murmurs of a discontented soldiery; to employ their vacant hours in lessons on the military art, and to cherish the spirit of conquest in the bosom of winter quarters. Its age is traced by them on record near two centuries before the Christian æra; and among the numerous claims for this noble invention, that of the Chinese, who call it, by way of distinction, Chong Kè, or the Royal Game, appears alone to be indisputable.

I have the honour to remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's obedient,
humble servant,

EYLES IRWIN.

Canton,

14th March, 1793.

" Translation of an Extract from the Concum, or Chinese Annals, respecting the Invention of the Game of Chess, delivered to me by Tinquan, a Soldier Mandarin of the Province of Fokien.

" THREE hundred and seventy-nine years after the time of Confucius, or one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five years ago, Hung Cochu, king of Kiangnan, sent an expedition into the Shenfi country,

under the command of a mandarin, called Hanfing, to conquer it. After one successful campaign, the soldiers were put into winter quarters; where, finding the weather much colder than what they had been accustomed to, and being also deprived of their wives and families, the army, in general, became impatient of their situation, and clamorous to return home. Hanfing, upon this, revolved in his mind the bad consequences of complying with their wishes. The necessity of soothing his troops, and reconciling them to their position, appeared urgent, in order to finish his operations in the ensuing year. He was a man of genius, as well as a good soldier; and having contemplated some time on the subject, he invented the game of chess, as well for an amusement to his men in their vacant hours, as to inflame their military ardour, the game being wholly founded on the principles of war. The stratagem succeeded to his wish. The soldiery were delighted with the game; and forgot, in their daily contests for victory, the inconveniences of their post. In the spring the general took the field again; and, in a few months, added the rich country of Shenfi to the kingdom of Kiangnan, by the defeat and capture of its king, Choupayuen, a famous warrior among the Chinese. On this conquest Hung Cochu assumed the title of emperor, and Choupayuen put an end to his own life in despair."

N. B. The above letter is accompanied with plates of the Chinese chess-board, and an explanation of the positions, powers, and moves of the pieces,

MISCEL.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

OBSERVATIONS on the GRAFTING of TREES, in a LETTER from THOMAS ANDREW KNIGHT, ESQ. to SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART. P. R. S.

[From the Second Part of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, for the Year 1795.]

"I AM encouraged to address the following letter to you, by the opinion you were last year pleased to express of part of my experiments and observations, on the diseases and decay of those varieties of the apple and pear which have been long in cultivation. The disease from whose ravages they suffer most is the canker, the effects of which are generally first seen in the winter, or when the sap is first rising in the spring. The bark becomes discoloured in spots, under which the wood, in the annual shoots, is dead to the centre, and in the older branches, to the depth of the last summer's growth. Previous to making any experiments, I had conversed with several planters, who entertained an opinion, that it was impossible to obtain healthy trees of those varieties which flourished in the beginning and middle of the present century, and which now form the largest orchards in this country. The appearance of the young trees, which I had seen, justified the conclusion they had drawn; but the silence of every writer on the subject of planting, which had come in my way, convinced me that it

was a vulgar error, and the following experiments were undertaken to prove it so."

"I suspected that the appearance of decay in the trees I had seen lately grafted, arose from the diseased state of the grafts, and concluded, that if I took scions or buds from trees grafted in the year preceding, I should succeed in propagating any kind I chose. With this view I inserted some cuttings of the best wood I could find in the old trees, on young stocks raised from seed. I again inserted grafts and buds taken from these on other young stocks, and wishing to get rid of all connection with the old trees, I repeated this six years; each year taking the young shoots from the trees last grafted. Stocks of different kinds were tried, some were double grafted, others obtained from apple-trees which grew from cuttings, and others from the seed of each kind of fruit afterwards inserted on them; I was surprised to find that many of these stocks inherited all the diseases of the parent trees."

"The wood appearing perfect and healthy in many of my last grafted trees, I flattered myself that

that I had succeeded; but my old enemies, the moss and canker, in three years convinced me of my mistake. Some of them, however, trained to a south wall, escaped all their diseases, and seemed (like invalids) to enjoy the benefit of a better climate. I had before frequently observed, that all the old fruits suffered least in warm situations, where the soil was not unfavourable. I tried the effects of laying one kind, but the canker destroyed it at the ground. Indeed I had no hopes of success from this method, as I had observed that several sorts which had always been propagated from cuttings, were as much diseased as any others. The wood of all the old fruits has long appeared to me to possess less elasticity and hardness, and to feel more soft and spongy under the knife, than that of the new varieties which I have obtained from seed. This defect may, I think, be the immediate cause of the canker and moss, though it is probably itself the effect of old age, and therefore incurable.

“ Being at length convinced that all efforts, to make grafts from old and worn out trees grow, were ineffectual, I thought it probable that those taken from very young trees, raised from seed, could not be made to bear fruit. The event here answered my expectation. Cuttings from seedling apple-trees of two years old were inserted on stocks of twenty, and in a bearing state. These have now been grafted nine years, and though they have been frequently transplanted to check their growth, they have not yet produced a single blossom. I have since grafted some very old trees with cuttings from seedling apple-trees of five years old: their growth has been extremely rapid,

and there appears no probability that their time of producing fruit will be accelerated, or that their health will be injured, by the great age of the stocks. A seedling apple-tree usually bears fruit in thirteen or fourteen years; and I therefore conclude, that I have to wait for a blossom till the trees from which the grafts were taken attain that age, though I have reason to believe, from the form of their buds, that they will be extremely prolific. Every cutting, therefore, taken from the apple (and probably from every other) tree, will be affected by the state of the parent stock. If that be too young to produce fruit, it will grow with vigour, but will not blossom; and if it be too old, it will immediately produce fruit, but will never make a healthy tree, and consequently never answer the intention of the planter. The root, however, and the part of the stock adjoining it, are greatly more durable than the bearing branches; and I have no doubt but that scions obtained from either would grow with vigour, when those taken from the bearing branches would not. The following experiment will at least evince the probability of this in the pear-tree. I took cuttings from the extremities of the bearing branches of some old ungrafted pear-trees, and others from scions which sprang out of the trunks near the ground, and inserted some of each on the same stocks. The former grew without thorns, as in the cultivated varieties, and produced blossoms the second year; whilst the latter assumed the appearance of stocks just raised from seeds, were covered with thorns, and have not yet produced any blossoms.

“ The extremities of those branches, which produce seeds in every

every tree, probably shew the first indication of decay; and we frequently see (particularly in the oak) young branches produced from the trunk, when the ends of the old ones have long been dead. The same tree when cropped will produce an almost eternal succession of branches. The durability of the apple and pear, I have long suspected to be different in different varieties, but that none of either would vegetate with vigour much, if at all, beyond the life of the parent stock, provided that died from mere old age. I am confirmed in this opinion by the books you did me the honour to send me: of the apples mentioned and described by Parkinson, the names only remain, and those since applied to other kinds now also worn out; but many of Evelyn's are still well known, particularly the red-streak. This apple, he informs us, was raised from seed by lord Scudamore in the beginning of the last century. We have many trees of it, but they appear to have been in a state of decay during the last forty years. Some others mentioned by him are in a much better state of vegetation; but they have all ceased to deserve the attention of the planter. The durability of the pear is probably something more than double that of the apple.

"It has been remarked by Evelyn, and by almost every writer since, on the subject of planting, that the growth of plants raised from seeds was more rapid, and that they produced better trees than those obtained from layers or cuttings. This seems to point out some kind of decay attending the latter modes of propagation, though the custom in the public nurseries of taking layers from stools (trees cropped annually close to the

ground) probably retards its effects, as each plant rises immediately from the root of the parent stock.

"Were a tree capable of affording an eternal succession of healthy plants from its roots, I think our woods must have been wholly overrun with those species of trees which propagate in this manner, as those scions from the roots always grow in the first three or four years with much greater rapidity than seedling plants. An aspen is seldom seen without a thousand suckers rising from its roots; yet this tree is thinly, though universally, scattered over the woodlands of this country. I can speak from experience, that the luxuriance and excessive disposition to extend itself in another plant, which propagates itself from the root (the raspberry), decline in twenty years from the seed. The common elm being always propagated from scions or layers, and growing with luxuriance, seems to form an exception; but as some varieties grow much better than others, it appears not improbable that the most healthy are those which have last been obtained from seed. The different degrees of health in our peach and nectarine trees may, I think, arise from the same source. The oak is much more long-lived in the north of Europe than here; though its timber is less durable, from the numerous pores attending its slow growth. The climate of this country being colder than its native, may in the same way add to the durability of the elm; which may possibly be further increased by its not producing seeds in this climate, as the life of many annuals may be increased to twice its natural period, if not more, by preventing their seeding.

"I have been induced to say a great

great deal more on this subject than, I fear, you will think it deserves, from a conviction that immense advantages would arise from the cultivation of the pear and apple in other counties, and that the ill success which has attended any efforts to propagate them, has arisen from the use of worn out and diseased kinds. Their cultivation is ill understood in this country, and worse practised; yet an acre of ground, fully planted, frequently affords an average produce of more than five hundred gallons of liquor,

with a tolerably good crop of grass; and I have not the least doubt but that there are large quantities of ground in almost every county in England capable of affording an equal produce.

"I have only to add an assurance, that the results of the foregoing experiments are correctly stated; and that

"I am, Sir, &c.

"THO. AND. KNIGHT."

Elton, Herefordshire,

April 13, 1795.

COMMUNICATIONS relative to ORCHARDING, by THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL, Esq. which may be considered as supplementary to his Papers on the same Subject, which were inserted in our REGISTERS for the Years 1793 and 1794.

[From the Thirteenth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY instituted at LONDON, for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.]

"S I R,

"I BEG you will convey my best acknowledgments to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, for the regular attention they have been pleased to shew to the papers I have had the honour to lay before them, on the system of close-pruning and medication, as expressed in my letters, inserted in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of their Transactions; and for the very handsome premiums offered by them, in consequence of those communications: and I hope, like the other useful branches, which have been at first fostered, and then brought to perfection by their attentive care, this will produce elegance throughout the plantations of fruit-trees in the kingdom, and ge-

neral good to the community at large.

"In this I will add such further hints as may conduce to guard the planter from disappointment. Let it be observed, I do not retract in the least the stress I before laid on shelter, nor the necessity of the soil being well chosen, with proper aspect.

"It is generally imagined, that when the trees are planted, the troublesome part of forming an orchard is over: but the fact is far otherwise; for a greater difficulty remains, which is, to determine what proper use to apply the ground to; for if it is cultivated by the plough, little good can be expected; for the injuries which young trees constantly receive from implements in husbandry bruising and destroying them before they can have got pos-

possession of the soil, generally hurt them most essentially; and if, by a superlative care, they should surmount the evils so brought on, the crops of corn being regularly carried off the land, impoverishes the ground so much, that the trees are soon stunted, and run to moss.

"There is not any culture we are acquainted with, equal to hops, for raising an orchard; and when the proper time comes for grubbing up the hops, the trees may be secured, and the land turned to grazing. However, let the agriculture be what it may, the land should never be ploughed, or dug deep, directly over the roots of a young-planted fruit-tree; for as the roots collect their best benign sap from their extreme points, if those points are broken off from the upper side of the roots, that tree is compelled to subsist on nurture drawn from the under-strata, and consequently the sap will be of an inferior quality.

"It may be regularly observed, that, where trees stand in such a situation, that the hogs and poultry are constantly running over the ground, those trees very seldom fail of a crop, which is the best proof that manure is necessary; and any manure will suit an orchard: but there are several sorts of manure which are overlooked, such as the sweepings of cowhouses, slaughterhouses, emptying of drains, and every thing filthy; and these are more disposed to facilitate the growth and health of fruit-trees, than the manure from the stable.

"An essential circumstance to be attended to is, that the fruits be ordered of those sorts which thrive in the neighbourhood where the plantation is intended to be made, and a strict regard shewn to that purpose, as the beauty and value of the whole orchard will greatly de-

pend upon the trees being well suited. There is a striking instance of this at Sittingbourne, and its neighbourhood: the lemon-pippin is invariably a fine thriving tree, and the summer pearmain as constantly ragged and out of health; and this observation may be applied throughout the whole range of fruit-bearing trees, according to the soil and situation.

"The ancient orchards of Kent, which were mostly grubbed up about fifty years since, produced the Kentish pippin, lemon-pippin, russet, cat's-head, and other hardy-keeping fruits; but as the age refined in luxury, the more delicate apples were introduced. The sharp north-east winds, in many situations, were certainly too severe for these productions: though I entertain no doubt but this appearance of a caprice or particularity in nature, may by attention be in part corrected, though any attempt to point out the cause would lead me too far from the present subject.

"Care should be taken not to suffer trees to bear much fruit while young: it should be gathered as soon as seen, except about half a dozen, to show the size and quality. The young trees being kept clear, will give them, if I may use the expression, the habit of producing larger and finer fruit: but that is not the material reason; by being kept clear, the leading and collateral branches run stronger each year; and be assured, if the tree can be brought to a proper size, there will be no doubt of its bearing afterwards. Observe among those gentlemen who pride themselves for being masters of fine stock, either horses, cattle, or sheep, and you will find the governing principle with each of them, is to run the young stock to as long bone as possible.

possible in the first year; knowing, from experience, that having once secured bone, flesh, figure, and symmetry will follow. Such trees as suit the soil may, by easy means, be induced to grow to a size beyond what we imagine: let the land be grazed or manured, and gather the fruit before it can be applied to any use. How long this custom should be continued, each orchardist must judge for himself; but no one will have the least chance for the prize, who does not take off the fruit for some time at least.

"There is no impropriety in deeming the heads of fruit-trees, as so many hemispheres: only suppose it possible, by any art, to induce each of the branches of one tree to grow two inches longer than those of another tree in the same year; that free-growing tree will, in eighteen years, double the head of the other: so much for size. Health is the certain consequence.

"No young plant, or newly-grafted tree, should be suffered to run *mop-headed*; for until each branch has acquired a determined leader, that tree will make no progress; and a tree, like an animal, if it takes a stunt, it is difficult to throw such energy into the system afterwards as will make it free-growing.

"It has been objected, that if no leading branches are to be shortened, the nursery-man could not form the stems to support the head.

"Undoubtedly, while the plants are in the nursery, the slightest practitioner knows that the head must be cut down, to give strength and symmetry to the stem; and it is also necessary that most of the grafts be shortened, or the wind will blow them out; and during the time the plants are in an infant state, shortening helps to swell out the buds.

It was never meant to exclude shortening, until the plant was become a tree; and it is perfectly within the nursery-man's art to produce all his standard fruit-bearing trees with stems large and smooth, buds full and round, and leaves broad and open, without the tree being liable to canker, or gum; and this is given as the character of a perfect and valuable tree.

MOSS.

"One of the greatest obstructions to good orcharding is moss, which is merely the result of poverty and neglect, reflecting a discredit on the owner. Where trees are much over-run with moss, a strong man with a good birch-broom, in a wet day, would do great execution. But to enter more into the business, what is moss? a plant; and, like other plants, may be eradicated on the first appearance: for that purpose, on young trees, the best method is to rub all the branches, spring and autumn, with a hard scrubbing-bush and soap-suds; and the action of rubbing will so far invigorate the tree as to over-pay both trouble and expence. There is no damage can befall the tree from rubbing; and let it be performed as a groom does a horse's legs.

"Certainly the best soil to plant on is a fine deep loam; and no one, for profit, would think of planting on a strong clay, chalk, or a cold sharp gravel: but where a gentleman, for the embellishment of his residence, would wish for an orchard on either of these soils, never dig into the under-strata; for that would be placing the trees in so many well-holes, where certain destruction must ensue; therefore, rather plant the trees above-ground, raising over it a little mound of good fresh

fresh mould, about as large as an extensive ant-hill, under a curve of eight inches by sixty, and sow the top with white Dutch clover.

CANKER.

"In pruning, the medication ought never to be omitted; for, from experience, the mercury is found to be so strongly operative in removing the baneful effects of canker in the more delicate fruit-trees, that it may be presumed to enter into the economy of the plant, giving a smoothness to the bark and freeness of growth; proofs of which will be produced to the society in a few years, by persons who have attentively considered the subject.

"I shall here give an abstract of the system of close-pruning and medication, as before laid down, that it may be seen at one point of view.

"Let every stump, the decayed or blighted branches, with all those which cross the tree, or where the leaves curl, be taken off smooth

and even; pare down the gum close to the bark, and rather a little within, but not to destroy the rough coat; open the fissures, out of which the gum oozes, to the bottom; cut away the blotches, and pare down the canker; then anoint all the wounds with the medication, smearing a little over the canker, which was not large enough to be cut; score the tree, and rub off the moss; but do not shorten a single branch: follow the surgeon's rule, go to the quick, and no more; act with observation, and each practitioner will improve the science.

"A tree under such care, must, with its remaining free shoots, run large, which requiring a great flow of sap, will keep the roots in constant employ, and from that very source necessarily establish permanent health.

"P. S. Where the only object is to remove the canker, I find hog's lard preferable to tar; but where the wet is to be guarded against, tar is superlatively better."

On the MEANS of DESTROYING INSECTS in ORCHARDS; confirming the DOCTRINE in the foregoing PAPER, by WILLIAM HAMPSON, ESQ.

[From the same Work.]

"IT will not appear foreign to the subject, if some general observations which are well known to those who have the management of fruit-trees, and more particularly the apple, precede an account of the means here discovered for preventing the destruction often occasioned by the ravages of the caterpillars. 1st, A winter, in which there is a severe frost for a long continuance, is accounted favourable to the succeeding fruit-harvest. 2dly, Young and healthy trees, which are continually distending

the rind, and putting forth vigorous branches, are not often attacked with the caterpillars; or if they are, it is when the foliage of an aged or sickly neighbour is exhausted, and then being urged by want of food, the worm throws out its silken line, which, carried by the wind, clings to the branches of another tree, and by this means it effects a passage.

"Some time ago, having an intention to improve a number of apple-trees, which, owing to their being yearly infested with the cater-

M

pillar,

pillar, had been long neglected, I began in the following manner. It being early in the spring, I first caused the thick brown moss to be removed from the trunk of the tree, around which, but at a distance equal to the extremities of the roots, I spread warm rotten litter; and then, with the back of a pruning knife, scraped off the livid-coloured moss with which the branches of the tree were entirely encrusted. But what surprised me, and to which I would beg particular attention, was, that small detached pieces of moss hung upon the bough by fine threads, after it had been cleaned: this led me to think they belonged to some eggs or insects which lay concealed between the moss and the outer bark, or between the outer and the inner rind; but being then without the help of glasses, my curiosity remained unsatisfied, although the effects discovered in the opening season justified my strongest apprehensions; for those trees which had been thoroughly cleaned, put forth strong and healthy shoots, and retained their leaves; when others, their neighbours, were eaten up: yet what convinced me beyond the least doubt, was a tree which through negligence had been left in part cleaned: the boughs which I had cleaned were untouched by the caterpillars; on the contrary, the leaves of those boughs I had not cleaned, were soon consumed by them.

"These facts being stated, the following remarks are naturally suggested. First, that the eggs of the caterpillars lie, during the winter, concealed in such trees as are overgrown with moss, between the moss and the rind, or, where the rind is decayed, in the cavities occasioned by such decay; a circumstance which, with the assistance of

a microscope, I have since ascertained: but through mere neglect, having not preserved the eggs for future observation, I cannot say determinately they were the eggs of the caterpillar; but this I can say, that the removal of those eggs prevented the leaves of the tree from being eaten. Secondly, that the proper time for destroying them would be before the eggs are hatched; for, by the time the caterpillar is come out, the buds begin to open, and of course become its immediate prey; and as the butterfly-tribe are so numerous and so perfectly free from restraint, the nature of the case will require an annual search to be made in such places as are thought favourable to them for depositing their eggs: there will be often found full-grown trees, which by being encumbered with branches, the power of the sun is not admitted to shrivel the old rind as the new one is forming; consequently such trees become encrusted with decayed coats, the fit receptacles for preserving the embryo caterpillars; and such trees whose wounds have been suffered to heal, so as to form an hollow, retaining moisture, which cankers the wood, and renders it easily perforated by the fly, are likewise liable to become a prey to the insects they have preserved.

"The above observations are offered as hints only, on a subject capable of deriving more advantage from those who enjoy greater opportunities to investigate, and ability to inform, than what has fallen to the lot of their author; and it is with this presumption they are offered to a society, the members of which have it in their power to employ them to the best advantage, namely, that of the public good."

D. G. R. P.

DESCRIPTION of a METHOD of INCREASING POTATOES, in a LETTER
from MR. JOHN LOCKETT, of DONNINGTON, to MR. MORE.

[From the same Work.]

“ SIR,

“ **H**AVING lately seen in the news-papers various methods proposed in order to increase and multiply potatoes in the most effectual manner, I take the liberty of sending you an experiment which I have repeatedly made; also a method to procure plants in a very cheap and easy way; not after such as the present winter, but after a mild winter, when the frost has penetrated but a small distance below the surface of the ground.

First, as to the experiment; I took three potatoes, the 17th of December, 1793, and put them in a small cask, and placed the cask in a cellar: the 10th of March, I took off fifteen shoots from them, and planted them with a setting or dibbling stick, in the same manner as cabbage plants, about one foot square; the 16th of April, I took twenty-one more shoots from the same three potatoes, and planted them as before: on the

22nd of May, I took twenty-five shoots more, and planted them also, and then washed and boiled the said three potatoes, which proved very good to eat. I had, from the said sixty-one shoots, as many potatoes as weighed ninety-two pounds, notwithstanding the rooks did me much damage.

“ My method of procuring plants after a mild winter, is to go (about the month of May) over the fields where potatoes were planted the preceding year, and pull up from among the corn all the shoots produced by the potatoes left in the ground the preceding autumn, which had escaped the digger; and plant these shoots in the same manner as above, viz. the same as cabbage plants.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
JOHN LOCKETT.”

*Donnington,
March 1, 1795.*

MR. MORE.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET LAUREAT.

I.

A GAIN the swift revolving hours
Bring January's frozen car;
Still Discord on the nations low'rs,
Still reigns the iron power of war.
Hush'd be awhile the tumult's storm;
Awhile let Concord's milder form
Glide gently o'er each smiling plain,
While, as they weave the myrtle wreath,
The sportive Loves and Graces breathe
The Hymeneal strain.

II.

From Parent-Elbe's high-trophy'd shore,
Whence our illustrious chiefs of yore
Brought that blest code of laws their sons revere,
And bade the glorious fabric flourish here,
The royal virgin comes — Ye gales
Auspicious, fill the swelling sails;
And, while ye gently curl the azure deep,
Let ev'ry ruder blast in silence sleep:
For not from Afric's golden sands,
Or either India's glowing lands,
Have e'er the favouring Naiads brought
A prize to us so dear, a bark so richly fraught.

III.

Bright maid, to thy expecting eyes
When Albion's cliffs congenial rise,
No foreign forms thy looks shall meet,
Thine ear no foreign accents greet:
Here shall thy breast united transports prove
Of kindred fondness and consubial love.
O that amid the nuptial flowers we twine,
Our hands the olive's sober leaves might join,

Thy

Thy presence teach the storm of war to cease,
Disarm the battle's rage, and charm the world to peace.

IV.

Yet if the stern vindictive foe,
Insulting, aim the hostile blow,
Britain, in martial terrors dight,
Lifts high the avenging sword, and courts the fight.
On every side behold her swains
Crowd eager from her fertile plains!
With breasts undaunted, lo, they stand
Firm bulwarks of their native land;
And proud her floating castles round,
The guardians of her happy coast,
Bid their terrific thunder sound
Dismay to Gallia's scatter'd host,
While still Britannia's navies reign
Triumphant o'er the subject main.

ODE to the JURIES who asserted the CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS of the
SUBJECT, on the late STATE TRIALS.

[FROM ACADEMICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATED
POETRY.]

A MIDST a venal age,
Ye who have stemm'd corruption's torrent tide,
And, fired with noble rage,
Have curb'd injustice, and insulting pride:
The great, the good, the brave,
To you shall raise the tributary lay;
And even the titled slave,
Struck with a secret awe, unwilling homage pay.

Justice shall bless the hour,
With shouts of myriads, when your firm decree,
Unaw'd by lawless power,
Once more bade Albion's happy isle be free.
Now from her long repose
At length, behold Britannia's genius rise,
Triumphant o'er her foes,
To bless with all her charms a nation's longing eyes.

See from her leaden throne
The fiend imposture with deep ruin hurl'd,
By mighty truth o'erthrown,
The scorn and wonder of th' admiring world:
See truth with powerful ray
Through clouds of error and detraction rise,
And, bursting into day,
Hold his majestic course unwearied through the skies.

Still let the venal bard
 To power his songs of gratulation pay,
 And for his base reward
 To deeds of war and havock tune the lay.
 The Muse, to freedom dear,
 To freedom's sons the votive song shall raise,
 And still with zeal sincere
 Shall independence fire, and truth direct her lays.

Freedom, to thee we owe
 All that adorns, or dignifies mankind;
 From thy fair fountain flow
 The purer spirit, and the nobler mind.
 Long may that holy fire,
 That warm'd a Hampden's, or a Sidney's breast,
 Britannia's sons inspire,
 Ere yet fair freedom sink, by Gothic force oppress.

Soon may her happy reign
 Chase from the earth Oppression's monstrous brood,
 And all the impious train
 Of Anarchy, the fiend, that thirsts for blood;
 Soon, soon may discord cease;
 Nor war, and havock waste the affrighted plain;
 But Freedom, join'd with peace,
 Wide o'er the peopled earth extend their blissful reign,

J

SONNET TO THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATES, NOV. 1795.

[FROM THE TELEGRAPH.]

CHILL'D in suspense, the Muse her languid lyre
 Trembling attunes, at hope's enchanting call:
 That lingers yet one spark of British fire
 To cheer the soul;—~~ere~~ hope and freedom fall!

The pressure such of dark and "evil days"
 When sunk the tyrant* :—When the bigot fled † !
 Such the sad hour (illum'd by truth's bright rays)
 When Hampden died !—When dauntless Sidney bled !—

Hail then ye virtuous Few ‡ at whose firm voice
 Shrinks the gloss'd logic of the sophist tale,
 As at Ithuriel's spear § !—Patriots rejoice!
 Now, as in "th' elder time" may truth prevail!
 When wrung from wav'ring John's reluctant hand,
 The deed of freedom blaz'd ¶ ! Still may it bless the land!

* Charles the First. † James the Second. ‡ See the late debates in both houses.
 § Milton, Book the fourth. ¶ Magna Charta.

EULOGIUM, by the GENIUS of the EAST, on SIR WILLIAM JONES.

[FROM MR. MAURICE'S ELEGIAC AND HISTORICAL POEM, SACRED TO THE MEMORY AND VIRTUES OF THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JONES.]

TO chase the tenfold gloom, my Jones, wasthine,
To cheer the Brahmin, and to burst his chains;
To search for latent gems the Sanscreeet mine,
And wake the fervour of her ancient strains.

For, oh! what pen shall paint with half thy fire,
The power of music on the impassion'd soul,
When the great masters waked the Indian lyre,
And bade the burning song electric * roll?

The mystic veil, that wraps the hallow'd shrines
Of India's deities, 'twas thine to rend;
With brighter fires each radiant altar shines,
To nature's awful God those fires ascend.

Sound the deep conch; dread Veeishnu's power proclaim,
Ahd heap with fragrant woods the blazing urn;
I see sublime devotion's noblest flame
'Midst superstition's glowing embers burn!

'Twas thine, with daring wing, and eagle eye,
To pierce antiquity's profoundest † gloom;
To search the dazzling records of the sky,
And bid the stars the sacred page ‡ illumine.

Nor did the instructive orbs of heaven, alone,
Absorb thy soul 'mid yon ethereal fields;
To thee the vegetable world was known,
And all the blooming tribes the garden yields;

From the tall cedar on the mountain's brow,
Which the fierce tropic storm in vain assails,
Down to the humblest shrubs that beauteous blow,
And scent the air of Asia's fragrant vales.

But talents—fancy—ardent, bold, sublime—
Unbounded science—form'd thy meanest fame;
Beyond the grasp of death, the bound of time,
On wings of fire religion wafts thy name.

* The impressive title of one of the most ancient Sanscreeet treatises on music is, "The Sea of Passions." See our author's animated account of the Indian music in the Asiatic Researches, vol. II. p. 55.

† See the two profound Dissertations on the Indian Chronology, in Asiatic Researches, vol. II. p. 111, and 389.

‡ Consult various astronomical passages in the treatises abovementioned, and the Discourse on the Lunar Year of the Hindus, in the same publication, vol. III. p. 249. They are all made subservient to the cause of the national theology, and the illustration of the grand truths delivered in the sacred writings.

And long as stars shall shine; or planets roll,
 To kindred virtue shall that name be dear;
 Still shall thy genius charm the aspiring soul,
 And distant ages kindle at thy bier.

LINES ON THE DEATH OF THE REVEREND DR. KIPPIS; by HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.

PLAC'D 'midst the tempest, whose conflicting waves
 The buoyant form of Gallic freedom braves,
 I from its swelling surge unheeded turn,
 While o'er the grave where Kippis rests I mourn.
 Friend of my life, by every tie endear'd,
 By me lamented, as by me rever'd;
 Whene'er remembrance would the past renew,
 His image mingles with the pensive view;
 Him through life's lengthening scene I mark with pride,
 My earliest teacher, and my latest guide.
 First, in the house of pray'r, his voice impress'd
 Celestial precepts on my infant breast;
 "The hope that rests above," my childhood taught,
 And lifted first to God my ductile thought.
 And, when the heav'n-born Muse's cherish'd art
 Shed its fresh pleasures on my glowing heart;
 Flashed o'er my soul one spark of purer light,
 New worlds unfolding to my raptur'd sight;
 When first with timid hand I touch'd the lyre,
 And felt the youthful poet's proud desire;
 His lib'ral comment fann'd the dawning flame,
 His plaudit sooth'd me with a poet's name;
 Led by his counsels to the public shrine,
 He bade the trembling hope to please be mine;
 What he forgave, the critic eye forgives,
 And, for a while, the verse he sanction'd lives.
 When on that spot where Gallic freedom rose,
 And where she mourn'd her unexampled woes,
 Scourge of his nature, and its worst disgrace,
 Curse of his age, and murd'rer of his race,
 Th' ignoble tyrant of his country stood,
 And bath'd his scaffolds in the patriot's blood;
 Destin'd the patriot's fate in all to share,
 To feel his triumphs, and his pangs to bear;
 To shun th' uplifted axe, condemn'd to roam
 A weeping exile from my cherish'd home,
 When malice pour'd her dark insatiate lye,
 Call'd it, though death to stay, a crime to fly;
 And, while the falsehood served her hateful ends,
 Congenial audience found in hollow friends;

Who

Who to the tale "assent with civil leer,
 " And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer ;"
 His friendship o'er me spread that guardian shield,
 Which his severest virtue best could wield ;
 Repell'd by him, relentless Slander found
 Her dart bereft of half its pow'r to wound.
 Alas ! no more to him the task belongs
 To soothe my sorrows, or redress my wrongs ;
 No more his letter'd aid, enlighten'd sage !
 Shall mark the errors of my careless page ;
 Shall hide from public view the faulty line,
 And bid the merit he bestows be mine.
 Ah ! while with fond regret my feeble verse
 Would pour its tribute o'er his hallow'd hearth,
 For him his country twines her civic palm,
 And learning's tears his honour'd name embalm ;
 His were the lavish stores her force sublime,
 Through ev'ry passing age, has snatch'd from time ;
 His, the historian's wreath, the critic's art,
 A rigid judgment, but a feeling heart ;
 His, the warm purpose for the gen'ral weal,
 The Christian's meekness, and the Christian's zeal ;
 And his, the moral worth to which is giv'n
 Earth's purest homage, and the meed of heav'n.

TRANSLATION of a HYMN, written by LA SOURCE and SILLERY, and
 sung by them every Night, when imprisoned in the LUXEMBOURG,
 and in expectation of Death,

[From Miss WILLIAMS'S SKETCH of the POLITICS of FRANCE, from
 the 31st of May, 1793, till the 28th of July, 1794, Vol. I.]

CALM all the tumults that invade
 Our souls, and lend thy pow'rful aid,
 O source of mercy ! soothe our pains,
 And break, O break, our cruel chains !
 To thee the captive pours his cry,
 To thee the mourner loves to fly ;
 The incense of our tears receive,
 'Tis all the incense we can give.
 Eternal Pow'r, our cause defend,
 O God, of Innocence the friend !
 Near thee for ever she resides,
 In thee for ever she confides.
 Thou know'st the secrets of the breast,
 Thou know'st the oppressor and th' oppress'd ;
 Do Thou our wrongs with pity see,
 Avert a doom offending Thee ;

But,

But, should the murderer's arm prevail,
 Should tyranny our lives assail,
 Unmov'd, triumphant, scorning death,
 We'll bless Thee with our latest breath.
 The hour, the glorious hour, will come,
 That consecrates the patriot's tomb;
 And, with the pang our mem'ry claims,
 Our country will avenge our names.

ODE ON HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

NOT from the trumpet's brazen throat,
 Be now the martial measure blown :
 Mild Concord breathes a softer note,
 To greet a triumph all her own ;
 Wafted on pleasure's downy wings,
 A nearer joy than conquest brings
 Now soothes the royal parent's breast ;
 By rosy wreaths of Hymen bound,
 A nation's fervent vows are crown'd,
 A much lov'd son is blest :

II.

While crowds on this returning morn
 Their willing homage pay,
 And shouts, of heartiest gladness born,
 O'ercome the Muse's lay ;
 Amid the Pæan's choral sound,
 While dying Faction's shrieks are drown'd,
 O sovereign of a people's choice,
 Hear, in that people's general voice,
 The noblest praise that waits a throne ;
 Their surest guard, thy patriot zeal,
 Thy public care, their strength they feel,
 Thy happiness their own.

III.

O royal youth ! a king's, a parent's pride,
 A nation's future hope !—again the tongue
 That join'd the choir, what time by Isis' side
 Her tuneful sons thy birth auspicious sung,
 Now hails, fulfill'd by Hymen's hallow'd flame,
 The warmest wish Affection's voice could frame ;

For say, can Fame, can Fortune, know
 Such genuine raptures to bestow,
 As from the smiles of wedded love arise,
 When heavenly Virtue beams from blushing Beauty's eyes?

IV.

Ne'er may the rapid hours, that wing
 O'er Time's unbounded field their ceaseless flight,
 To grateful Britain's monarch bring
 A tribute of less pure delight!
 Ne'er may the song of duty soothe his ear
 With strains of weaker joy, or transports less sincere!

WAR ELEGY, better suited to our Circumstances than the WAR
 ELEGIES of TYRTÆUS.

[From the ART of WAR, a POEM, by JOSEPH FAWCETT.]

O'ER once the haughty baron's house of war,
 Now to a county's dreary jail decay'd,
 Whose ruin frowns on yon tall hill from far,
 The dead of night had thrown its deepest shades:

Hush'd lay the captive foes of angry law;
 Loud clanking chains the ear no longer fill,
 Oblivion bless'd the hopeless felon's straw,
 And Mis'ry's mad, inebriate mirth was still.

But one there was whose lids refus'd to close;
 More greatly curst, one daughter of Despair,
 Who wildly thus pour'd forth her wakeful woes
 Thro' the deep silence of the midnight air:—

“ 'Tis well—'tis well;—my forefend ill is o'er:—
 Thou little wretch, that caus'd my keenest pain,
 Shalt lift thy piteous looks to me no more,
 For food my utmost efforts fail'd to gain!

“ Come, kill the mother who her child has kill'd *!
 Haste, righteous judges, and avenge the deed!
 Yes, men of justice, I've for ever still'd
 The raging famine that I could not feed.

Death,

* The poor woman, having lost her husband in the war, and having implored relief at several doors in vain, in the town of Liverpool, in a fit of desperation, took her child (about three years old) in the public street, and dashed its head against the wall; immediately surgical aid was called, but in vain. Upon opening the body of

"Death, to thy gate I come at last for aid!
 I knock'd at others, and they gave me none;
 'I and my babe are perishing,' I said;
 Me and my babe they sternly bad Begone!

"Friend of the poor! an outcast wretch receive!
 From woes the wealthy will not, thou wilt save!
 Thy kinder hand shall all my wants relieve:—
 No hunger gnaws us in the easy grave.

"No mother o'er her starving infant there
 Her empty hands with raving anguish wrings!
 What was it brac'd this heart such pangs to bear?
 How came ye not to crack, ye iron strings?

"Bread?—sweetest suppliant—ask it not of me—
 The last, last crumb I had, has long been gone:
 Come, shall I lift thee up, and let thee see,
 That shelf thine eager gaze devours, has none!

"Take off those craving, cruel eyes from me;
 Look thus at them, who feast on sumptuous fare;
 Yonder they sit!—the loaded tables see!—
 Carry those asking eyes, pale sufferer, there.

"Murd'ers!—tis false—did I the murder do!
 Say not 'twas I that stain'd the street with gore;
 Ye hard, unmelting sons of wealth, 'twas you!
 In vain I wept for succour at your door.

"Ye would not let my little cherub live;
 Rocks!—ye refus'd to lend it longer breath:
 A mother gave it all she had to give—
 Gave it a beggar'd mother's blessing—DEATH!

"Heav'ns!—how I strove my innocent to save!
 Till my worn spirit could no longer strive;
 No more endure to hear the breath I gave
 All spent in cries for bread I could not give!

"For three long days my wond'rous patience bore
 Those ne'er to be forgot, heart-piercing cries;
 Bore to behold the pining looks implore—
 Bore the dumb hunger of the hollow eyes!

of the child, the surgeon gave it as his opinion, that its stomach had not received food for three days before. The miserable mother is committed to Lancaster Castle.

Taken from the Cambridge Intelligencer, August 15, 1795.

"For joy a child is born into the world,
 Delirious mother, that her pain forgets!
 Mine out again this hand in mercy hurl'd!
 With juster joy my bounding bosom beats!

"Here what but wolves, but wild destroyers dwell?
 They tore my husband from my helpless side,
 And, when the father in their battles fell,
 A little bread his famish'd babe denied.

"When Surfeit swells while wasting thousands die,
 When Riot roars amidst surrounding groans,
 Whence springs the patience of the quiet sky?
 What keeps ye silent, ye unruffled stones?

"Farewel, thou dreary scene of want and woe!
 The poor to dust where hard oppressors grind;
 Force seas of blood and seas of tears to flow,
 And triumph in the torments of mankind!

"My fellow-victims! that so calmly lie,
 Nor join the vigils these parch'd eyes must keep,
 Forgetful each of all his misery,
 I also, sound as you, shall shortly sleep.

"Fly, my deliverers!—hither wing your way!
 Come, in your robes of beauteous office, come!
 And you, ye brightest sun-beams, deck the day,
 That to her rest a weary wretch shall doom."

SONNET ON FAME.

[From SONNETS and other POEMS, by WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM,
 Esquire, Junior.]

SAY, what is Fame? a brilliant empty shade,
 Like vapours painted by the breath of morn,
 Which chill the mountain's brow, (in clouds array'd)
 And starve the head their glitt'ring robes adorn.
 Ah! what avails the slowly-moving hearse,
 The shrine that eulogy is wont to raise;
 The splendid tomb deck'd with funereal verse,
 The shout of millions, or the peal of praise?
 O what is Fame? enroll'd in glory's page,
 Pursued with vigour, and with ardour sought;
 For which in ev'ry clime, and ev'ry age,
 The poet labour'd, and the hero fought.—
 'Tis oft a bubble, that through æther flies,
 That sports a while, evaporates, and dies.

T H E W I S H.

[From POEMS by ROBERT LOVELL, and ROBERT SOUTHEY.]

THE Muse who struck to moral strains the lyre,
 Now turns to court a visionary theme,
 To frame the wish which flattering hopes inspire,
 When fancy revels in her golden dream.

I ask no lone retreat, no shady grove,
 Nor grove nor bower can boast a charm for me;
 I muse on Justice, Liberty, and Love,
 And, need I, Orson! tell my wish to thee?

I bend, great Justice! at thine awful throne,
 Eternal arbiter of good and ill:
 The sons of soul shall make thy laws their own,
 And form their dictates by thy sov'reign will.

But oft perverted is thy high behest,
 And oft I'm doom'd oppression's rod to see;
 See wealth triumph, and the poor oppress,
 And, need I, Orson! tell my wish to thee?

How bounds the soul at freedom's sacred call!
 How shrinks from slavery's heart-appalling train!
 But still her victims avarice will intral,
 Afric's sad sons still wear the accursed chain.

Still, power despotic, with ambition join'd,
 Would crush the soul determin'd to be free;
 I see debas'd man's dignity of mind,
 And, need I, Orson! tell my wish to thee?

Were justice follow'd, then would man be good,
 Were freedom guarded, then would man be blest;
 No generous impulse of the soul subdu'd,
 But love, unfraught with anguish, fill the breast.

I felt the magic of Lucinda's eye,
 I thought her charms were of no mean degree;
 Lucinda's name inspir'd the secret sigh,
 And, need I, Orson! tell my wish to thee?

One only wish remain'd! oh! might I find,
 Amid this scene of danger and of strife,
 Some kindred spirit, some congenial mind,
 To cheer my journey through the vale of life.

Indulgent

Indulgent heav'n vouchsafed the boon to send,
 A youth I found, and just and mild was he;
 My heart sprang mutual to embrace its friend,
 And, need I, Orson! name that friend to thee?

MOSCHUS.

MORNING, A POETICAL SKETCH, IN IRREGULAR VERSE.

[FROM POETICAL SKETCHES, BY ANN BATTEN CRISTALL.]

R O S A M O N D E.

WILD midst the teeming buds of opening May,
 Breaking large branches from the flow'ry thorn,
 O'er the fern'd hills see Rosamonda stray,
 Scattering the pearls which the gay leaves adorn!
 Her ringlets o'er her temples play.
 Flush'd with the orient splendour of the morn,
 The sun broke forth—and wide its glories threw,
 Blushing along the sky, and sparkling in the dew.
 The plains gay-glitter'd with ethereal light;
 And the field-melody,
 Nature's wild harmony,
 Breath'd love, and sang delight!

Fresh Rosamonde the glowing scene surveys,
 Her youthful bosom inly stung with pain;
 Early amid the shadowy trees she strays,
 Her shining eyes the starting tears restrain;
 While tyrant Love within her pulses plays,
 O'er the wet grass she flew with wild disdain.
 She flew from thought, and far
 She sang, and hail'd the morning star.
 Her voice was pinion'd on the wind,
 Which wafts her notes around;
 Encircling Zephyrs caught each sound,
 And bore them echoing through the wood,
 Where pleas'd offended Urban stood,
 With archest smile, yet musical and kind:
 Conquering the sigh, she gayly sung,
 And scorn loud-trembled on her wery tongue.

While Urban stood, and held her in his eyes,
 He to his lips applies
 The soft-breath'd flute;
 Whose notes, when touch'd with art,
 Stial to the inmost heart,
 And throw the tyrannizing spirit down—
 While vanity and pride are charm'd and mute.

Those

Those lays reach'd Rosamonda's ear,
 She fluttering, like a bird whom fear
 Has drawn within the fascinating serpent's fangs,
 Unable to conceal the pangs
 Of pride, conflicting with returning love,
 To hide her blushes, darts amid the grove:
 Sweet showers fast sprinkle from her lovely eyes,
 Which drown her short-liv'd scorn;
 But as she moves the young musician flies,
 Leaves her all wild, sad, weeping, and forlorn!

MARCH of the GUARDS to GREENWICH, Feb. 25th, 1793.

[From the First Volume of an ACCURATE and IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE
 of the WAR, by an OFFICER of the GUARDS.]

O F my supper, so lately in Devonshire trick'd,
 Torn away from my friends, and my pullet half pick'd;
 Scarce suffer'd to bid them a parting adieu * !
 By the help of four horses to London I flew,
 And hasten'd to join the brigade in the Park,
 Assembling tow'rd's Greenwich to march, and embark.
 Had you witness'd the scene, you'd have thought, I am sure,
 Of Hogarth's, this march was a caricature.
 Prim'd with Whitbread's entire, and their bosom-friend gin,
 By driblets our men join'd their squads, to fall in;
 As John Bull to be idle soon finds a pretence,
 Not Gordon himself gather'd crowds so immense.
 In Parliament-street scarce a window was down,
 And the mob rush'd in throngs from all parts of the town.
 All smoothly went on in the front of our line,
 But the rear, Gods ! what pencil has pow'r to define ?
 Not a single pot-alehouse escap'd an assault,
 And our men to the dregs drain'd each barrel of malt.
 Supported between two battalion-men here,
 Hissing hot from the bung reel'd a tall grenadier.
 Two damsels attending, his armour to bear,
 As drunk as the staggering hero, were there;
 His cross-belts and pouch the fair Phillida bore,
 While his cap Amaryllis triumphantly wore !
 Our march interrupted by whikeys and gigs,
 Mad drivers, mad oxen, and obstinate pigs ;

* When his majesty was reluctantly prevailed upon to give his consent, that a detachment of the foot guards should be employed for the defence of Holland, the orders for the embarkation of the three first battalions, were so suddenly issued, that many officers, who had been employed on the recruiting service in the country, with difficulty reached London in time to march with the brigade to Greenwich, on the 25th of February, and others were obliged to follow the transports in packets and bye boats to Havre de Grace.

Men boxing, dogs barking, and women in tears,
 Harsh concert that threaten'd the drums of our ears.
 Midst a bustle, dear Richard, beyond all compare,
 At length we arriv'd at the Hospital-square;
 Carts following, to pick up those stragglers they found,
 Who, unable to move, had repos'd on the ground.
 Our sov'reign. God bless him! below'd and rever'd,
 Benignantly smiling, amongst us appear'd.
 Around him *, those patterns of excellence shone,
 Those jewels, that lustre reflect on his throne.
 A grenadier drunk from the centre rank reel'd,
 And hiccuping, up to his majesty wheel'd,
 ' Never mind all these Jacobins, G—e, rest in quiet,
 We'll quell them, my hearty! as quick as a riot.'
 The king was delighted, and laugh'd out aloud;
 While the fellow was hail'd by three cheers from the crowd.
 The transports in readiness waiting in sight,
 Ev'ry soldier † was promptly embark'd before night.
 Off Greenwich, till morning, at anchor we lay,
 Then a breeze springing up, we were soon under weigh‡,
 And tos'd by rude waves for three nights at the Nore,
 All grumbling, and all too impatient for shore.
 Then signals were made, and each ship hoisted sail§:
 With a gathering sky, and rising brisk gale.
 As our vessel was steadily gliding along,
 I stole to the stern from the noisy gay throng;
 And as the lov'd island escap'd from my view,
 I sigh'd to thy cliffs, fairest Albion, adieu!
 Adieu, that sad word brought with force to my mind,
 The many dear friends I was leaving behind.

* The affability and condescension which at all times so peculiarly distinguish the royal family of Great Britain, were never more conspicuously displayed than on this occasion, and as the battalions passed them in review, every soldier's countenance became exhilarated. The queen and princesses, who were at Sir Hugh Palliser's during the embarkation, waved their handkerchiefs as the boats put off from shore; and in return, after repeated hearty huzzas, the men struck up a roaring chorus of God save the King, in which they were joined by the royal group; this circumstance was frequently talked over in the soldier's tent, and not forgotten in the field of battle.

† Only one accident happened during the embarkation. A private broke his leg in ascending the side of one of the transports; and such had been the hurry of the preparations, that not a single medicine chest was found on board any one of the vessels; it was therefore long before the least assistance could possibly be given to the poor fellow.

"Somewhere there was a fault."

‡ Tuesday morning, about 11 o'clock, Feb. 26.

§ Thursday evening, Feb. 28.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1795.

THE publications in Biblical Literature and Theology, during the year 1795, have not maintained their usual proportion among the productions of our English press. This observation applies, in general, to the importance, as well as the number of the treatises which are to be referred to this department. Our readers, however, as they accompany us in our annual progress, will find, that we have some exceptions to make, which bear honourable testimony to the learning and industry of their authors. Among others, they will meet with "A Literal Translation from the original Greek, of all the Apostolic Epistles, with a Commentary, and Notes, philological, critical, explanatory, and practical, &c. by James Mac-knight, D. D," in 4 vols. 4to. or in 3 vols. 4to. without the Greek Text. In our Register for the Year 1787, we announced a "New Translation from the Original, of the Apostle Paul's 1st and 2nd Epistles to the Thessalonians, with a Commentary, and Notes," which our veteran in sacred criticism offered as a specimen of a larger work, the result of many years study and application, the publication of which depended on the encouragement which he should receive from the literary world. The biblical scholar will rejoice, that

the reception which that specimen met with, induced the author to complete his laborious and ingenious work. Of the design, and plan, and general merits of Dr. M.'s knight in this undertaking, we have given our readers an account in our volume abovementioned; which is applicable to the volumes before us. We must add, however, that the whole work is interspersed with essays on several important subjects, and numerous critical, as well as practical notes, which afford satisfactory evidence of the extensive reading, learning, and ingenuity, by which the author was qualified to become a translator and commentator of scripture. This work, likewise, besides the separate prefaces to each epistle, contains a general preface, explaining the author's reasons for engaging in such an undertaking, and the principles on which it is conducted, together with a well written and instructive History of the Life of the Apostle Paul.

In our Register for the year 1793, we laid before our readers the nature and character of Mr. Macculloch's "Lectures on the Prophecy of Isaiah," of which the first volume only was then published, to try what kind of reception the public would give to the labours of the author, as a practical commentator. From the appearance

ance of a second volume, during the present year, we conclude, that Mr. Maccullock has not proved an unsuccessful candidate for the approbation of theological readers, and that he will proceed in completing his original plan.

The "Attempt to render the daily Reading of the Psalms more intelligible to the unlearned; with a Paraphrase selected from the best Commentators; and illustrated with occasional Notes, by F. T. Travell, A. M." is a work for which the class of readers mentioned in the title are much indebted to the worthy author. Of his intention his own words will convey the best idea. "As this work is principally designed for people of small acquired knowledge, or, at least, such as are not conversant in works of criticism; it is not intended to perplex them with the different opinions of the learned on various obscure passages; information and instruction, not critical exactness, being the object in view." Of the manner in which Mr. Travell has executed his plan, we cannot but speak in terms of commendation. It may be thought that sometimes he has yielded too much to the power of imagination, when applying passages of the Hebrew poets to the circumstances of our Saviour's Life and Doctrine: but instances of this kind are not numerous. His interpretations, in general, are unexceptionable, and just; and his style and language plain and perspicuous. The serious reader will with pleasure accompany our author in his pleasing and edifying illustration of an important part of scripture, which "speaks the language of the heart, in a manner peculiarly affecting, and is adapted to such a

variety of conditions and situations in life."

Dr. Bell's "Arguments in Proof of the Authenticity of the Narratives of the extraordinary Conception and Birth of John the Baptist, and the miraculous Conception and Birth of Jesus Christ, contained in the two first Chapters of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke," do great credit to the ingenuity and learning of the worthy author. With the expertness of an able logician, he has concentrated within a narrow compass, the whole evidence which can be drawn from ecclesiastical records, and probability, to prove the claims of those disputed chapters to a place in the sacred canon; and to obviate the objections of those who contend that they are spurious, or who entertain doubts concerning their genuineness. Whether he has satisfactorily removed all the difficulties of the question, and shewn that the authenticity of the contested passages is "full as abundantly ascertained, as that of any other passages of the Gospel, the contents of which were never disbelieved by any of the early christian sects," must be left to the judgment of his readers.

The "General and Connected View of the Prophecies relating to the Times of the Gentiles, delivered by our blessed Saviour, the Prophet Daniel, and the Apostles Paul and John, with a brief Account of their Accomplishment in the present Age, &c. by the Reverend E. Whitaker," is an appeal to the testimony of history, as existing in the pages of Mr. Gibbon's celebrated work, against the covert and insidious attacks of that gentleman on the outworks of christianity. The plan to turn that fas-

cinating historian's weapons against himself, was ingeniously conceived; and has been executed, in many instances, with credit to the author's abilities, and to the cause for which he is an advocate. Whether he adopts the interpretations of former commentators, or chooses to suggest his own sense of the prophecies, his illustrations of them by the recorded events are frequently striking, and deserving of serious attention. Sometimes, like most other writers who have undertaken to elucidate the dark and obscure parts of the prophetic books, his explanations may seem fanciful, and his judgment questionable: as, for instance, when he conceives that the gunpowder and artillery of modern warfare are prefigured by the fire, and smoke, and brimstone described as issuing out of the horses' mouths in Rev. 9. 18; or when he marks out the precise periods for the final destruction of the papal power, and for the gathering together of the Jews, and for the revelation of the Lord.

With the hope of exciting attention to the important question, is Christianity true? and of assisting the enquirer in discussing it, an anonymous author has published "an Analysis of Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity &c." which we noticed in our last volume. In our account of that valuable work we intimated our regret, that our limits would not permit us to exhibit such a summary of its contents, as might induce the searcher after truth closely and minutely to examine the argument as treated by the able pen of the arch-deacon. That task is executed (on a much larger scale indeed than were practicable in a work like ours), in a very judicious manner, in the treatise before us. And we recom-

mend it to the perusal of the student, in the words of one of our literary journals, as an excellent "text book, in which, when interleaved, may be inserted, in their proper places, references and quotations for the farther elucidation of the subject."

The "plain and easy Introduction to the Principles of natural and revealed Religion, with a comprehensive View of the Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Dispensation &c. by a Clergyman of the Church of England, in 2 vols." was drawn up, for the most part, from Dr. Jenkins's Treatise on the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Religion, which has been long out of print, and which is generally conceived to be superseded by publications of a later date. Our author, however, entertained a different opinion; and prepared his pages for purposes more elementary than the generality of modern works on the same subject. His method is popular, and his language plain and correct; but the views which he introduces of the doctrines of scripture, are such, as can render his volumes unexceptionable only to those who embrace the orthodox creed. This, surely, is injudicious, as it confines the utility of the work to a party; and, what is more, tends to confound, in the minds of young readers, the evidences and doctrines of religion: an evil in which a great part of the scepticism of the world has originated.

Dr. Jamieson, in his "Alarm to Britain, or, an Enquiry into the rapid Progress of Infidelity, in the present Age," traces the evil mentioned in his title-page to a variety of causes, classed by him under the divisions of remote, and intermediate. Among the former he enumerates

merates Popery, Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, the modern plan of moral preaching, dishonest subscriptions to creeds and confessions of faith, the laws of ecclesiastical patronage, the relaxation of church discipline, and the loose principles and conduct of numbers both among the clergy and laity. Among the latter he reckons pride of reason, love of pleasure, a dread of fanaticism, neglect of religious duties and of the study of the scriptures, inattention to enquiry, resisting the proof of facts in respect of human depravity, the extreme assiduity of infidels, the conceit of a little learning, and a spirit of innovation. Dr. Jamieson discovers in this treatise, considerable abilities as a writer. But the dispassionate reader cannot but disapprove the unnatural mixture which he presents, of liberality and bigotry; and the freedom with which he censures, and attributes unjust consequences to the opinions of those whose consciences will not permit them to rally under his theological standard. Until Christian polemics practise that candour and moderation, which are the fulfilling of the law to which they profess to yield obedience, they may expect that the progress of infidelity should be rapid; for they themselves give to it an accelerated motion.

Dr. Priestley's "Answer to Mr. Paine's Age of Reason," &c. is the republication of a work which made its first appearance at Northumberland Town, in America; the asylum to which our philosopher has fled, from the disgraceful persecutions which he suffered in his native country. This work consists of two tracts. The first contains three letters to the philo-

sophers and politicians of France, on the best method of communicating moral instruction to man, on historical evidence, and on the evidence of a future state. These letters contain much important matter, relative to the principles of deists, which is richly deserving of their notice, and written with a perspicuity, force, and candour, that are well adapted to produce conviction in the thinking and ingenuous mind. The second part of this work consists of seven letters to an unbeliever, in which the doctor enters into a reply to Mr. Paine's attack on revelation; detecting his ignorance and dissimulation, exposing the weakness and fallacy of his reasoning, and confuting the chief objections which he has detailed from the works of preceding unbelievers, with a calmness and weight of argument that are highly impressive and satisfactory. In a judicious and interesting preface to this work, Mr. Lindsey vindicates the fame of his injured friend, in opposition to the calumnies which had been propagated since his emigration; and offers testimonies of the great estimation in which he was held by the wise and good among his countrymen, and of the respect with which he was received in America.

Mr. Jackson's "Observations in Answer to Mr. Thomas Paine's Age of Reason," contain some ingenious and lively remarks on the ignorance and want of candour which that publication discovers. And notwithstanding that they cannot rank with the most able and argumentative defences of the Christian religion, they are entitled to praise; especially if we consider the author's situation when he wrote them, in the confinement of a prison to which he was committed on a

charge of high treason, where he was precluded all access to such authorities as he must have been desirous of consulting, had he undertaken a more regular and systematical performance.

Mr. Hincks's "Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of Cork, occasioned by the Circulation of the Work entitled the Age of Reason, &c." contain a selection of some of the strongest arguments in favour of revelation, from the principal writers on the subject, thrown together in a pleasing and popular form. Mr. Hincks has "endeavoured carefully to abstain from all those arguments, which could have no weight except with Christians, and to confine himself to the proof of those things which all Christians agree in believing, and on which they build those doctrines by which particular sects are distinguished."

The author who signs himself "a Protestant Lay-Dissenter" is also entitled to praise, for the good sense and Christian spirit discovered in his "Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled the Age of Reason, &c. by which remarks it may appear, that to adopt Mr. Paine's notions of divine revelation, would be to lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true; contrary to his professed intention."

The "Vindication of the Age of Reason, in Answer to the Strictures of Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, and Dr. Priestley, by Thomas Dutton," is a well written performance, but destitute of novelty in the arguments adduced against revelation, and of candour in the representations which the author gives of Judaism and Christianity. What Mr. Paine asserted, he reiterates; and retorts on Mr. Wakefield and Dr. Priestley the charges

of weak and inconclusive reasoning which they had brought against their antagonist.

During the year 1795 the author of the "Age of Reason, &c." published a second part of that work. This continuation of his attack on revealed religion, with respect to the matter of which it consists, will be found to possess no higher claims to importance and respectability, in the judgment of the well-informed scholar, and scripture critic, than the first part. He will find no argument, or semblance of an argument, no objection, or shadow of an objection, which he has not met with in the pages of former deistical writers, and which have not been ably repelled by many eminent and illustrious champions for revelation which our own country hath had the honour of producing. But the manner in which this work is written, it is not easy to describe in temperate language. To the same dissingenuousness which appeared throughout the former part, the author has added a degree of arrogance, indecency, and scurrility, such as seldom hath disgraced the annals of controversy, and which, surely, is incompatible with a sober attachment to truth. And this he has done without attempting, in any one instance, to reply to the answerers of his former work, or having the manly grace to acknowledge, and to renounce, the palpable errors (to say the least) of which he has been convicted. We need not say what conclusion the dispassionate reader will draw from such conduct. Hostility so conducted, cannot eventually be injurious to any cause.

Mr. Gilbert Wakefield in his "Reply" to the abovementioned work, makes use of the most severe and

and pointed terms which the English language can supply, to express the indignation and contempt, which the dogmatism, absurdities, and ignorance of Thomas Paine had excited in his mind, on viewing his renewed effort to undermine the solid buttresses of revelation. While we may admit that his adversary merited such chastisement, we cannot subscribe to its policy. We can partake in Mr. Wakefield's feelings when sitting down to expose the fallacies and ribaldry of Paine; but must express our wish that the effervescence of them had not appeared so prominent in his reply, as we are apprehensive that it may prejudice that class of readers who stand most in need of caution and information, against his close and logical reasonings. In this part of his work our author's learning and talents appear to eminent advantage. The errors and false reasoning of his opponent he detects with his usual sagacity; meets, and removes, in a manly and rational manner, difficulties which unbelievers and injudicious commentators have connected with some of the relations and occurrences in the Bible history; and offers concise, but what we consider to be satisfactory arguments for the authenticity of the books of scripture. His former treatises superseded the necessity of his enlarging more particularly on the last mentioned topic.

"The Scholar armed against the Errors of the Time; or a Collection of Tracts on the Principles and Evidence of Christianity, the Constitution of Church, and Authority of civil Government," in two volumes, is a compilation published by a society instituted for the reformation of principles, and intended for the information and assist-

ance of young students in our schools and universities. In our Register for the year 1785, we announced to our readers a collection of theological tracts, in 6 vols, published by Dr. Watson, bishop of Llandaff; which we strongly recommended on account of the judicious choice which that prelate had made of some of the best and scarcest treatises, on subjects in theology and scripture criticism, from writers in, and out of our established church. The liberality with which he admitted the works of sectaries into that collection, to which the sanction of his name, and his station as regius professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, would give a wide diffusion among theological students, created an alarm in the minds of some serious and well-meaning clergymen, whom we cannot pronounce the most enlightened and respectable of the order. They apprehended, that "the party of the church of England" would be endangered, by introducing into their schools, as text-books for study, the publications of men whose nonconformity they considered to be a brand of disgrace, if not criminal; and that the orthodoxy and loyalty of the rising generation would receive a taint from the maxims and principles which pervade their writings. And these apprehensions have been strengthened, by the activity displayed of late, by those whom they class under the terms of heretics and false philosophers, in disseminating what the latter call principles of civil and religious liberty. To counteract the apprehended mischief, the society abovementioned was established: and the publication before us is ushered into the world under their auspices. There is no

consistent friend to discussion and free enquiry; but must approve the intention of the members who formed this selection, whatever his opinion may be of the principles which it is designed to recommend, or of the judgment with which it has been formed. Among the contents the reader will find Mr. Charles Leslie's short and easy Methods with the deists, and with the Jews, and his treatises on the truth of Christianity, and on the qualifications necessary to administer the sacrament; three letters of Mr. Law to bishop Hoadly on the danger and sin of schism; Mr. Norris's true distinction between faith and reason; Mr. W. Jones on the catholic Doctrine of a Trinity; Roger North's Discourse on the English Constitution; Dr. Horne's sermon on the origin of Civil government; a short View of the Arguments between the Dissenters and the Church of England; Remarks on the Growth of Heathenism among modern Christians; and many other articles which our limits will not permit us to specify.

The publication entitled "Christian Knowledge, in a series of theological Extracts and Abridgments, affectionately addressed to philosophical Deists, Christians, and Jews, by a Lover of true philosophy, vol. I." is the well-meant compilation of "a once splendent and unhappy sceptic," but now a zealous and orthodox believer, which he offers to the serious and candid, trusting that they will find it "no feeble defence against the shafts of infidelity, and no feeble confirmation of their faith." The chapters of which the present volume consists, are compiled or abridged from the discourses in Scott's Christian Life, on the Divinity and Incarnation of our Saviour, the moral ef-

fects of the redemption, on moral good the main of religion, on the causes and folly of atheism, and on providence; from the dissertations on the divine and human nature of Christ, his sufferings, and on sacrifices and prophecies, in Stackhouse's History of the Bible; from the introduction to a book entitled *Horæ Solitariae*; and from Young's Centaur not Fabulous.

Dr. Napleton's "Advice to a Student in the University, concerning the Qualifications and Duties of a Minister of the Gospel in the Church of England," contains much useful matter, which deserves the serious attention of those who are intended for the ministerial function; methodically arranged, and clothed in perspicuous, correct, and simple language. The subjects which he recommends to their notice are, the importance and responsibility of the pastoral office; the preparation necessary for deacon's and priest's orders; the discharge of the pastoral duties, and the administration of public services; the composition and matter of pulpit discourses; private instruction and admonition; personal conduct, and residence. But the list of books which the doctor has drawn up for the student, is too circumscribed and defective. For he has overlooked, or proscribed, some of the ablest writers of whom our country has to boast, in ecclesiastical history, ethics, the evidences and doctrines of revelation, and scripture criticism. At a crisis like the present, when the enemy is at our gates, and is active and incessant in his assaults, those who from their province are destined to guard and defend the palladium, should be furnished not only with the old defensive armour, but with every new weapon discovered during

ing the increasing progress of light and knowledge.

The design of Dr. Cæsar Morgan in his "Investigation of the Trinity of Plato and of Philo-Judæus, and of the Effects which an Attachment to their Writings had upon the Principles and Reasonings of the Fathers of the Christian Church," is to oppose the opinions of those orthodox, or heretical divines, who contend that the doctrine of the trinity is to be found in the writings of Plato; and to shew, that the belief of it which took place among the early Christians, was not founded on an erroneous construction either of his meaning, or that of Philo, but on the scriptures. On this design our author has bestowed much learning and ingenuity, and has elucidated the abstract doctrines of Plato in a very able and satisfactory manner. The passages in the writings of that philosopher which have been supposed to express an acquaintance with the doctrine of the trinity, are clearly proved by him to have been misunderstood; and his reasonings are ingenious to establish the latter part of his plan. His unitarian readers, however, will protest against their conclusiveness; and still maintain, that the allegorical interpretations of Philo, and the manner in which he applied the principles of his master in illustration of the Old Testament, point out to us the sole legitimate origin of the doctrine in dispute.

Mr. Travell's "short and simple Exposition of the Athanasian Creed, tending to remove the usual Prejudices against it," is drawn up in the following manner: On one page we meet with the separate sentences of which the creed consists, with a short explanation of each, and on the opposite the texts of

scripture by which the author conceives the doctrine to be supported, with interpretations selected from found and orthodox commentators. How far Mr. Travell has been successful in clearing up the obscurities, and in removing the objections which have been advanced against this celebrated creed, his readers must judge for themselves.

The "Demonstration of the true and eternal Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Opposition to the Attacks of the present Age, by Dionysius Van De Wynperse. S. S. Theol. Doct. &c." is a prize dissertation, to which the gold medal was adjudged by a society at the Hague, instituted for the purpose of encouraging defences of the established opinions, against the hostile efforts of heretics. This treatise was noticed by us in our Catalogue of the Literature of the United Provinces for the year 1794; but not in terms of praise. What we then said was founded on the reports and extracts of foreign journalists; and we have seen no reason to contradict it, since our acquaintance with Dr. Wynperse in his English dress. Nor can we see what necessity there was for naturalizing this Dutch production, when the same side of the question is maintained with much greater ingenuity, and critical skill, in the writings of many of our English polemicists. The author's plan is, "to produce some of the least doubtful evidences of Christ's eternal divinity to represent them in the simplest manner; and, particularly, to contrast them with the sceptical notions of the present times, in such a way that the honest enquirer may be confirmed in the truth." In executing this plan, Dr. Wynperse introduces a long train of the Scripture passages

sages which are usually appealed to in this controversy, but without throwing any new light upon them; and, in the general texture of his work, appears more declamatory than is quite consistent with the title prefixed to it.

Of Richard Brothers's "Exposition of the Trinity, &c." it is sufficient to remark, that it is similar, in point of matter and construction, with his other publications, which, for a time, engaged and agitated the minds of great numbers of our credulous countrymen. In our last volume our readers will find the titles and character of those extraordinary productions.

In the "Candid Reasons for renouncing the Principles of Antipædobaptism, by Peter Edwards, several Years Pastor of a Baptist Church at Portsea, Hants," we meet with a plain and perspicuous statement of the arguments against and for infant baptism, and a liberal and shrewd exposition of the prepotency of the latter, in the present judgment of the author.

The author of "the Principles of Antipædobaptism, &c. in answer to the Arguments and Objections of Mr. Peter Edwards, with a Preface and Notes, by James Dore," and Dr. Joseph Jenkins, in his "Defence of the Baptists against the Aspersions and Misrepresentations of Mr. Peter Edwards, &c." give sufficient proof that they are not unacquainted with the controversy, and that they can suggest, at least plausible arguments in favour of the system which they have adopted. We are sorry, however, that we cannot acquit either of the champions above-mentioned, of an unbecoming use of harsh expressions, and personalities. On few subjects have polemics lost their

temper more frequently, than when discussing the questions relative to the object and mode of baptism. Is not this owing to both parties ascribing a false importance to the distinctions which they have adopted, and by which they are led to separate from each other as though they belonged to the most hostile communions?

Mr. Evans's "brief Sketch of the several Denominations into which the Christian World is divided, accompanied with a Persuasion to religious Moderation," is intended for the use of young persons, and consists of two parts. In the first part the author gives a concise account of the chief sects among Christians, under the heads of opinions concerning Christ; opinions respecting grace; and opinions respecting church government and the administration of ceremonies; which, upon the whole, is accurate and candid. In the second part Mr. Evans suggests some judicious reflections, on a view of the distinctions which obtain respecting speculative points, tending to promote a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance. This little work deserves to be recommended for the good sense, and excellent intention which it discovers, and the beneficial effects on the Christian world, and on society, which it is calculated to produce.

Mr. Churton's "short Defence of the Church of England, in Answer to those from whom we separate, and to those who separate from us," addressed to his parishioners, is divided into two parts. In the first part, in which the author opposes the church of Rome, he conducts his defence on the grounds of the sufficiency of the Scriptures for salvation; the necessity of reading them, and performing public worship

worship in a language understood by the people; and of the absurdity and impiety of some of the fundamental doctrines of the Romanists. In vindicating the Church of England against protestant sectaries, Mr. Churton dwells on the excellence of the established mode of administering the sacraments, and of the book of Common-prayer in general; together with the superior advantages of liturgic worship, and the appointment of an episcopal hierarchy. He has, however, left untouched the delicate topics of doctrinal articles, and subscription at the requisition of the civil magistrate. What he has written, is penned with much seriousness and candour, and in plain and affectionate language.

"The Churchman's Answer to the Protestant Dissenter's Catechism, &c. by the Rev. H. Smith, D. D. Reader of the Temple," is intended to counteract the effects of a publication which has been circulated many years among our English nonconformists, and has reached the tenth edition. The catechist's review of nonconformity was divided into two parts, historical and theological. In answering the remarks which occurred in the historical part, Dr. Smith accuses his opponent of want of candour, and of slander; and finds but "little courage necessary in combating so weak an adversary." How far his courage and abilities have been successfully employed, we must leave to the decision of his readers: but we cannot say that he has substantiated his charges; or that he has not exposed himself to the retort, less than courteous, for the counter charges which he prefers, indiscriminately, against the present race of dissenters. When Dr. Smith

comes to the theological part of the Catechism, one thing will strike the reader as rather extraordinary, which is the air of triumph which he assumes, on finding that the author does not attack the doctrines of the church; whence he would infer the conclusion that they are inexpugnable. For whatever weight this circumstance may carry with it as an *argumentum ad hominem*, he must know that it will fail as a general plea against separatists; since one, and that not the least inconsiderable ground on which many of them vindicate their dissent, is their conscientious disapprobation of the church's articles of faith. On the whole, Dr. Smith's answer to the protestant dissenter's Catechism, though not destitute of ingenuity, does not reach the points which are most essential to be decided between conformists and nonconformists.

Mr. Foley's "Defence of the Church of England," is composed of a series of discourses delivered to his parishioners, on Ephes. v. 27. Whatever credit this author may claim for his zeal, and good intention, we cannot honestly say that his knowledge, his talents, or his temper, as far as they are discoverable in the work before us, qualified him for the task he has undertaken. This verdict, we doubt not, will be pronounced by the warmest advocates for the real interests of the church of England, who are acquainted with the controversies between her and the catholic and protestant dissenters; with the state of parties in this country; or the rules of logical deduction. To the same judges we refer for the censures which he merits, on account of the fulminations which he pours forth, in haughty and coarse language, on the general mass of dissenters,

senters, for matters which he is pleased to lay to their charge of theological and political pravity.

Mr. Best's "true State of the Case, or Vindication of the Orthodox Dissenters from the Misrepresentations of the Reverend Robert Foley," is chiefly employed in defending one class of separatists against the intemperate and unjust reflections of the last-mentioned author. We do not imagine that the body at large will think themselves indebted to him, for distinguished efforts in their cause, or for the contracted space which he has chosen to fortify against the enemy's approaches.

Mr. Malham's "Dictionary of the Common Prayer, or the Church of England-man's Companion," is drawn up with much care and judgment, in clear and perspicuous language, and will be acceptable and useful to those whose sentiments accord with the creed established by law. We know not how we can better convey to our readers an idea of its contents, than by inserting a part of its long title. It is "an easy, familiar, and instructive Explanation of more than 350 Words or Phrases, which, for the most part, occur in the Rubrics or Directions to the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; or in some other respects are connected with it; wherein difficult Words are deduced from their Primitives, and familiarly explained; and a concise and easy Account given of their Use and Application in the earliest Centuries of Christianity; shewing that a considerable Portion of the Hymns, Psalms, and other Parts of the English Liturgy and public Service of the Church were in constant Use for several Ages before the Intro-

duction of any of the peculiar Doctrines of Popery."

Dr. Haultain's "plain Comment on the Catechism of the Church of England, in six Lectures, delivered in the six Sundays in Lent, in the Parish Church of Weybridge, in Surry, for the Improvement in Christian Knowledge of the junior Part of the Congregation," is an useful practical treatise, which the clergy of the establishment may place with advantage in the hands of their catechumens. The author's sentiments are those of an orthodox divine. The chief part of his work, however, is employed in a simple and familiar explanation of the generally acknowledged principles of natural and revealed religion, and in inculcating those moral and religious duties, which are of universal importance and obligation.

The treatise entitled "Religion in Danger, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Curate of Snowdon, and submitted to the Consideration of the Clergy of all Denominations," is the production of a serious reflecting mind, and contains important and seasonable truths, which merit the attention of men of all ranks and parties. It is not so much religion, as all establishments of religion, which he conceives to be in danger. From an affection, therefore, to the church of England, he cautions the clergy against the approximation to that of Rome, which he apprehends to be encouraged by the spirit and language of some of her intemperate sons; and endeavours to convince them, that the only way to preserve her interests is, to render her as pure and evangelical, and as free from all abuses as human institutions will admit. That this is the

language of wisdom and sound policy, we have no hesitation in asserting: but we are fearful that those who are more immediately concerned will not attend to it.

The "Essay on the reigning Follies and Vices of Mankind, and the Causes of national Danger and Calamity, deduced from historical Evidence, &c. by Thomas Carpenter," is a well-meant effort to strengthen the interests of religion and morals, and to revive an attention to those duties on which the happiness and tranquillity of society depend; but we cannot say that it is recommended by novelty of matter, or any attractive excellences of style.

The "Observations on the Inconvenience of the Ten Commandments, by George Hanmer Leycester, A. M. Barrister at Law," constitute a keen and delicate piece of irony, in which the author very successfully exposes those licentious principles which are the boast of the profligate and abandoned, and endeavours to make those who have not been long seduced from virtue, ashamed of their vices. In his method, after an introduction, in which with genuine humour he felicitates himself on the great service which he shall render the world by assisting men to shake off the load of religious and moral lumber, he discusses each of the ten commandments separately, to shew that "they are not only of no sort of use, but a very great inconvenience to a gentleman in pursuit of his pleasures."

Mr. Manning's translation of Zollikofre's "Exercises of Piety, for the Use of enlightened and virtuous Christians," is a correct and pleasing version of part of a French edition of that author's highly pious and devotional performance.

It is excellently adapted to the taste of those Christians, who, disgusted with controversy and its injurious effects on men's tempers and manners, content themselves with adhering to those truths which are essential to religion, and in which all communions and parties agree. Such persons cannot but derive benefit from the manner in which it discusses and insinuates useful and important sentiments on several interesting topics; such as the being and providence of God; faith in Christ; the immortality of the soul; love to God, to Christ, and to mankind; the love of labour; the general conduct of life; the duties of the domestic and civil relations; and the different ages and conditions of men.

"The secret Journal of a Self-Observer, or Confessions and familiar Letters of the Rev. J. C. Lavater, in 2 vols. translated from the German Original, by the Rev. Peter Will," is a publication in which the temper, and peculiar turn of the author's mind are apparent in every page; and in which many things will be found to interest, and many things also to disgust the sober religionist. We have seen it not inaptly compared to those spiritual experiences, as they are called, which give wonderful satisfaction and delight to certain descriptions of well-meaning Christians, but which, in our opinion, do not subserve the interests of rational religion, and manly cheerful piety.

To readers of the class above-mentioned the following rhapsodical production will prove most delectable: "The Christian's Views and Reflections during his last Illness, with his Anticipations of the glorious Inheritance and Society in the heavenly World; to which are

M. P. in answer to his Testimony in favour of R. Brothers, with an Appendix, in Vindication of the Scripture Prophecies, by the Author of the Age of Infidelity ; " Sound Argument dictated by Common Sense, &c. by George Horne D. D.;" " Anecdotes of R. Brothers, in the years 1791 and 1792, with some Thoughts on Credulity, occasioned by the Testimony of N. B. Halhed Esq, by Joseph Moser," " a Letter to N. B. Halhed Esq. by an old Woman;" and the " Memoirs of pretended Prophets, who have appeared in the different Ages of the World, and especially in modern Times, pointing out their Blunders, and the pernicious Consequences of their Pretensions; with an Examination of some of the most remarkable and best attested modern Predictions, shewing that no Inferences can be deduced from them in Favour of a prophetic Spirit, by a Clergyman." The last mentioned treatise is highly judicious, and entertaining, and well calculated to correct that propensity to credulity which gave rise to the forenamed publications.

Among the collections of sermons which made their appearance in the year 1795, we find a republication of the first volume of "a System of Divinity, in a Course of sermonson the first Institutions of Religion, &c. being a Compilation from the best Sentiments of the polite and sound Divines, both ancient and modern, on the same Subjects, &c. by the Rev. W. Davy A. B." This work was originally introduced to our readers in our History of the Literature of the year 1786; and is noticed by us at present, on account of the peculiar circumstances under which it is ushered into the world. Disappointed by the ill success at-

tending the former impression, occasioned particularly by the failure of payment by which many of the subscribers disgraced themselves, and wisely judging that it would be imprudent in him to proceed with this enlarged and improved edition, without some liberal support on which he might firmly depend; Mr. Davy, with a spirit and perseverance which do him great credit, constructed a press himself, and toiled at the art and mystery of printing, till he had completed forty copies of the volume before us. This volume he distributes, pro bono publico, and to try, at the same time, whether he can meet with encouragement to complete his plan. We heartily wish him that success which his zeal and good intentions merit; and such as shall enable him to present his work to the world in a more perfect form, and with less personal drudgery and inconvenience than if executed solely by himself.

The work entitled " Family Lectures, &c. a new Vol." may be considered as a continuation of a collection which was announced by us in our view of the Domestic Literature of the year 1791. It consists of a great number of discourses, selected from the works of fifty different authors of considerable celebrity; and forms a very large volume, which, considering the quantity of matter it contains, is offered to the public on very reasonable terms. The idea of compressing so much theological instruction in one volume, seems to have been taken from the success and universally acknowledged utility of the popular works entitled, *Elegant Extracts in Prose, and in Poetry, and the Elegant Epistles.*

In our Registers for the years 1788, 1790, and 1793, we introduced

deduced to our readers different volumes of practical discourses, partly abridged from various authors, and partly originals, by J. Charlesworth, A. M. on which we bestowed our applause, for the judicious and useful manner in which the design was conducted. During the present year that gentleman has published three little volumes in continuation of the same plan, which are well adapted to popular use. The first is entitled "Five practical Discourses on the Lord's Supper, the Example of Christ, mutual Equity &c.;" the second, "Four practical Sermons abridged from various authors, together with two Sermons on private Prayer, and public Worship;" the third, "Six practical Sermons, on the Duty of Parents, the Holy Scriptures, the value of Health, &c."

Dr. Henry Hunter, minister of the Scots Church, London Wall, on whose character as an eloquent and useful preacher we have had frequent opportunities of remarking, has presented to the public, during the year 1795, 2 volumes of "Sermons preached at different places, and on various occasions; collected and republished in their respective order: to which are subjoined Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Illustrations, relating to the Persons, Institutions, and Events, connected with the several Subjects." Of the discourses which form this collection we shall say no more, than that the numerous readers who have perused with pleasure and edification the doctor's former volumes, will thank him for rescuing them from the fate to which single sermons are most commonly consigned, that of "mere ephemera in the republic of letters;" and that the additions and illustrations which

he has subjoined, are instructive and entertaining.

The "twelve Discourses on different Subjects, by George Isaac Huntingford, D. D. Warden of St. Mary's College, Winchester," embrace a variety of interesting topics, on which the doctor delivers the sentiments of an orthodox member of the church of England, who, after a deliberate enquiry, is firmly convinced in his judgment of the truth of the doctrines to which he has subscribed. They afford testimonies to his abilities and taste, as a scholar; and proper specimens of the dignified eloquence with which practical instructions and exhortations may be enforced on a well-informed and classical auditory. In an Appendix he has collected numerous authorities, from ancient and modern writers, to prove that the expectation of a future state has universally prevailed among mankind.

The "three volumes of Sermons, on practical subjects, by late Rev. Samuel Carr, D. D. Prebendary of St. Paul's &c." are a valuable accession to our stock of impressive, popular discourses. Whenever the author introduces systematic opinions, he perfectly accords with the established creed. When he adverts to political topics, which, with the exception of two discourses, are sparingly introduced, he favours the once exploded doctrines of the Tory school. But it is on the great and important duties of piety and morality, that he chiefly expatiates; and with an energy and animation, which cannot fail strongly to commend them to the serious and susceptible reader. His language is correct, perspicuous, and elegant.

Mr. Fawcett's 2 volumes of "Ser-

mons delivered at the Sunday Evening Lecture, for the Winter Season, at the Old Jewry," are entitled to a distinguished rank among pulpit compositions. The sentiments which they inculcate are rational and manly; the pictures which they exhibit of men's characters and actions, in different circumstances, as his subjects suggested, are drawn with a masterly hand; the appeals which they contain to the judgment and the affections, discover the abilities of an able rhetorician; and they are highly ornamented with oratorical imagery. Should the cold critic pronounce their texture to be frequently too diffuse and declamatory for the closet; this objection will not much affect the youthful reader, whose imagination is lively, and whose attention is more readily attracted to interesting topics by the graces of composition, than by the solemn and less inviting habiliments in which the instructions of wisdom are most commonly clothed by our English preachers.

Mr. Rutledge's "Practical Sermons on select Passages of Scripture," contain much useful instruction, and just remarks, drawn up in a plain and easy style, such as is well adapted for general acceptance and utility. The author's theological sentiments are those of the church of Scotland: but he does not appear so anxious to inculcate any distinctive dogmata, as the great duties of religion and moral virtue.

Mr. Peebles' "Sermons on various Subjects," will be approved and admired by that class of readers whose sentiments are strictly Calvinistical, and who can relish the melting rapturous strains of what the profane call the canting school. They who wish to find important

sentiments and useful duties enforced, in a calm and nervous appeal to the understanding, or a judicious rational address to the affections, must resort to other collections than that before us. To the sermons are subjoined "Hymns, suited to the several Discourses."

Mr. Benson's "Sermons on various Subjects, moral and theological, preached in Tunbridge Wells Chapel," have been selected from the author's acceptable labours during the course of ten years, and are entitled to considerable praise. They enforce many of the duties of piety and morality, with method, energy, and pathos; and in language which, in general, is correct and elegant. Mr. Benson's theological opinions are what are commonly called moderately orthodox.

The "Sermons on practical and important Subjects, by the late Rev. W. F. Jackson, tried and convicted for High Treason, in Dublin, April 23, 1795," were, some of them, if not all, preached in Tavistock Chapel, Drury Lane, and printed several years ago, but from a variety of circumstances prevented from being published till the present period. They are distinguished more by liveliness of imagination, than depth of thought; and consist more in appeals to the passions, than to the reason and judgment. The style and language, as is most commonly the case with that species of pulpit eloquence, are declamatory and flowery, and sometimes turgid and bombastic. One circumstance will strongly recommend them to a numerous description of readers, which is the perpetual recurrence, whatever be the subject, of the peculiar doctrines of orthodoxy.

Mr. Robertson's "Seven Sermons,

mons, preached on particular Occasions," are chiefly confined to practical points. They discover much good sense, and a laudable design to subserve the interests of moral virtue, and chearful piety. With respect to composition, they are plain, unaffected, and persuasive.

The "Sermons sur les Circonstances presentes, prononcés dans l'Eglise Française de Londres, en Threadneedle Street, par Louis Mercier," as the title will lead the reader to conclude, were preached on particular occasions, with a reference to those great political events which have of late years taken place in Europe. They are published in order to confute the calumnies of some individuals, who hearing the author plead in favour of liberal sentiment, and moderation, called his liberality licentiousness, and his moderation disaffection. This purpose of their publication they have sufficiently answered, in the judgment of the dispassionate and unprejudiced. They breathe throughout the most ardent piety, and recommend, in animated and affectionate language, the most amiable social and personal virtues.

Sir Adam Gordon Bart. in his two volumes of "Discourses on several Subjects, being the Substance of some select Homilies of the Church of England, rendered in a modern style, and fitted for the general Use, and Christian Instruction of the Community at large," as far as we have compared his version with the originals, appears to have very successfully modernized the greatest part of those discourses, which an Article of the church pronounces to contain "godly and wholesome doctrine." What he has chiefly omitted is the

celebrated Homily against peril of idolatry; which many will think was as deserving of being received into this collection, at least with judicious abridgments, as others which he has retained, if our faith is not to "follow fashions," or truth do not "alter with the times."

Of bishop Watson's "Two Sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of Llandaff, and Charge, delivered to the Clergy of that Diocese, in June 1795," we cannot easily speak in too high terms. They contain unanswerable reasonings against the principles of atheism; and a summary of the evidence in favour of the Christian revelation, drawn up with that judgment, perspicuity, and candour, for which the good prelate is so eminently distinguished. We know not of a more valuable, or a more seasonable manual of sound philosophy, and of the arguments for our Christian faith.

Of the numerous single sermons of the year, we can admit but a very few into our catalogue: and in selecting these, we must be governed, according to our usual practice, by the importance of the occasions on which they were delivered, or of the matter which they discuss. In this number is that "preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on January 30, 1795, by Spencer, Lord Bishop of Peterborough." In this discourse, from Rom. XIII. 1. the right reverend prelate is far from enforcing the doctrine of "a blind, implicit, or unlimited subjection" to the powers that be. He ably contends, that the apostolic authority calls only for "proper subordination and obedience" to those civil governors who are lawfully

appointed. These genuine Whig principles must be admitted by every Englishman who understands and venerates the constitution of his country; and they comprehend every corollary on which all good men insist, who are the friends of well-regulated liberty, and the foes to anarchy. In adverting to the history of the period commemorated on the occasion, Dr. Madan, while he espouses the cause of Charles against the parliament, candidly acknowledges the former "to have been too fatally disposed to violate the rights and liberties of his subjects beyond what they could well bear, and to have acted under misconceived notions of kingly power." Such candour must do him honour in the estimation of those, who will draw very different conclusions from his concession than his lordship may be willing to allow. His subsequent reflections hold out salutary lessons to the governors, and the governed.

The "Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church, Westminster, on Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1795, being the Day appointed by his Majesty's Proclamation for a general Fast, by Henry-Reginald, Lord Bishop of Bristol," is a well-written, and serious discourse, in which the author avoids, as much as possible, every topic that can give offence to different political parties; and recommends a pious reliance on God, and the duties of repentance and reformation: subjects very proper for a day of national humiliation.

The discourse entitled "National Crimes the Causes of national Punishments, delivered in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough, Feb. 25, 1795," by Dr. Peckard, dean of Peterborough, contains

some very excellent and seasonable reflections on the absurdity, wickedness, and horrors of war, and that "infernal traffic in human blood," the slave trade; against both which he protests, with the spirit of a Christian, and the philanthropy of a genuine friend to his species. War he justly considers to be scarcely ever justifiable under the institution of christianity; and as nothing better than an enlarged scene of assassination. The slave trade he with equal justice execrates as a species of murder. And he insists, that when a nation, from motives of political convenience (as is commonly the case), joins in the former, or by the concurrence of its legislature sanctions the practice of the latter, the guilt which is attached to those enormous crimes, becomes national; and the most exemplary national punishments may justly be dreaded in consequence of it. We recommend the dispassionate perusal of this excellent discourse, to every person who possesses a spark of true zeal for the happiness and honour of his country.

In Philosophy and Ethics, the first publication which calls for our notice is the IVth volume of lord Monboddo's "Ancient Metaphysics, containing the History of Man." It is now eleven years since the third volume of this learned, eccentric, and incongruous work made its appearance. In our Registers for the years 1782, and 1784, we have said so much of the intellectual and literary talents of the author, and expressed in so full a manner our opinion respecting the nature and stability of his work, of his attempt to revive the Aristotelian philosophy, and of the consequences that he would draw from it, that we must refer our readers

to those volumes, for the general reflections which we should otherwise have introduced in this place. For we consider those reflections to be as applicable to the continuation before us, as to the preceding parts of the work. We shall therefore content ourselves with compressing, into as narrow a space as possible, the general outlines of his plan: the particular subjects which he discusses being, according to his usual practice, too multifarious to be easily enumerated. The present volume is entitled the *History of Man*: not the "the History of Nations and Empires, but the History of the Species, a work of very great extent and variety." It is divided into three books. The first book is also entitled the *History of Man*, whose rational and animal faculties the author examines, considering him in his natural state to be destitute of reason and intellect, a mere brute, and a quadruped, and afterwards tracing out the several steps of his progression from the brute to the man. In the second book he discusses the invention of arts and sciences, and particularly of language. All languages, he maintains to be derived from the Egyptian, which, he says, is the same as the Shanscrit, of which the Greek itself was but a dialect. In the third book lord Monboddo treats of the transmission of the arts and sciences, from Egypt to India, and China, and other nations. Among the numerous eccentricities which this volume contains, the reader will meet with the following: that the Orang-outang is a man; that the stories of the Cyclops and Satyrs, of men with eyes in their breasts, of men with the heads of dogs, and of animals with the head of a man and the body of a lion, are not fabu-

lous; and that Egypt was anciently governed and instructed by Demons. But we cannot devote more space for the recital of his wonderful reveries.

The next work which demands our attention is Dr. Hutton's "Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and of the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy," in 3 vols, the appearance of which was barely announced by us in our last year's Register. This work is divided into three parts. The first treats of the natural progress of knowledge, or the instinctive faculties which lead to science. The second, of science, or the conscious principles which lead to wisdom. The third, of wisdom or philosophy, or the proper end of science, and the means of happiness. Each of these parts is divided into sections, and those sections into subordinate chapters, which in some instances are numerous, and contain a great variety of particulars. It is impossible for us to follow our author through these ramifications of his very comprehensive production, in which few subjects are overlooked that are directly or remotely connected with intellectual enquiry. All that we can do is to excite the curiosity of our readers, by inserting the titles or contents of the leading divisions. Under part the first, Dr. Hutton treats of knowledge in general; of knowledge as a thing in which there may be distinguished different kinds; of perception, under which he endeavours to prove that magnitude and figure, like colour, have no external existence, and that, instead of existing absolutely and independently of the mind, they are merely ideas formed in the mind, and acquired not by the passion, but

the action thereof ; of conception, as different from sensation and judgment ; of passion and action in relation to knowledge ; of ideas ; of the theories of Mr. Locke and Dr. Berkley, both which he combats, the former on the same principle with Dr. Reid ; and of the nature of the reasoning faculty. In investigating the nature of science, which is the object of the second part, our author proves that science is natural to man, and to no other animal, and compares physics and metaphysics as branches of study ; illustrates scientific analysis in examining the principles of speech ; treats of the progress of reason ; of time and space as scientific principles ; of the use of number in science, and the method of attaining the conceptions of unity and number ; of the relations conceived to subsist between cause and effect ; of experience ; of evidence and principles ; of the nature of *actual* things ; of the nature of matter ; of nature ; of matter and motion ; to which he adds a variety of general reflections. In the third part Dr. Hutton exhibits a general view of the progress of science ; applies the principles previously investigated, to the study of philosophy ; treats of the education of the human mind ; offers a variety of different speculations on final and efficient causes, the subject of a future state, &c. ; on moral causes ; on the theory of virtue ; on piety and religion considered in relation to philosophy ; and concludes with a summary view of the intellectual system. That Dr. Hutton hath been more successful than all preceding metaphysicians in his attempt "to analyse our thoughts, to trace the means and conditions of judgment, and to shew the evidence and certainty of scientific reasoning, on

whatever subject it may be employed," is a concession which the acknowledged learning and unquestionable ingenuity which he displays, will by no means extort from the disciples of John Locke, and the champions of the modern necessarian school. Nor will his theory remain unopposed by a different class, who may conceive that his principles, if admitted, would tend to undermine their theological systems, which are deemed venerable from their antiquity, and the consent of the majority. Both parties, however, will subscribe to our concluding observation, that the abundant instances which these volumes afford, of eminent ability, studious diligence, originality of thought, and comprehensive enquiry, entitle the author to a distinguished rank among modern philosophers.

The treatise entitled "Intellectual Physics, an Essay concerning the Nature of Being, and the Progression of Existence," is published with the design of supplying an antidote to the principles of materialists and necessarians, which the author considers to be destructive of social order, morality, and religion. The following are the heads under which his arguments are arranged, after a preliminary section in which he employs himself in shewing that the mind of man, and its phenomena, are the proper objects of physics : self consciousness ; self activity ; the unity of our being ; existence in space ; space as the manifestation of an infinite eternal being ; the unity of the infinite eternal ; of this infinite eternal as a first cause ; of this cause as intelligent ; of goodness in the intelligent cause ; the same subject pursued with respect to the nature of man ; the same subject pursued with

with respect to the condition of man. Without deciding on the novelty or solidity of this author's reasonings, or admitting that he imputes legitimate consequences to the doctrines which he opposes, it would be unjust not to say that he writes with considerable ingenuity, and appears to be actuated by pious and commendable motives.

The "Illustrations of Mr. Hume's Essay concerning Liberty and Necessity, in answer to Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh, by a Necessitarian," are the production of an, able shrewd, and lively writer, who is well acquainted with the subjects he undertakes to discuss. In his strictures he coincides in part with our observations on that performance, in our Register for the year 1792, and with those of the doctor's Annotator, which were noticed in the same volume.

The "Outlines of Moral Philosophy, for the use of Students in the University of Edinburgh," proceed from the pen of Professor Stewart, and contain the heads of the course of lectures delivered to his pupils. What our opinion is of the learning and talents of our professor, and of his peculiar qualifications for engaging in a work like that before us, we have fully expressed in our volume above mentioned, when laying before our readers an account of his Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. In his present work he has rendered an important and acceptable service to students, and extended, at least in outline, his former valuable system. The materials of these lectures are arranged under the heads of intellectual powers of man, and active and moral powers of man. Under the first head the author treats of consciousness; the power of external percep-

tion; attention; abstraction; the association of ideas; memory; imagination; judgment and reasoning; intellectual powers and capacities formed by habits of study or business; auxiliary faculties and principles, essential to intellectual improvement, or intimately connected with it; and the intellectual faculties of man, contrasted with the instinct of brutes. The second head is divided into two chapters. The first comprises discussions on our active powers in general; our appetites; our desires; our affections; self-love; the moral faculties; and man's free agency. The second chapter treats of the various branches of our duty; those which respect the deity; those which respect our fellow creatures; those which respect ourselves; of the general definition of virtue; of an ambiguity in the words right and wrong, virtue and vice; and of the office and use of reason in the practice of morality.

The "Essays on Philosophical Subjects, by the late Adam Smith, LL. D." are distinguished by that ingenuity, penetration, and originality of thought, which pervade all the writings of that celebrated author, and will consecrate his memory to very distant posterity. It appears from the information of the editors, Drs. Black and Hutton, the intimate friends and executors of Dr. Smith, that these essays are parts of a plan he once had formed for giving a connected history of the liberal sciences, and elegant arts, but which he afterwards found it necessary to abandon, as far too extensive. They were left in the hands of those gentlemen, to dispose of them as they should please; and we have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding they may not be left in a complete and perfect state, the editors would neither have

done justice to science, nor to Dr. Smith's reputation, had they suppressed them. We agree with them in their persuasion, that they possess "that happy connexion, that full and accurate expression, and that clear illustration, which are conspicuous in the rest of the author's works; and that, though it may be difficult to add much to the great fame he so justly acquired by his other writings, these will be read with satisfaction and pleasure." The subjects of them are, the history of astronomy; the history of the ancient physics; the history of the metaphysics and logics of the ancients; the nature of that imitation which takes place in what are called the imitative arts; the affinity between music, dancing, and poetry, which may be considered as belonging to the foregoing essay; the affinity between certain English and Italian verses; and the external senses. To these essays is prefixed that account of the life and writings of the author, which is inserted in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of which we have given particulars in our last year's Register.

Dr. O'Keefe's "Essay on the Progress of the Human Understanding," represents "some of the errors, vices, and inhumanities of our predecessors, in order to convince man of his advancement to perfection;" "points out the glaring errors both of former and present systems, and the true and proper sources of reform; together with the method of cultivating our understandings, and the best books for acquiring a knowledge of ourselves, and the world." Such at least are the author's pretensions. As a sketch of the religious, civil, and political intrigues which have

given rise to prejudice, and formed a considerable impediment to man's progress towards perfectibility, it is not destitute of merit; but we cannot speak of it in high terms as a guide to such perfectibility. The philosophy of Kant, for which Dr. O'Keefe is an advocate, as far as we are able to understand it, does not promise to contribute more to illuminate and improve the human species, than the systems which literary fashion is rapidly proscribing in the speculative circles of Germany.

When we come to such publications of the year as belong to the head of Government, Law, and Political Economy, we meet with "a Review of the Governments of Sparta and Athens, by William Drummond." This work is the production of an ingenious and studious author, who rightly judges that the modern politician cannot contemplate, without advantage "the monuments of virtue and wisdom amid the ruins of Greece;" and that an attentive examination into the origin and gradual progress of its celebrated republics, and into the causes which produced their decline and fall, will assist him in discovering those principles of government that are most favourable to the permanent security and happiness of a nation. In pursuing his plan, Mr. Drummond, instead of reasoning from the theories of preceding writers, appeals to the facts of ancient history, preferring "that little which the Greeks have left to us, to the long and laborious treatises of modern compilers." From such sources he has composed a judicious and instructive performance, abounding in remarks, and enforcing maxims which richly deserve the attention of the student in the science of government. Were

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we to recommend any particular parts to repeated perusal, they would be the observations on the different laws established by Lycurgus relative to manners, on the internal arrangement of the Spartan government, on the balance of power in the different parts of the Athenian constitution, and on the particular laws of Solon. In his style the author appears to have taken Mr. Gibbon for his model, and has occasionally imitated his faults as well as his excellencies.

The author of "Philosophical Sketches of the Principles of Society and Government," is an advocate for that form which is composed of an hereditary chief magistrate vested with extraordinary powers and prerogatives, an hereditary aristocracy possessing great exclusive privileges, and a delegation from the commercial and landed interests in the community, but without any respect to the personal interests. The fundamental position on which his reasoning is built is, that in a state of nature man has no rights; that he possesses power, indeed, but that rights originate only with society. These rights he divides into primary and secondary. Primary rights are the protection of persons and property, the being compelled to do nothing which the welfare of society at large does not require, and the being allowed to do any thing which does not injure another. Secondary rights are those privileges which cannot be claimed in the first instance, but which society voluntarily confers as a gift or boon upon particular individuals. In examining how these rights may be best secured to the individual, he argues, plausibly at least, in favour of the aristocratic against republican constitutions of government; and the principles of

the former he finds in the existing practice of this country. Whatever merit we may allow the author as an ingenious defender of the cause which he has espoused, we cannot but conceive his fundamental position, and the doctrine that all personal interests should be excluded any share in the choice of the public representatives, with many other sentiments that are connected with his chain of reasoning, or incidentally occur, to be not only erroneous, but dangerous, and such as a consistent friend to the British constitution must execrate.

"The real Origin of Government, by John Whitaker, B. D." is an attempt to revive the old Tory doctrine of the divine right of kings, which the good sense of the nation proscribed at the revolution, by the Act of Settlement, and by fixing the Brunswick family on the throne of these kingdoms. The first principle for which he contends is, that government originated with the first man; whence he concludes that it could not have been the result of any compact between man and man. His second principle is, that in all the possibilities of nature, government never could be founded on the will of man. From the preceding he deduces his third principle, that government, being all divine, divine in its nature, divine in its energies, claims obedience from the conscience of man in the name of its divine establisher. In discussing these principles, Mr. Whitaker is liberal in bold and authoritative assumptions, and unnaturally presses the Old and New Testament into the service of arguments, which, if they have any weight, not only strike at the root of all republican forms of government, but of all the monarchies which at this time exist in the

the world. And the tone and spirit in which he delivers his oracular maxims and reveries, are as arrogant and intemperate, as their tendency is degrading and slavish. When adverting to the state of a neighbouring nation, and describing the cruelties which have attended their revolution, his sentiments and language are better adapted to promote superstition, and to exasperate the passions of his readers, than to subserve the interests of genuine Christianity, and of humanity.

The "Dissertation on the first Principles of Government, by Thomas Paine," contends for doctrines directly opposite in their nature, and in their consequences equally ruinous to the British constitution with those laid down in the above-mentioned treatise. Mr. Whitaker, by enforcing the divine right of kings, would palsy every effort to maintain and secure our liberties under a prince possessing despotic principles, and governed by wicked advisers: Mr. Paine would persuade us to part with the monarchical and aristocratical branches of our system, and to try the experiment of a simple democracy. All the forms of government he comprehends under the divisions of government by election and representation, and government by hereditary succession. The latter he endeavours to hold out to ridicule and contempt, by a repetition of similar reasoning, and similar harsh, coarse, offensive phraseology, as distinguished his Rights of Man. Government by representation he asserts to be the only legitimate government; and its true basis, equality of rights, with universal suffrage.

Mr. William Hodgson, in his "Commonwealth of Reason," is another advocate for the demo-

cratic form of government; and, considered in a literary view, is far from being a mean or feeble writer. His plan, however, will appear extremely fanciful and visionary to many of his readers: for it includes a legislative power, created by universal suffrage; the union of the legislative and executive powers in one body; committees of government, finance, agriculture, trade, and provisions, selected from the body of the representatives; the annual election of magistrates; the abolition of privileged orders; the civil direction of marriages and divorces; the equal division of property among children, whether legitimate, or illegitimate; public provision for the distribution of bread and fuel; the abolition of capital punishment; the abolition of religious establishments, and standing armies; a fundamental law that every situation in the commonwealth, to which is attached either trust or power, be revolutionary, or rotative, &c. &c. &c.

The publication entitled "Memoirs of Planetes, or a Sketch of the Laws and Manners of Makas," under the form of a philosophical novel, points out defects and incongruities in our established system; and hints at a variety of laws and regulations which would be favourable to the melioration of civil society. It is the production of a well-informed, reflecting mind, and is written in a correct and easy style.

The "Thoughts on the English Government, addressed to the quiet good Sense of the People of England," consist of the most gross and shameless misrepresentation of the principles of the British constitution, and the most fulsome incense to the kingly branch of our mixed government. According to this au-
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thor, the English yield a willing obedience to a government not of their own choosing; and that government is a monarchy. The monarch is the stock from which have sprung those goodly branches of the legislature, the lords and commons; but these are still only the branches, which derive their origin and nutriment from their common parent; they may be lopped off, and the tree is a tree still. The king alone necessarily subsists; and from him alone we unceasingly derive the protection of law and government. The reformation and the revolution he indirectly condemns; the former as a dangerous innovation, and the latter as little better than a successful rebellion. On these and numerous other tenets and insinuations, equally false and dangerous, the parliament hath been pleased to pass its sentence of condemnation; and hath left it to a jury to decide what farther censure they merit. We would not molest the author, for publishing his opinions; but we should have no objection to join the verdict of his country, in proclaiming them infamous.

"Church and State, an Enquiry into the Origin, Nature, and Extent of Ecclesiastical and Civil Authority, with Reference to the British Constitution, by Francis Plowden, L. C. D." is a very learned and ingenious work, published in support of the doctrines maintained in the author's *Jura Anglorum*, and in answer to the letter addressed to him by a Roman catholic clergyman, which we noticed in our last volume. It is divided into three books. The first book treats of the choice of religion; of the general source of authority; of temporal, civil, or human authority; of human or temporal legislative authority; of the nature of human or

temporal laws; of the rights and duties of human legislators concerning civil establishments of religion; of the revolution of 1688; of the oath prescribed to be taken by English Roman catholics; and of the civil obligations assumed thereby. The second book treats concerning spiritual power; of the theocracy of the Jews; of the establishment of Christianity with reference to the state; of church government in general; of order and jurisdiction; of the objects of the spiritual power; of the compatibility of the Roman catholic doctrine of the infallibility of the church, with the observance of their oath, and their civil duties to the state. The third book relates to the civil establishment of the episcopalian protestant religion in England, and is principally employed on the subject of ecclesiastical revenue, or property, ecclesiastical courts, and the king's supremacy. On these various topics, which have frequently employed the pens of catholic and protestant writers, of conformists and nonconformists, Dr. Plowden has displayed much legal erudition, acute reasoning, and a freedom and liberality of sentiment which do him great honour. He is of that description of catholics who are called constitutional catholics; and, consequently, may be supposed to make concessions which others of his communion, more zealously attached to the court of Rome, will not grant. But he is a sincere believer in the fundamental catholic doctrines; and it must, on that account, be supposed, that he has advanced and maintained opinions in which protestants cannot concur. Protestants, likewise, of different denominations, will oppose him on different grounds. The advocate for the church of England, for instance,

stance, will controvert his arguments in favour of one of his grand maxims, that the spiritual and civil power are, and ought to be, entirely distinct, and when he attacks the chimerical idea of Warburton, in his alliance between church and state; and the dissenter, when he maintains the lawfulness of religious establishments. We can venture to promise, however, that persons of liberal minds, to whatever sect or party they may belong, will derive much pleasure and improvement from the work before us: and we think it admirably calculated to promote a spirit of temperance and moderation among contending polemics.

In our last volume we introduced to our readers the first part of "an Essay on Colonization, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa, with some free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce, &c. by C. B. Wadstrom." During the present year the II^d. part of that work hath been published, in which the author continues his account of the attempts that have been made, or that are now making, to introduce knowledge and civilization into Africa; and by those means to strike at the vitals of that inhuman commerce, by which the European slave merchants have spread misery and desolation through its fertile, and once highly populous plains. The first account which he presents to us is that of the colony of Sierra Leone, until the period of its heavy calamities occasioned by the depredations of a French squadron. These calamities, we are informed, would most probably have been prevented, had a motion made by a member at the annual meeting of the subscribers been carried, "that the directors should be directed to take such steps as should appear to

them proper for opening a communication with the French convention, for the purpose of insuring the tranquillity of the colony." Mr. Wadstrom afterwards gives the history of the colony of Bulama, which was settled by an association formed in London; and of the Danish colony of Aquapim, founded in consequence of a truly political and humane edict of his Danish majesty, in Nov. 1792, which provides for the abolition of the slave trade in his dominions, lays open the Danish ports in Africa to all nations, and appoints the establishment of a colony to be cultivated by hired labourers. These various details, and the author's remarks which accompany them, are interesting and important; and lead us to hope, that the unwearied efforts of the friends of humanity to introduce the advantages of social improvement among their brethren of the sable race, will ultimately prove successful.

The "Considerations on the Effect of Imposts, in respect to different Modes of Taxation, &c. by the Marquis de Casaux," like the author's former elaborate productions on finance, are distinguished by profound research, an intimate acquaintance with the world, political and commercial, acute reasoning, and, what experience proves not to be irreconcilable with such qualities, paradox, and visionary theory. That we may not be chargeable with calumniating him, we appeal to his statements, "that it is ridiculous for us to be affrighted at the enormous load of our engagements, as we are indebted for a great part of our national wealth, to our national debt; and that, were it even in our power to pay the latter off, it would be as improper to do so, as to annihilate the whole at once,

once, by means of a bankruptcy;" that "the nation need not care for the augmentation of the national debt, since the value of every thing will also be necessarily augmented in the same proportion;" and that, "it is owing to the false and preposterous opinions, hitherto prevailing, relative to public debts and taxes, that England ought to attribute the loss of America, France all her misfortunes, and Europe her shameful penury, in respect to the only means capable of preserving her from the same disasters." Towards the conclusion he applies these doctrines to persuade the allied powers to persevere, and with redoubled vigour, in their war against France.

The "Reflections on the Formation, and Distribution of Wealth," by M. Turgot, translated from the French," present us with an outline of the principles on which an able financier and experienced statesman acted, when successively filling some of the most important ministerial offices in France; and on that account will be acceptable to the political student. Condorcet considered them as "the germ of the treatise on the Wealth of Nations, written by the celebrated Smith." Whether he was well grounded in that opinion, is a matter of little consequence; since, were it true, it would not detract from the merits of our countryman. His excellent work is chiefly valuable for the immense variety of facts and authorities which, with indefatigable industry, he collected, and investigated, and applied in illustration of the principles which he laid down. M. Turgot's reflections may be compared to a beautiful sketch, illustrated indeed by ingenious reasonings, but not demonstrated by experiment.

Dr. Tatham, from his "Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the National Debt," appears to have studied in the school of the marquis de Casaux, and to have adopted the most visionary and dangerous parts of his theory. With the utmost contempt for what he is pleased to call the fallacies of Adam Smith, he undertakes, in the first place, to point out a method by which the burthen of the national debt may be lightened with good effect, and all danger to the state removed. The plan which he recommends for this purpose is, to diminish the value of the pound in money, by increasing the quantity of circulating money, either in coin or paper; and, for this purpose, to increase the quantity of these natural productions or manufactured goods which may be carried to foreign markets to purchase gold and silver; and to let a paper money, which is the representative of real money, be so far increased, as not greatly to exceed the stock of real money. What he next undertakes to prove is, how the country is enabled, and how it may be more enabled, to bear the national debt. This point he attempts to establish by expatiating on the sources of our wealth and strength, agriculture, mines, fisheries, potteries, and manufactures; increasing, and so far to be increased, now that "the French have thrown away their commerce, and the Dutch are following their example, that this nation will have all Europe to clothe, all Europe to feed, and all Europe to supply with every ornament and utensil of civil life." His third point, that the national debt, under the just regulation of political economy, instead of being a public evil, is a public good, he endeavours to prove by dwelling

dwelling on the benefits of the funding system, the great wheel of national circulation, which, he contends, increases all the national resources, by multiplying and improving the capital and stock of the cultivators of land, and of manufacturers. Whence he concludes, that the national debt is not only useful, but indispensable to the nation; and that its gradual increase is a subject of public rejoicing instead of lamentation. We deem it unnecessary to make any remarks on the Doctor's talents as a financier.

Mr. William Morgan, in his "Supplement to his Review of Dr. Price's Writings on the Finances of Great Britain," inculcates a very different doctrine from Dr. Tatham's, and by mathematical demonstration, to which it is in vain to oppose fanciful theories, establishes facts relative to the national debt, and the public burthens, which must awaken the apprehensions of every true lover of his country. He likewise brings forward some curious statements respecting the plan for redeeming the national debt, and the public income and expenditure from the establishment of the consolidated fund to the year 1795, which will assist the reader in appreciating the merits of Mr. Pitt as a financier.

The publication entitled "Supply without Burthen, or Escheat vice Taxation, &c. by Jeremy Bentham, Esq." is deserving of attention, on account of the well-known abilities of the author, and the benevolent design in which it originated, viz. to point out a method of lightening those increasing burthens which press so heavily and so constantly on the industrious and lower ranks in the community. His plan is, to extend the law of escheat so far, as to appropriate to

the use of the public all vacant successions, property of every denomination included, on the failure of near relations, will or no will, subject to a limited power of bequest. By near relations, he means such as stand within the degrees termed prohibited, with reference to marriage. The arguments in favour of his plan he urges with great force and ingenuity, and is no less acute in answering objections. We are not prepared, however, to accede to a proposal which, as far as we understand it, would tend ultimately to change the whole system of landed property, and create a dangerous increase of the influence of the crown. Mr. Bentham's objections to law taxes are particularly worthy of consideration.

The "Speculations on an Uniform Tenure of Land, and an Equalization of the Territorial Taxes, &c." proceed from a well-informed reflecting mind, and certainly merit attention. In order effectually to prevent the perpetual and vexatious disputes arising from the tenure by which landed property is at present held, to correct a variety of grievances, and to reduce the weight of the public burthens, the author proposes a survey of the whole kingdom, to obtain an exact register of the lands, and enable the legislature to assess an equal land-tax; an abolition of the manorial courts, or rather a transfer of their power to those of the hundred; the substitution of a county rate for the maintenance of the clergy, in lieu of the very impolitic and obnoxious tithe laws; a tax on the transfer of landed and funded property; the sale of the crown lands, lands bequeathed to the poor, &c. in order to diminish the national debt; and an emission of notes without interest, to enable pur-

purchasers to fulfil their contracts, and prevent a depreciation.

The "Three Letters to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on the subject of the Statutes of Mortmain, containing an Enquiry into the Origin and present State of the Possessions of the Clergy under that Tenure," appear to have been written with the desire of promoting that financial reformation in church property, which the author conceives would annihilate the plans of the turbulent and seditious, at the same time that it would put a stop to the rapid progress of depopulation, and materially contribute to agricultural improvements. They contain much curious information, and remarks which deserve the notice of the political economist.

Mr. George Dyer's "Dissertation on the Theory and Practice of Benevolence," is intended as a sequel to his Complaints of the Poor People of England, of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1793. It does not affect to be a studied dissertation on benevolence; but "unfolds the secret wishes of the author," who, actuated by the purest philanthropy, wishes to contribute his abilities and influence in alleviating the miseries, and promoting the welfare of his species. He offers it to "the benevolent reader, as a *rerum trifarium commentariolum*, a little register book of distresses." It is divided into two parts. In the first part the author briefly defines benevolence or goodness, which he describes to be independent in its character, free in its design, universal in its influence, and persevering in its labours. The second part is miscellaneous, and presents us with objects which call for the practice of this virtue; such as charity schools, poor houses, hospitals, the asylum, and philan-

thropic society, the poverty and distresses of men of letters, and the circumstances of those individuals who were put on their trials for treason and sedition. His details and remarks on these topics are interesting and important, and convey some information that will excite the sympathy of the feeling heart.

The next work which we have to announce is of considerable importance in political economy. It is entitled "the Case of Labourers in Husbandry stated and considered, in three Parts. Part I. A View of their distressed Condition. Part II. The principal Causes of their growing Distress and Number, and of the consequent Increase of the Poor Rate. Part III. Means of Relief proposed. With an Appendix; containing a Collection of Accounts, shewing the Earnings and Expences of labouring Families in different Parts of the Kingdom. By David Davies, Rector of Barkham, Berks." The design with which this work was written, it is impossible to commend in too high terms; and the manner in which it is executed, allowing for trivial defects and errors inseparable from so complex a subject, and the difficulty of obtaining in all cases accurate information, is honourable to the industry and good sense of the author. Our limits will not permit us to lay before our readers a view of the various interesting contents of this volume, farther than they are expressed in the title-page. But we can promise them that their curiosity will be abundantly gratified, by the materials which Mr. Davies has collected together. His judicious and benevolent remarks, likewise, will prove of considerable assistance to those whose humane attention is directed to the improvement of our poor laws; and

and to those legislators, especially, who justly consider the great body of our peasantry to be the strength of the state, and the removal of their hardships and distresses one of the most important considerations of sound policy.

The "Hints for relieving the Distresses of the Poor," among other benevolent economical regulations, suggest the propriety of imitating the example of the quakers, "a religious society, consisting of above fifty thousand members, for the most part of the middle and lower classes; in which object poverty is the condition of none." Their system is comprized in two words, *principiis obsta*: remove the cause of distress at its commencement. "The moment any individual of this society applies for relief, two persons in the respective meeting are appointed to visit him, and to administer such aid as the nature of the case may require. If the object of distress be a female, two of the sex are deputed to pay this charitable visit; and sometimes a family in want is cheered by the united attention of both sexes." Their practice is rational and commendable; and might easily be followed in parishes or smaller districts, where the same benevolence and attention to order exist, as have long distinguished that respectable society. Regulations of the legislature might create that order, and call forth that benevolence, where at present few marks of them are to be perceived. We add this hint to those of our author, which deserve more attention than many pompous plans and theories, that are either degrading and cruel to the individuals who may stand in need of relief, or inefficient from their complexity.

The same subject, with the high price of provisions, the scarcity of

corn, the evils of monopoly, the forestalling of the markets &c. &c. employed the pens of a variety of writers, whose labours are not likely to survive the circumstances which gave them birth.

The first number of "Count Rumford's Experimental Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical," is part of an intended series of publications, which promise to be of considerable importance in economics. The essay before us contains "an account of an establishment for the poor at Munich; together with a detail of the various public measures connected with that institution which have been adopted and carried into effect for putting an end to mendicity, and introducing order and useful industry among the more indigent of the inhabitants of Bavaria." What the author has written on these interesting subjects, bears honourable testimony to his own abilities, and the liberal policy of the prince under whose auspices his experiments were made; and they merit the attention of legislators, magistrates, and the public at large.

The "Transactions of the Royal Humane Society," and the "Rules for recovering Persons recently drowned, in a Letter to the Rev. G. Rogers," deserve, and will doubtless, meet with considerable patronage, on account of the benevolent design of their publication. The former is entitled to a place in the library of every private gentleman, and medical practitioner; the latter cannot be too generally circulated among the common people.

The following is a list of the Law publications of the year: "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, in the time of Lord Hardwicke, by John Tracy

Tracy Atkyn, Esq. Curfitor Baron of the Exchequer, a new Edition, revised and corrected, with Notes, &c. by Francis William Saunders, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. in 3 Vols ;" " Reports of Cafes argued and determined in the King's Bench and Chancery, during the Time in which Lord Hardwicke presided in those Courts, collected from a MS. never before printed, with Notes, References, and Tables, by Wm. Ridgway, Esq ;" " Reports of Cafes in Chancery, by F. Vesey, Vol. II. Part III ;" " Reports of Cafes in the Common Pleas and Exchequer, Vol. II. Parts III. IV. by H. Blackstone, Esq ;" " Reports of Cafes adjudged in the Court of King's Bench, with some special Cafes in the Courts of Chancery, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, by Wm. Salkeld, late Serjeant at Law, a new Edition, by Wm. David Evans, Esq. in 3 Vols ;" " The Practice of the Court of Exchequer, upon Proceedings in Equity, by David Burton Fowler, Esq. one of the Six Clerks of that Court, in 2 Vols ;" " Reports of Cafes of Nisi Prius, in the Court of King's Bench, in the year 1794, by J. Espinasse, Esq ;" " Cafes determined at Nisi Prius, in the Court of King's Bench, from the Sittings after Easter Term, 30 Geo. III. to the Sittings at Michaelmas Term, 35 Geo. III. both inclusive, by Thomas Peake, of Lincoln's Inn ;" " The History of the Common Law, by Sir Matthew Hale, a new Edition, illustrated with Notes and References, and some Account of the Life of the Author, by Charles Runnington, Serjeant at Law, in 2 Vols ;" " The History, Principles, and Practice, ancient and modern, of the legal Remedy by Ejectment, &c." by the last-mentioned gentleman ; " An Essay on the Nature and Operation

of Fines and Recoveries, by Wm. Cruise, Esq. a new Edition, corrected and enlarged, in 2 Vols ;" " An Essay on Uses, by the same ;" " Index to Records, called Originalia & Memoranda, on the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Side of the Exchequer, by E. Jones, Vol. II ;" " Appendix to the whole Law relative to the Duty and Office of a Justice of Peace, by Thomas Walter Williams, Esq. in 4 Vols. making the first Part of a Vth Vol ;" " Appendix to the 17th Edition of Dr. Burn's Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, by John Burn, Esq ;" " the Laws respecting Landlords, Tenants, and Lodgers, &c. laid down in a plain and easy manner ;" " the Laws respecting Parish Matters, concerning the Office and Duties of Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, &c. laid down in a plain and easy manner ;" " the Laws respecting Wills, Testaments, and Codicils, and Executors and Administrators, laid down in a plain and easy manner ;" " the Laws respecting Masters and Servants, articulated Clerks, Apprentices, Journeymen, and Manufacturers, laid down in a plain and easy manner ;" " the Laws respecting the ordinary Practice of Impositions in Money-lending, &c ;" " the Laws concerning Property in Literary Productions, in Engravings, Designings, &c ;" " the Laws concerning Horses, by A. Stovin ;" " Essays on the Rights of the Prince of Wales relative to the Duchy of Cornwall, by G. Moore, Esq ;" " An Enquiry into the Title and Powers of his Majesty, as Guardian of the Duchy of Cornwall, by Charles Watkins, Esq ;" " Observations on the Rights and Duties of Jurors, in Cafes of Libel, by a Barrister at Law ;" " an Enquiry into what constitutes the Crime of compass-

ing and imagining the King's death,' according to the Statutes of Edward III. by a Barrister at Law ;" different editions of the " Trials of Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, Esq. and John Thelwall, for High Treason ;" " the whole Proceedings on the Trial of an Indictment against Thomas Walker, of Manchester, &c. for a Conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government, and to aid and assist the French, in case they should invade this Kingdom ;" " Account of the Proceedings relative to a Charge of high Treason against Charles Martin ;" and " Minutes of Proceedings on the Trial of the Mutineers on board the Bounty."

Among the Mathematical productions of the year, we find " an entire new System of Mercantile Calculations, by the Use of universal Arbitr Numbers, &c. illustrated and exemplified by the Elements of the Chain Rule of Three, the Nature of Exchanges, and of all Charges and Contingencies on Goods, by an old Merchant." The object of the author is, to expedite all mercantile calculations, by the assistance of tables, in the same manner as the computations of interest are generally made. And his work is built on the principle, that any number of compound ratios may be expressed by one equivalent simple ratio. These simple ratios he calls arbitr numbers ; and makes use of them in expressing the proportion of weights, measures, and coins of different countries ; and in tables to account for the charges on goods bought and sold in the respective ports, and to calculate the prices of exchanges and goods, whether together or separate. This work has been pronounced by competent judges to be a valuable and

important one, and calculated for extensive utility in the commercial world.

" The Magnetic Atlas, or Variation Charts of the whole Terraqueous Globe, &c. by John Churchman," is the production of an ingenious man, who is ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, and conceives that he has discovered a theory by means of which he can assign the variations of the needle, at any time or place whatever, with absolute certainty ; and thus render the method of determining the longitude no longer a desideratum in science. The fundamental supposition in this theory is, that there are two magnetical points, one in the northern, the other in the southern hemisphere, at unequal distances from the poles of the earth, and neither in the same nor opposite meridians, which revolve round the poles, from west to east, with different velocities. But we conceive that he has not been able to ascertain the situation of these imaginary points, and that, consequently, the building which he has erected upon such an hypothesis, must fall to the ground. What confirms us in this opinion is the circumstance, that the variations which he assigns to the needle in various parts of the northern and southern hemispheres, differ very materially from the observations made by our most experienced and scientific navigators.

" The Method of finding the Longitude at Sea by Time-keepers, to which are added Tables of Equations to equal Altitudes, more extensive and accurate than any hitherto published, by Wm. Wales, F. R. S." is a treatise which the well-known abilities and experience of the author will sufficiently recommend to the attention of navigators.

gators. For the solution of necessary problems, he has given perspicuous rules, illustrated by examples; and of the necessary instruments and the methods of adjusting and using them, he has given very clear and intelligible descriptions.

"The Theory of Tides, translated from the French of M. de St. Pierre," is intended to overturn the Newtonian doctrine. Whether the author's hypothesis is likely to enable us to account for that phenomenon, with less difficulty than on the ground of the mutual attraction of the sun and moon, regularly, and in any given positions of those heavenly bodies respecting the earth, invariably operating, we leave our readers to judge from its following outlines. He contends that the earth may be considered as divided at the equator into two mountains, the frozen summits of which are at the poles; and that, as vast rivers flow from the Glaciers of Switzerland, from these enormous glaciers are derived our oceans. In our summer months, of course, from the melting of the ice there will be immense currents southward from the north pole, and in our winter months, northward from the south pole. The tides, he maintains, are created by the semidiurnal fusions of the ice, occasioned by the sun's alternately visiting the eastern and western side of those glaciers.

The treatise entitled "Experimental Enquiry concerning the natural Powers of Wind and Water to turn Mills and other Machines, depending on a Circular Motion, &c. by the late Mr. John Smeaton, F. R. S." is a republication of several papers which were inserted in the 51st, 66th and 72d vols. of the Philosophical Transactions, and are given in a separate form, for the benefit of those practical engineers

and mechanics who have no opportunities of referring to that valuable collection. The skill and experience on which all Mr. Smeaton's communications were founded, render it almost unnecessary to say that the editor has done service to the public by offering them in a small and cheap volume.

The "Addresses to the Yeomanry of England, by a Field Officer of Cavalry," as far as it relates to tactics, is deserving of commendation, for the plainness and perspicuity with which it introduces the young soldier to an acquaintance with the elementary principles of military discipline. So, likewise, is the "Memorandum of Field Exercise for the Troops of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry, by an Officer of light Dragoons."

In our Register for the year 1791, we announced the appearance of part I. of a "Collection of Papers on Naval Architecture;" and laid before our readers an account of the origin and design of that publication. Since that time, parts II. and III. have been published, which complete the first volume of that useful work; and also part I. of the second volume. We trust that the laudable association to which we are indebted for these papers, will continue its exertions, which tend to the improvement of a science, the perfection of which is becoming daily more necessary, not only to the political weight and reputation, but to the existence of Britain as an independent nation.

The two volumes of "Elements and Practice of Rigging, Seamanship, and Naval Tactics" will, likewise, for the reason we have just assigned, as well as on account of their general merits, prove an acceptable present to our countrymen. The editor calls himself only the
P 2 foster

foster parent of this work, and acknowledges his obligations to distinguished characters in the British navy, and to liberal naval artists, for communications and assistance: he has also borrowed freely from French authors, and from Falconer's Marine Dictionary. It is but justice to say, that he has displayed great diligence in collecting his materials, and judgment in arranging them. How far his advice and direction, especially when original, may be safely followed, must be decided by professional men. The first volume contains treatises on mast-making, rope-making, anchor-making, sail-making, block-making, and rigging. The second volume contains the theory and practice of working ships; a treatise on naval architecture; a miscellaneous chapter; and tables of the quantities and dimensions of standing and running rigging for ships of different rates. These volumes are illustrated by several well executed plates.

In our Register for the year 1793, we introduced to our readers the first number of Mr. Murphy's curious and elegant work, entitled "Designs of the Church, and Royal Monastery of Batalha, situated in the Province of Estremadura, in Portugal." That artist has since continued his plan in three additional numbers, which, in sixteen plates, represent the several elevations and sections of the church of Batalha, and of the mausoleums of Emanuel the Great, and of king John I; delineations of the different parts of which those structures are composed; religious insignia of the thirteenth century; and various fragments of the Gothic order.

The "Philosophical Transactions" of our Royal Society for the

year 1795, contain many valuable scientific and economical papers. The scientific papers are partly mathematical and philosophical, and partly anatomical. Among the former we are presented with an ingenious Enquiry into the Nature and Construction of the Sun and Fixed Stars, by Dr. Herschel; whence he deduces the conclusion, that our vivifying luminary is "nothing else than a very eminent, large, and lucid planet, evidently the first, or, in strictness of speaking, the only primary one of our system," and "that it is most probably also inhabited, like the rest of the planets, by beings whose organs are adapted to the particular circumstances of that vast globe." Mr. Schroeter's New Observations in farther Proof of the mountainous Inequalities, Rotation, Atmosphere, and Twilight of the Planet Venus, in which he maintains the accuracy of his former conclusions, in opposition to the remarks of Dr. Herschel, are also entitled to respectful notice. So, likewise, are Mr. Vince's Bakerian Lecture, containing Observations on the Theory of the Resistance and Motion of Fluids, with a Description of the Construction of Experiments, in order to obtain some fundamental Principles; Sir William Hamilton's interesting Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in 1794, one of the most tremendous and destructive of which history makes any mention; the Experiments and Observations of Dr. Pearson, to investigate the Nature of a Kind of Steel, manufactured at Bombay, and there called Wootz, with Remarks on the Properties and Composition of the different States of Iron; additional Observations on the best Mode of producing artificial Cold, by Mr. Richard Walker; and an Account of the Trigonometrical Survey

vey carried on in the Years 1791, 1792, 3, and 4, by Lieut. Col. Edward Williams, and Capt. William Mudge, of the Royal Artillery, and Mr. Isaac Dalby, which appear to be an accurate continuation of the valuable scientific labours of the late General Roy. The anatomical papers comprize the Croonian Lecture on Muscular Motion, and Observations on the Mode of Generation of the Kangaroo, by Everard Home, Esq; Experiments on the Nerves and their Reproduction, by Wm. Cruikshank, Esq. and by Dr. Haighton; Observations on the Influence which incites the Muscles of Animals to contract, in M. Galvani's Experiments, by Dr. Wells; and Observations on the Structure of the Eye of Birds, by Mr. Pierce Smith. The economical papers, excepting a Treatise on welding cast Steel, by Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. we have inserted in different departments of our present volume. The Transactions of the year 1795 are also enriched by a Description of Dr. Herschel's Forty-foot Telescope, illustrated by nineteen Plates, exhibiting a beautiful view of that wonderful instrument, and explaining all the parts of the apparatus necessary for its suspension, and management.

In our sister kingdom the interests of science have been materially benefited by the publication of the fifth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy." The papers in this volume are classed under the heads of Science, Polite Literature, and Antiquities. Under the two last mentioned heads, in addition to what we have inserted among the selections in our present volume, are an Essay on the Origin and Nature of our Idea of the Sublime, by the Rev. George Millar; two ingenious and elegant Essays

on Style in writing, considered with respect to Thoughts and Sentiments as well as Words, and indicating the Writer's peculiar Disposition, Habits, and Powers of Mind, by the Rev. Robert Burrowes, D. D; and a Defence of the general Accuracy and Fidelity of Herodotus, in some Considerations on a controverted Passage in that Historian, by the Earl of Charlemont. But the greater number of communications, and those the most valuable, are under the head of Science. To this class the judicious and indefatigable Dr. Kirwan has contributed a Comparative View of Meteorological Observations made in Ireland since the Year 1788, with some Hints towards forming Prognostics of the Weather; Meteorological Observations in Ireland, in the Year 1793; an Examination of the supposed Igneous Origin of Stony Substances, which controverts the Theory of Dr. Hutton; a very important paper in Answer to the Question "what are the Manures most advantageously applicable to the various Sorts of Soils, and what are the Causes of their beneficial Effects in each particular Instance?" and Experiments on a new Earth, found near Stronthian in Scotland. The other papers in this department are of various, and some of them of no inconsiderable merit. Our limits will only permit us to particularize Dr. Garnett's Observations on Rain Gages; Letters on a portable Barometer, and the farther Improvement of Barometers, by Dr. James Archibald Hamilton, and Dr. H. Hamilton, Dean of Armagh; and Mr. Graydon's Memoir on the Fish inclosed in the Stone of Monte Bolca, near Verona.

That useful work entitled "the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, consisting of Original Com-

munications, Specifications of Patent Inventions, &c." continues to make its appearance in numbers, with undiminished reputation. During the present year the second and third volumes have been completed, containing a great variety of important articles relative to science and the useful arts, illustrated by numerous copper plates.

When we come to the publications of individuals in Natural Philosophy, we meet with a very singular treatise entitled, "a Dissertation on the Universe in general, and on the Proceſſion of the Elements in particular, by Richard Saumarez." This work we know not how to characterize more juſtly than by ſtating, that inſtead of arrangement and method, it preſents to us a confuſion of ſubjects, and a confuſion of ideas; inſtead of the language of ſcience, a jargon of myſtical phraſeology; and inſtead of an explanation of the phenomena of nature by an appeal to mathematical deduction, and the ſure teſt of experiment, a ſuppoſed more luminous development of the cauſes of things, by applying what are called the intelligibles of ancient metaphyſicians. With pleaſure do we turn from ſuch a maſs of abſurdity to the "Letters of Euler to a German Princeſs, on different ſubjects in Phyſics and Philoſophy, tranſlated from the French by Henry Hunter, D. D." The character of Euler has long ranked high in the philoſophical world; and theſe letters have juſtly obtained conſiderable celebrity on the continent. Premifſing only that the author's ſpeculations are ſometimes too fanciful, and his metaphyſics and logic too abſtruſe for an elementary work, we think, on the whole, that theſe letters form a valuable treatiſe, which we recommend as well cal-

culated "to unfold, in ſimple and eaſy language, to thoſe who have not ſtudied mathematics, the moſt important truths of mechanics, of phyſical aſtronomy, of optics, and of the theory of ſound." To the tranſlator much credit is due, for the fidelity of his verſion, and the notes of correction or explanation with which it is accompanied. Dr. Lorimer's "Conciſe Eſſay on Magnetiſm &c." is entitled to the praiſe of conſiderable ingenuity, although we by no means think that it ſolves a problem which has long baffled the ableſt philoſophers. His theory conſiſts in the application of Mr. Canton's explanation of the diurnal variation of the magnetic needle, (from the ſolar influence in heating the earth) to the more permanent variations. Nor do we conceive that Mr. Ralph Walker of Jamaica has brought the queſtion nearer to an iſſue in his "Treatiſe on Magnetiſm, &c." This author differs from Mr. Churchman, in his Magnetic Atlas, by ſuppoſing that the motion of the magnetic poles is from eaſt to weſt; and he appeals, likewise, to facts in ſupport of his hypotheſis. But he does not appear to poſſeſs ſufficient ſcience to enable him to determine ſuch a knotty point. We conſider the public, however, to be much indebted to the above named gentlemen, for the ardour and diligence with which they have proſecuted their inquiries, which may afford deſirable aſſiſtance to future labourers in the ſame field. Dr. Peart, in his treatiſe "on Electric Atmoſpheres," endeavours to ſuſtain the conteſt in which he ſome time ſince engaged againſt the doctrine of poſitive and negative electricity; but, in our opinion, unſucceſſfully. To Mr. Cavallo this branch of philoſophy is greatly indebted,

debted, for a third volume of his "complete Treatise on Electricity, in Theory and Practice, containing the Discoveries and Improvements made since the third Edition;" in which, among other valuable additions, the curious subject of the electrical powers of animal bodies is minutely investigated. We have no other article to announce in this department of our work, excepting "a Description of an improved Air-pump, and an Account of some Experiments made with it, by which its Superiority to all other Air-pumps is demonstrated," by the ingenious Mr. John Cuthbertson, who is well known for the valuable additions which, during his residence in Holland, he made to the apparatus of philosophers.

At the head of our Chemical articles we have to announce a work, which modern changes and improvements rendered highly desirable, and which the author's abilities and information well qualified him to undertake, with credit to himself, and advantage to science. We must content ourselves with inserting its title, which is "a Dictionary of Chemistry, exhibiting the present State of the Theory and Practice of that Science, its Application to Natural Philosophy, the Processes of Manufactures, Metallurgy, and numerous other Arts dependent on the Properties and Habitudes of Bodies, in the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms: With a considerable Number of Tables, expressing the Elective Attractions, Specific Gravities, comparative Heats, Component Parts, Combinations, and other Affections of the Objects of Chemical Research. Illustrated with Engravings, by W. Nicholson. 2 Vols." As a concise, but judi-

cious and comprehensive manual of the first principles of modern chemistry, we know not of any treatise so accurate and valuable, as a translation from the French of M. Fourcroy's "Philosophy of Chemistry, or Fundamental Truths of modern Chemical Science, arranged in a new Order." The author follows the Pneumatic nomenclature. Dr. Hutton's "Dissertation upon the Philosophy of Light, Heat, and Fire," is an ingenious work, in which the author endeavours to distinguish light and heat from each other, and to mark the properties which belong to each. But his conclusions are founded on abstract reasoning, instead of experiment. The doctor attempts, chiefly by the same process, to support the phlogistic doctrine. We will not say that he has completely failed, but we cannot pronounce him successful. Dr. Pearst, in his "Antiphlogistic Doctrines of M. Lavoisier critically examined, and demonstratively confuted, &c." steps forward, not with a diffident and unassuming air, to expose the absurdities of the French chemical school. But as he insists on some objections drawn from supposed inconsistencies in his antagonist's theory, and hypothetical reasonings, more than appeals to facts, we cannot decree him the honours which he arrogates in his title-page. Dr. Bancroft's "Experimental Researches concerning the Philosophy of Permanent Colours, and the best Means of producing them by Dyeing, Calico printing, &c." constitute a very valuable and important work, and promise to render essential service to the arts and manufactures of this country. The author confirms, in general, the system of M. Berthollet, which we noticed on a former occasion; but

offers much additional curious and interesting matter. Dr. Kirwan's second edition of his "Elements of Mineralogy, Vol. I." is greatly enlarged and improved, and so essentially different from the former, which was noticed in our Register for the year 1784, both with respect to its foundation, and the partial adoption of the modern nomenclature, that it may almost be considered as a new work. The author's name is a sufficient recommendation of it to those who are engaged in mineralogical researches. In this volume the present state of the science, as far as earth and stones are concerned, is accurately represented. The second part, which treats of saline, inflammable, and metallic substances, is stated to be in considerable forwardness. Mr. Schmeisser's "System of Mineralogy, formed chiefly on the plan of Cronstedt," in 2 Vols, excepting Dr. Kirwan's invaluable work, is the best publication, of which we have any knowledge, to which the English student can have recourse, as a correct, and easily intelligible system of mineralogy, in the present improved state of the science. Dr. Babington's "Systematical Arrangement of Minerals, founded on the joint Consideration of their Chemical, Physical, and External Characters, reduced to the Form of Tables, and exhibiting the Analysis of such Species as have hitherto been made the Subject of Experiment," is also a work which merits a favourable reception from the scientific world.—The earl of Dundonald, in his "Treatise shewing the intimate Connection that subsists between Agriculture and Chemistry," complains of the undue preference, with which science has been applied to the improvement

of manufactures and commerce, and brings it forward in aid of one of the most important, sober, and healthful occupations of human life. He undertakes to explain, on established principles, the processes that accompany the cultivation, and amelioration of the soil, and to suggest useful improvements to the agriculturist. And it must be acknowledged that he presents us with much new and interesting matter, from which cultivators may derive instruction, and public-spirited gentlemen be led to a series of experiments, that may be followed with very beneficial effects to the country at large.

Among the publications of the year which belong to Natural History, the first which demands our notice is Mr. Lewin's splendid work entitled "the Birds of Great Britain, systematically arranged, accurately engraved, and painted from Nature, with Descriptions, &c. in 8 Vols, Vol. I." This work is the produce of more than twenty years' assiduous application; and on account of its accuracy, as well as beauty, deserves to be spoken of in terms of very high praise. "The figures of the birds were painted from the most perfect specimens of the subjects, and engraved by the author; the natural history was chiefly composed from original observations by himself and his sons; and where their knowledge was defective, the descriptions were taken from the best writers upon the subject." The present volume contains the falcons, owls, and shrikes, with seven plates of eggs. The volume entitled "The Papilios of Great Britain, systematically arranged, &c." by the same ingenious author, is likewise entitled to the warm patronage of the lovers of natural history,

history, and of the admirers of the fine arts. For the figures are not only executed with accuracy, but with elegance, taste, and brilliancy, such as are rarely to be met with in British productions. The descriptions in this, as well as the preceding work, are given both in English and French. The author of "a Discourse on the Emigration of British Birds, &c." contests the hypothesis of those who are advocates for the torpid state of swallows during the winter. But notwithstanding that, in our opinion, he embraces the side of truth, his language is so dogmatical and intemperate, that he injures his cause, and renders himself contemptible. Mr. Thomas Martyn's "Aranei, or a Natural History of Spiders," comprizes the principal parts of Eleazar Albin's well-known work, which met with a favourable reception about seventy years ago, and a celebrated publication on Swedish spiders, by Charles Clerk. The figures are beautifully engraved, so as to resemble high-finished drawings. Dr. Shaw's "Naturalist's Miscellany, or Coloured Figures of Natural Objects, drawn and described immediately from Nature," is a valuable, elegant, and entertaining work, published in numbers, which are already so numerous as to complete six volumes octavo. The descriptions are given both in English, and in uncommonly pure Latin. "The Archives of Entomology, containing the History, or ascertaining the Characters and Classes of Insects not hitherto described, imperfectly known, or erroneously classified, translated from the German of J. C. Fuesly," come strongly recommended by the well-known learning and penetration of the author; the importance of their contents, and the elegant manner in which they are executed. On

fifty-one beautifully coloured plates we are presented with delineations of no less than four hundred and seventeen insects. The "Naturalist's Calendar, with Observations in various Branches of Natural History," is a pleasing and instructive volume, extracted, by Dr. Aikin, from the papers of the late Mr. White, author of the Natural History of Selborne. It contains many curious facts worthy the attention of students; and exhibits a specimen of a truly entertaining, as well as useful method of employing a part of that time which is spent amid rural scenes. Mr. Forsyth's "Botanical Nomenclator, containing a systematic Arrangement of the Classes, Orders, Genera, &c. of Plants, as described in the new Edition of Linnæus's Systema Naturæ, by Gmelin, &c." is also recommended by its obvious utility. Professor's Sibthorp's "Flora Oxoniensis" will be found an accurate and elegant guide to the botanical student who ranges through the scenes contiguous to the Isis and Cherwell. Mr. Haworth's "Observations on the Genus Mesembryanthemum, in two Parts," appear to have been executed in too hasty and unscientific a manner, to merit much commendation. Dr. Woodville, in his "Supplement to Medical Botany, or Part the Second," has concluded his useful work with descriptions of most of the principal medicinal plants not included in the Materia Medica of the collegiate Pharmacopœias of London and Edinburgh, accompanied with a detail of their medicinal effects, and of the diseases in which they have been successfully employed. In Jamaica, two botanical works have appeared; one of which, at least, must afford much curious information to the lovers of natural history. It is entitled "Hortus Americanus, containing

taining an Account of the Trees, Shrubs, and other Vegetable Productions of South America, and the West India Islands, and particularly of the island of Jamaica," published from the MSS. of Dr. Henry Barham, of which sir Hans Sloane spake in strong terms of approbation. The other publication is entitled "*Hortus Eastensis, or a Catalogue of Exotic Plants cultivated in the Botanic Garden in the Mountains of Liguanea, in the Island of Jamaica.*"

With respect to the publications of the year which tend to the improvement of Agriculture and Political Economy, exclusive of Dr. Kirwan's papers in the Irish Transactions, and lord Dundonald's treatise, which we have already noticed, the first in order which we have to announce, is the thirteenth volume of "*Transactions of the Society instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*" With the plan of this annual work, and its utility, our readers are sufficiently acquainted. We shall therefore only observe that, besides some valuable papers in mechanics, this volume contains interesting communications relative to the planting of timber, and others (which last is becoming an increasing object of profitable attention in this country), the culture of clay soils, and land producing coarse grass, and the improvement of waste moor land. The seventh volume of "*Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c.*" collected from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, &c." contains a great variety of important articles on subjects connected with the objects of the institution, which are both instructive and entertaining. These

letters and papers consist, partly of original communications to the society, and partly of reports made to the board of agriculture, by surveyors employed to collect rural information in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Gloucester. Mr. Amos's "*Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Drill Husbandry, founded on Philosophical Principles, and confirmed by Experience, &c.*" contains matter, which, if condensed into a narrower compass, might be useful as a manual of profitable hints to farmers. But his publication appears to have been intended, chiefly, to point out the superior advantages of a machine of the author's invention, with two drill ploughs, which was presented by him to the society instituted for the encouragements of arts, &c. but did not meet with their approbation. The "*Practical Treatise on Planting, and the Management of Woods and Coppices,*" by Samuel Hayes, esq. of the committee of agriculture of the Dublin society &c, is a very interesting and pleasing work, written by a member of the Irish senate, who appears to be well versed in the science of rural economics, and to be united with a number of patriotic noblemen and gentlemen, who laudably exert their fortunes and influence in ornamenting and improving their native country. In our own country, the board of agriculture, with the view of remedying the evils occasioned by the high price of corn, have circulated directions for the more profitable culture of potatoes, and for the best modes of preparing them, with a mixture of flour, so as to become economical and agreeable substitutes for bread made entirely of wheat or other grain.

In the number of articles belonging to the head of Anatomy, Surge-

ry, and Medicine, we find "an Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus, and its Contents," by the late Dr. Hunter, which is intended to illustrate the author's series of splendid engravings published in his life time. It is edited by Dr. Baillie, who has supplied some pages in which the MS. entrusted to him was defective, and with every advantage of improvement and correction which his care, and accuracy, and experience could supply. The "Engravings, explaining the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints, by John Bell," are a supplement to that work of the ingenious author which was noticed in our last volume, and consist of twenty-eight well engraved plates, from original drawings, accompanied with concise and perspicuous descriptions. In our account of the literature of the United Provinces for the years 1791, and 1793, we gave a particular account of curious treatises by professor Camper, belonging partly to anatomy, and partly to the fine arts. These treatises have been translated from the Dutch by Dr. Cogan, and published under the title of "the Works of the late Professor Camper, on the Connexion between the Science of Anatomy, and the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, &c. illustrated with seventeen Plates, explanatory of the Professor's leading Principles." This work will be particularly acceptable to artists and amateurs. "The Works of Charles Vial de Sainbel, Professor of Veterinary Medicine," are chiefly valuable on account of the anatomical knowledge which they discover, and the judicious application of it, as well as of the principles of surgery, to the veterinary art. Prefixed to the work is a short account of the au-

thor's life, including the origin of the college near London in which he filled the office of professor. Mr. Humpage's "Physiological Researches into the most important parts of the Animal Economy," are intended to establish new doctrines with respect to the lymphatic system. In opposition to the commonly received opinions he contends, that the lymphatic system does not terminate in the thoracic duct; that the lacteals are a distinct set of vessels; that there is a direct passage from the blood-vessels, through the glands, into the lymphatics; that the use of the lymphatic glands is for the separation of the lymph from the blood; and many other points which the most acute and industrious anatomists hitherto have not been able to discover, and which he endeavours to maintain by reasoning and assertion, more than by experiment.

Mr. Latta's "Practical System of Surgery," the character of which was given in our last year's Register, has been completed by the publication of the second and third volumes. Mr. Abernethy has also published a second part of his "Surgical and Physiological Essays," principally intended to shew, by a series of additional experiments, the nature of the gaseous fluids perspired and absorbed by the skin. His results confirm the truth of his former conclusions, which we inserted in our Register for the year 1793. This volume contains, likewise, an essay on the ill consequences sometimes succeeding to venæsection, and on the treatment proper to be adopted in the different cases that may occur. Mr. Ware's "Enquiry in the Causes which have most commonly prevented success in the Operation of extracting the Cataract, with an Account of the Means

by which they may either be avoided or rectified," is a valuable practical treatise, which the abilities and extensive experience of the author will sufficiently recommend to the profession. To the body of the work he has added observations on the dissipation of the cataract, on the cure of the gutta serena, and on the epiphora, or watery eye. The same author has published, in a separate form, "a Copy of the Appendix and Notes annexed to the third Edition of Remarks on Ophthalmia, Pterophthalmia, and Purulent Eye," which describe the most successful treatment in a particular species of ophthalmia, connected with debility of habit. Mr. Ruffel's "Essay on a certain Disease of the Bones, termed Necrosis," is a work of very great importance to the profession. It describes, with uncommon clearness and perspicuity, the circumstances and progress of a disease, in which nature is called upon in a wonderful manner to exert her powers of animal reproduction; and offers much valuable information with respect to the methods of cure in cases of this sort. Dr. Nisbet's "Enquiry into the History, Nature, Causes, and different Modes of Treatment hitherto pursued in the Cure of Scrophula, and Cancer," if it should not be found to throw any new light on the nature of those diseases, and the most effectual means of eradicating them, contains, nevertheless, a well-written and comprehensive summary of what preceding medical writers have advanced on the subject. On that account his enquiry may be useful to those practitioners whose reading and experience are but limited. Mr. Bell, in his "Discourses on the Nature and Cure of Wounds," does not

pretend to convey any new information, but to detail, in a pleasing and lively style, those practical directions which are sanctioned by the doctrines and experience of the most judicious of the profession. Young surgeons will find it entertaining as well as instructive. The translation from the German of Dr. Richter's "Medical and Surgical Observations," will prove acceptable to the English medical reader, on account of the novelty and importance of many of the author's remarks, the reputation in which he is held as professor of medicine in the university of Gottingen, and the comparison which his work will enable them to draw between the theory and practice of the German and of the English schools.

The Medical Society of London have published, during the present year, the fourth volume of their "Memoirs," which, like the preceding volumes, contain a great variety of papers of very unequal merit; several of them being the productions of ingenious and respectable practitioners, and containing curious and important facts, and others undistinguished by any very interesting or new matter. Such, likewise, is the character of the multifarious contents of the third and fourth volumes of "Medical Facts and Observations." Dr. Ferriar's second volume of "Medical Histories and Reflections," consists of a continuation of his accurate Remarks and Experiments on Insanity and Dropsy, and other articles, which, from the extensive observation and ingenuity they discover, merit attention. Dr. James Johnstone's "Medical Essays and Observations, with Disquisitions relating to the Nervous System," consist, chiefly, of republications of pieces which originally appeared in the Philosophical Transactions,

actions, the Medical Memoirs, and other collections, enlarged with additional matter occasioned by recent discoveries in physiology. They are principally employed in supporting the hypothesis "that ganglions are the instruments by which the motions of the heart and intestines are, from the earliest to the latest periods of animal life, rendered uniformly involuntary; and that this is their use." The volume concludes with an useful essay on mineral poisons, pointing out the symptoms attending their exhibitions, and the best means of relief, by Dr. John Johnstone. Mr. Kite's "Essays and Observations, Physiological and Medical," are composed partly of republications from the Memoirs of the Medical Society, and partly of select histories of diseases, with remarks. Among the former, an Essay on the Submersion of Animals, and the Means of recovering Drowned Persons is worthy of attention; and the latter contain many striking and useful facts. Dr. Fothergill's "New Enquiry into the Suspension of Vital Action, in Cases of Drowning and Suffocation," is more valuable in the practical than theoretical part. In the latter, wherein the causes of such suspension are investigated, we cannot say that he has determined the question. In the practical part he points out the means, which experience has proved to be the most judicious for restoring suspended animation. Dr. Beddoes's edition of "the Elements of Medicine by John Brown, M. D." in 2 vols. with revisions, and corrections, cannot but prove acceptable on account of the increasing credit which that author's system is acquiring among philosophical physicians, and the acknowledged learning, abilities, and candour of

the editor. Mr. Townsend's "Physician's Vade Mecum, being a Compendium of Nosology and Therapeutics, for the Use of Students," is chiefly taken from Dr. Cullen, and Dr. Duncan, and will be serviceable to the young practitioner. "The Guide to Health, being Cautions and Directions in the Treatment of Diseases," by the same author, is the result of considerable reading and observation, directed by judgment; and may be useful to those who, living at a distance from experienced medical men, find it necessary in cases of "emergency and despair" to resort to books for assistance, and are in danger, without some such help, of being misled, and injured, by quack books, and quack medicines. Dr. Fowler's "Medical Reports of the Effects of Blood-letting, Sudorifics, and Blistering, in the Cure of the Acute and Chronic Rheumatism," contain the observations and reflections of an ingenious, cautious, and experienced physician, on near five hundred cases of rheumatism, which richly merit the attention of his brethren, and exhibit a method of investigating any particular disease, that is highly favourable to the improvement of medical science. Dr. Chisholm's "Essay on the Malignant Fever introduced into the West Indian Islands from Boullam, on the Coast of Guinea, as it appeared in the Years 1793, and 1794," contains a perspicuous and interesting account of the rise and progress of that fatal epidemic, together with the successful plan of treatment which the author adopted; and deserves to be recommended as a work of considerable practical importance. Mr. Henderson's "Letter to the Officers of the Army under orders for, or that may hereafter be sent to the West Indies, on the Means of

of preventing that fatal Disease the Yellow Fever," contains useful directions relative to the diet and management of soldiers, calculated to preserve them safe from infection. Dr. Gordon, in his "Treatise on the Epidemic Puerperal Fever of Aberdeen," describes a mode of practice adopted in the cure of that disorder, which, from the number of instances in which he found it successful, he pronounces to be a certain method of subduing it. The principal feature of his system is, early and copious bleeding, and never in a less quantity at one time than twenty or twenty-four ounces. Mr. Good's "Dissertation on the Diseases of Prisons and Poor Houses, published at the request of the Medical Society of London," deserves to be recommended as a well written compendium of the observations and useful directions of preceding writers, but it contains no new information on those topics. Mr. Adams's "Observations on Morbid Poisons, Phagedæna, and Cancer, &c." contain an ingenious and spirited defence of the doctrine of the late Mr. John Hunter respecting the venereal virus, against the strictures of Dr. Swediaur, Messrs. Moore, Bell, and Foot; the last of whom he treats with a severity proportioned to what that gentleman has discovered in his different attacks on the opinions and character of Mr. Hunter. The "Popular View of the Effects of the Venereal Disease upon the Constitution, collected from the best Writers," however benevolent in its design, which is to deter mankind from vicious pursuits, cannot be highly spoken of in point of execution. Neither the argumentative part, nor the representations of the consequences of the disease are drawn

up in the most forcible and impressive form. We shall close this department of our work with two articles in Medical Chemistry. The first is Part III. of "Considerations on the Medical Use and Production of Factitious Airs, by Thomas Beddoes, M. D. and James Watt, Engineer." This publication contains the relation of a number of striking cases, of very different kinds, in which the pneumatic method of treating diseases has been followed by the most happy consequences. In many instances it appears to have been considerably, if not principally, instrumental in effecting complete cures; in others it afforded great relief to the patients. The other article is, Mr. Moncrieff's "Enquiry into the Medicinal Qualities and Effects of the Aerated Alkaline Water, illustrated by Experiments and Cases." Mr. Moncrieff's reasonings from the properties of this remedy, do not seem to us to throw any new light upon the subject; and his experiments are too few from which to draw any general conclusions. We by no means wish, however, by these remarks, to discourage repeated trials of a medicine which, there is reason to hope, may, in particular circumstances, be advantageously employed in alleviating human misery.

The first work which calls for our notice among the Historical publications of the year is, Mr. Maurice's "History of Hindostan; its Arts and its Sciences, as connected with the other great Empires of Asia, during the most ancient Periods of the World: with illustrative Engravings. Vol. I." Of this work the public has been led to form high expectations, by the learned and ingenious introductory volumes

volumes on Indian Antiquities, which we have announced in the order of their appearance, and on which we have bestowed a large share of applause, notwithstanding that we found ourselves obliged to protest against some of his favourite, but what we conceived to be fanciful and groundless opinions. The volume before us commences with a preliminary chapter, exhibiting a general prospectus of the history; a particular account of the order pursued; and the characters of the authors, ancient and modern, upon whose authorities he relies. It is afterwards divided into three parts; the first consisting of three, the second of eight, and the third of two chapters, in one order of numeration. In the first three chapters Mr. Maurice treats of the Hindoo cosmogony; of the chronology of the brahmins; and of the early history of the most ancient nations, which he asserts to be nothing more than that of the revolutions of the sun, moon, and planets. In the chapters of which the second part consists, the subject of the Yugs or four grand periods in the chronology of the brahmins, during which the Hindoo empire is said to have flourished, is resumed and more particularly investigated; a retrospective view is taken of the annals of other Asiatic kingdoms, connected with India, including the discussion whether there was not in the remotest ages a more ancient sphere than that transmitted to us by the Greeks, allusive to an earlier mythology, and an earlier race; the ancient history of the constellations mentioned by Hesiod and Homer is examined to prove, that they were known, but under other appellations, to the astronomers of Chaldaea, India, Phoenicia, and Egypt; it is shewn, that the true epoch of

empires is to be fixed, and their meridian splendour to be ascertained by an attentive examination of the astronomical mythology prevailing in particular æras; the hypotheses of M. Bailli and M. du Puis are examined, and the possibility of there being some remains of the antediluvian astronomy in Chaldaea, Persia, and India, is maintained; the gradual progress of the ancient Chaldean astronomy is considered, and the lunar Zodiacs of that country, Arabia, India, and China, are compared; the more conspicuous of the remaining constellations are examined, most of which, according to our author, have a reference to the events of the first ages of the world, and to a more ancient mythology than that of Greece; and a recapitulation is entered into of the subjects discussed in the preceding chapters, together with an examination of oriental fables relative to Adam, and other topics mentioned in the writings of Moses. In the third part Mr. Maurice undertakes to prove that, notwithstanding from the first three Yugs having their foundation in astronomical calculation, no regular history of the events asserted to have taken place is to be expected, they are not to be rejected as fabulous, since it is not impossible but the most ancient Sanscrit annals may contain the history of some antediluvian princes, consonant to the antediluvian records of Moses; and that the reality of a general deluge is confirmed by the oriental accounts, in concurrence with the traditions of all nations, and the enquiries of the ablest natural historians. From this imperfect sketch our readers will perceive, what a variety of subjects, interesting, and gratifying to curiosity, Mr. Maurice has investigated in this elaborate volume. We shall make no other

other remarks on it, than that his arrangement is not so perplexed as in his introductory volumes; and that notwithstanding we found ourselves sometimes almost inextricably involved in the profundity of his obscure researches, we have been, frequently, highly instructed and entertained by his erudition and curious speculations.

"The History of Dahomy, an inland Kingdom of Africa, compiled from authentic Memoirs, &c. by Archibald Dalzel, formerly Governor at Whydah, and now at Cape Coast Castle," is the production of a gentleman who, from thirty years' observation, and minute enquiry, was peculiarly qualified for the task which he undertook. It presents us with much new and curious information, respecting the modern history, relative situation, and political importance of several of the African nations who maintain the most intimate intercourse with Europeans. It presents us, likewise, with the most striking proofs of the incalculable benefits which must arise to that immense continent, should the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity, in this and other countries, to introduce knowledge and civilization into the haunts of its ignorant and barbarous tribes, be supported with the ardour and general concurrence which they deserve. In the Introduction we have a description of the soil and productions of Dahomy, and an account of the religion, government, manners, and general character of the inhabitants. This work is illustrated with several well executed engravings.

The next article to which we call the attention of our readers, although it cannot properly be dignified with the name of history, we insert in this place, on account of its connexion with our remarks on the last

mentioned publication. It is entitled "An Account of the Colony of Sierra Leone, from its first Establishment in 1793; being the Substance of a Report delivered to the Proprietors; published by Order of the Directors." This account contains, in the first place, a brief history of the progress of the colony, from its origin to the date of the report in March, 1794, including a statement of the expences that have been incurred, and of the general finances of the company. The next subjects discussed are the health, and trade of the colony. Under these heads it is shewn, that no reasons can be assigned why, after cultivation is advanced, and the accommodations of life improved, the climate should not be as salubrious as that of any other tropical settlement; and, also, that there is every reason to expect that it will become the seat of a considerable commerce in African produce, especially when true policy shall have united with humanity in effecting the complete abolition of the slave trade. The fourth head describes the progress that has been made in cultivation, on the company's account, and that produced, or likely to be produced either on the lands of the settlers from Nova Scotia, or among the natives themselves. Under the head of civilization, a considerable body of information is introduced. It includes an account of the mode of government exercised in the settlement; the character of the settlers; the miserable state to which the natives of Africa have been reduced through their intercourse with Europeans; and the steps which have been taken to introduce Christianity and civilization among an injured and vilified race, of whose capacity, and disposition to receive instruction, some very satisfactory information

ation is given. The whole is followed by an Appendix, giving an account, of the natural productions of Sierra Leone, from reports of M. Afzelius, the Company's botanist; and a particular detail of the inhuman and disgraceful ravages committed by a French squadron, in September, 1794. We have been thus diffuse in stating the particulars included in the account of the colony of Sierra Leone, because we consider the best interests of human nature to be materially concerned in its encouragement and well-being; and that to excite attention to the Company's report will, in some measure, contribute to those objects.

In our Register for the year 1793, we fully expressed our opinion of the importance and value of Mr. Edwards's "History, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West-Indies." During the present year that gentleman has published "Additions" to his work, in a separate form; which additions he has incorporated into a second impression. In the preface he defends some of his opinions on commercial topics, and particularly those respecting the restrictive system; and inserts a catalogue of the more rare and valuable exotics now flourishing in the public botanic garden in Jamaica, together with an interesting relation communicated to him by admiral Laforey, of the introduction of East India and other canes into the French Charaibbean islands, and lately into Antigua. This preface is succeeded by notes and illustrations of his History, with which he has been supplied by the kindness of his friends; and the whole is accompanied with sixteen maps and illustrative plates.

The "Account of the Black Charaibs in the Island of St. Vincent's, with the Charaib Treaty of 1773,

1795.

and other original Documents, compiled from the Papers of the late Sir William Young, Bart." contains the most authentic and interesting history of that fierce and peculiar race of men that we have ever seen; and explains the causes of their unconquerable enmity towards the English colonists, which has displayed itself, during the present war, in some of the most horrid enormities that human beings are capable of perpetrating.

"The History of Poland, from its Origin as a Nation to the Commencement of the Year 1795," is a compilation, executed with industry and judgment; and rendered peculiarly seasonable by the events which have lately turned the attention of every feeling mind to that unhappy country. It commences with the sixth century, and contains a concise, well connected view of the different changes in its political situation to the close of the seventeenth century. The detail from that period to the time mentioned in the title-page, is more full and particular; and describes, in an interesting manner, the internal commotions which took place in that kingdom, and the circumstances which attended the different infamous partitions by the neighbouring powers, until its final extinction; illustrated by state papers and other authentic documents. The views which the author takes of these events, and the sentiments with which his narrative is interspersed, are liberal and manly. In the Introduction we are presented with a well-digested and comprehensive, though brief account of the climate, produce, population, and the late civil, military, and religious state of Poland.

"The History of France, from the Accession of Henry III. to the
Q Death

Death of Louis XIV. &c. by Nathaniel W. Wraxall, Vols. I.—III." is a work of very considerable merit; from which we have received much pleasure and instruction. The first volume is wholly employed on a view of the civil, military, and political state of Europe, between the middle, and the close, of the sixteenth century; and contains a great variety of valuable and entertaining matter relative to the different kingdoms and governments into which that quarter of the globe is divided. The second volume is devoted to the reign of Henry III. and the third volume to that of Henry IV. Each of these volumes is divided into two parts. In the first parts we are presented with minute and accurate narratives of the historical events in the reigns of those princes. The second parts are entitled the Ages of Henry III. and Henry IV. and contain a vast fund of information respecting the state of government, revenues, military force, commerce, colonization, the peasantry, religious institutions, jurisprudence, learning and arts, manners and society; which will enable the reader to form a just idea of the genius, spirit, and character of the French nation, during those periods. Should this work never exceed its present limits, it is complete in itself, and furnishes us with "a history of France, in its most comprehensive sense, from 1574 to 1610," when, from a concurrence of peculiar circumstances, the state of that country was uncommonly interesting. It is the author's intention, however, to continue it through three additional volumes; the first of which is to treat of the reign and age of Louis XIII. and the two last, of the reign and age of Louis XIV. down to his death in 1715. To what we have already expressed relating to

the character of the volumes before us, we shall only add, that Mr. Wraxall is entitled to the thanks of the English reader, for the information he has communicated, after "a most patient and laborious perusal, or investigation of almost all the contemporary writers, in every branch of science, or polite letters;" and that the style which he has chosen is perspicuous, easy, and elegant.

"The History of France, from the most early Records to the Death of Louis XVI. the ancient Part by William Beckford, esq. Author of a descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica; the modern Part by an English Gentleman, who has been some time resident in Paris," in 4 vols. is a compilation that is very unequal in point of literary merit. The ancient part is written, in general, with correctness, in a lively, and sometimes energetic style. Of these qualities the latter part can only claim the merit of tolerable correctness. Their facts, however, the authors appear to have drawn from authentic sources; and they are uniform in exposing, on every opportunity which offers, the evils of tyranny and despotism.

"The History of the Reign of Louis XVI. King of France, by Thomas George Street, in 3 Volumes. Vol. I." is the production of an author who appears to have used great industry in collecting his materials, and becoming caution in ascertaining the genuineness of his authorities. He is enthusiastically attached to the cause of liberty; but seems to possess sufficient impartiality to draw up faithful records "of a period, the most eventful and important that has hitherto occurred in the annals of mankind." The volume before us is divided into ten sections. The first contains a view of Europe from the beginning

beginning of the eighteenth century to the death of Louis XV. In the second, third, and fourth sections, besides a short account of the birth and education of Louis XVI. and his union with the archduchess of Austria, we are presented with the history of the French constitution from the reign of Clovis, during the Merovingian, Carlovingian, and Capetian epochs, and of the French finances from the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. to the dismissal of M. Turgot, and the resignation of M. Malesherbes. The five following sections are employed in giving an account of the contest between Great Britain and her colonies, and the events connected with the long and complicate war which followed the declaration of American independence, until the peace of 1783. The tenth section contains a view of the internal state of France, at that period; and much retrospective and miscellaneous matter, illustrative of those important changes that had taken place in the public opinion, which paved the way for the wonderful political changes which soon followed in rapid succession. Mr. Street's method is frequently too digressive; and his style too redundant. On the whole, however, his history deserves to be commended, as a pleasing and useful work.

In our Register for the year 1793, we laid before our readers a particular account of the character and merits of Dr. Moore's "Journal during a Residence in France, from the Beginning of August to the Middle of December, 1792," which contained a number of striking facts connected with the history of the French revolution. During the present year that author has published "A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution, in

2 Vols." which may be considered as the completion of his former work. It possesses, indeed, more of the historic form; and a greater variety of political and philosophical discussion. After commencing with a sketch of the state of France, from the reign of Henry IV. to the accession of Louis XVI. Dr. Moore enumerates among the causes which at that period, and subsequently, operated to produce the revolution, the spirit of liberal and philosophical opinion circulated in the writings of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Raynal; the diffusion of wealth among the middle and lower ranks, in consequence of the increase of commerce; the disgust conceived by many of the nobility at the manner in which military employments and court favours were conferred; the profusion and dissipation of the court; the part which France took in support of American independence; the abolition of the household troops; the introduction of German discipline into the army; the general opinion of the unjust and oppressive nature of the government; and the convocation of the states general at Versailles. After a particular discussion of these circumstances, our author proceeds to a perspicuous, and, upon the whole, accurate detail of the events attending the revolution, in regular order, to the commencement of the Jacobin administration, and the last attempt of Louis to make his escape from Paris. In the course of his work he introduces many political reflections which do honour to his candour and moderation; and a number of anecdotes which are interesting and entertaining, and judiciously connected with the thread of his narrative. Dr. Moore is too well known, as a lively and elegant writer, to render it necessary for us

to make any observations, in this place, on his style and language.

Miss Williams's "Letters, containing a Sketch of the Politics of France, from the 31st of May, 1793, 'till the 28th of July, 1794, and of the Scenes which have passed in the Prisons of Paris," in 2 vols. and her third volume of "Letters, containing a Sketch of the Scenes which passed in various Departments of France during the Tyranny of Robespierre, and of the Events which took place in Paris on the 28th of July, 1794," throw considerable light on the history of that gloomy and sanguinary period. They describe, with all the characters of truth, the extraordinary events which have disgraced the cause of the revolution, and the cause of humanity; and bring forward those circumstances in the conduct of the principal actors among the contending parties in France, that will enable the dispassionate reader to form a just estimate of their respective pretensions to the character of friends to liberty, and to their country. They contain, likewise, a number of pathetic, and pleasing anecdotes, which cannot fail of greatly interesting the humane and feeling mind. Notwithstanding the distresses and personal sufferings, of which Miss Williams experienced an ample share, her powers of description and fancy are as vigorous as ever; and her attachment to the cause of liberty is as ardent, as when she wrote her former Letters on the subject of the French revolution.

Mr. Talma's "Chronological Account and brief History of the Events of the French Revolution, from the Taking of the Bastille, in 1789, to the Conquest of Holland, in 1795," so far as it is confined to historic facts, deserves to be recommended, as containing a connected

and regular view of the transactions to which that great event has given rise, arranged in their chronological order, at least as accurately as their dates could be ascertained from the common sources of information. Considering, also, that the author is a native of Paris, who has not resided many years in England, it is written in correct and perspicuous language.

In our last year's Register we laid before our readers the plan, and general character of Mr. Andrews's "History of Great-Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe, with Notes, &c. Vol. I. Part I." During the year 1795 that gentleman published the second part of that volume, containing "Anecdotes of the Times, Lives of the learned, and Specimens of their Works; from the Deposition and Death of Richard II. to the Accession of Edward VI." Concerning this continuation we have little more to observe than that it maintains the reputation which the author acquired, by abundant proofs of diligence in the selection of materials, judgment and precision in arranging them, and the entertainment afforded in the Notes and Appendixes. It presents us with instructive and amusing pictures of the manners, genius, and taste of the times which pass under his review; which become more circumstantial, interesting, and useful, as he advances in his work.

In our last year's Register we announced the publication of the first, second, and third volumes of the "History of England, from the earliest Dawn of Record, to the Peace of 1783, by Charles Coote, LL.D." The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes have since been published; which possess similar merits with the preceding. The fourth volume extends from the accession of Henry IV. in

1399, to the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, in 1532; the fifth from that period to the death of queen Elizabeth, in 1602-3; and the sixth from the accession of James I. to the abdication of James II. in 1688.

Mr. Belsham's "Memoirs of the Reign of George III. to the Session of Parliament, ending A. D. 1795," in 4 vols. may be considered as a sequel to his "Memoirs of the Kings of Great-Britain of the House of Brunswick-Lunenbourg;" which were noticed by us in our Register for the year 1793. The execution of this part of the author's plan was rendered peculiarly arduous and delicate, by the variety of interesting events and topics which the history of the period must necessarily comprehend, their recent date, and the different and opposite views of them which have been drawn by the pens of contemporary writers. The state of parties at the time of his present majesty's accession to the throne; the negotiations for the peace of 1763; the changes which successively took place in the cabinet on the dismissal of the old Whig servants of the crown; the political system supposed to be introduced by the influence of the earl of Bute; the affair of general warrants; the struggles occasioned by Mr. Wilkes's election for Middlesex; Mr. Grenville's project for taxing the Americans; the attempt made by a number of the clergy to obtain relief in matters of subscription; the efforts of the dissenters for an extension of the Act of Toleration; the rise, progress, and termination of the American war; the rupture among the ministry on the death of the marquis of Rockingham; the affairs of Ireland; the conduct of Mr. Hastings in the government of Bengal; the India bills of Mr. Fox

and Mr. Pitt; the attempts to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and to abolish the slave trade; the business of the regency; and the politics connected with the French revolution: these were all circumstances which, within our own short memory, greatly agitated the public mind, and which demanded extensive information, a spirit of cool and philosophic enquiry, enlarged views, and a freedom from party spirit in the author who should attempt to examine and appreciate them with justice, and to convey a fair statement to posterity. We must do Mr. Belsham the justice to acknowledge, that he has given numerous proofs of these qualities in the volumes before us. His record of domestic occurrences and of foreign affairs, is drawn up with clearness and precision; and his extensive account of parliamentary transactions is enlivened by extracts from the speeches of the ablest members in both houses. In some instances we have found ourselves obliged to differ from him, both with respect to his views of particular political topics, and his opinion of political agents. But in general, we have accompanied him through his narrative with a conviction of his accuracy and impartiality, and a warm approbation of the bold liberal sentiments which he inculcates. His style and language are energetic, elegant, and often brilliant.

The "Remarks on those Passages in Mr. Belsham's Memoirs, &c. which relate to the British Government in India," consist of severe and virulent strictures on that gentleman's account of the politics of the East, and the administration of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Belsham may have been deceived, in some points,

by the documents on which he relied; and the propriety of his deciding so peremptorily on the conduct of Mr. Hastings, while his trial was pending, may be disputed: but this writer has brought forward no evidence to shew, that the indignant account which he has given of the oppressions practised on the inhabitants of Hindostan is entirely unfounded, or that the historian, as he asserts, is guilty of gross and wilful misrepresentation.

Dr. Plowden's "Short History of the British Empire during the Year 794," may be considered as a continuation of that production of our author, under a nearly similar title, which we announced in our last volume. Whether considered as a political or historical work, it appears to contain an authentic and fair narrative of domestic and foreign affairs; correct and valuable information; and severe truths which, however unpalatable they may prove to modern statesmen, will not, we conceive, be controverted by posterity. As a composition, this volume merits the same character as that which we gave to the work abovementioned.

The "Collection of scarce and interesting Tracts, tending to elucidate detached Parts of the History of Great Britain, selected from the Sommers Collections, and arranged in chronological Order," is a judicious compilation and abridgment from a voluminous and expensive work, for which the public are much indebted to the editor. The period which it comprehends reaches from the year 1486 to the year 1712. Among the great variety of articles of which it consists, many will be found of considerable service in illustrating the history of that period; others will throw light on the customs and

manners of our ancestors; and others, of a miscellaneous nature, will afford much amusement to readers of different descriptions.

Lord Mountmorres's "Historical Dissertation upon the Origin, Suspension, and Revival of the Judicature and Independence of the Irish Parliament, with a Narrative of the Transactions in 1719, relative to the celebrated Declaratory Law, &c." bears honourable testimony to the noble author's extent of reading, and diligence in investigation; and supplies us with many interesting and curious particulars relative to the parliamentary history of Ireland, and the connexion of that kingdom with Great Britain. To those statesmen and politicians, likewise, who engage in discussing the policy of a legislative incorporation of the two countries, the result of his lordship's enquiries, and his own judicious observations, will be found of considerable importance.

The "Official Letters to the honourable American Congress, written, during the War between the United Colonies and Great Britain, by his Excellency, George Washington, &c." in 2 vols. are a very valuable, as well as interesting collection of historical documents. With respect to the military operations of the war they give such information as could be obtained from no other source; and they lead us to entertain very high ideas of the author's firmness and integrity as a patriot, and of his talents and genius as a statesman and soldier. The style in which they are written, is manly and simple, such as is peculiarly well adapted to a narrative of public transactions. These letters were transcribed, after permission was obtained from the proper authority, from the original papers preserved

preserved in the secretary of state's office in Philadelphia; and are intended to be followed by "a variety of interesting pieces penned by the leaders and principal agents in the American revolution, and tending to throw light on many important transactions that have hitherto been either enveloped in total darkness, or, at best, but obscurely perceived, and imperfectly understood."

Sir Henry Clinton's "Observations on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War," were written to vindicate himself from the censures of the historian, and to point out that misconduct in other commanders, to which, in his judgment, the loss of that great continent is to be ascribed. The officer whose measures he condemns in the most severe and unqualified terms, is a noble marquis, lately governor general of India. Whether sir Henry's self-defence be satisfactory, and his crimination of others well founded, the public must decide from the facts and reasonings brought forward in this pamphlet, in connexion with the documents which the history of the period supplies. One circumstance, however, this publication determines beyond contradiction; viz. that such misunderstandings and jealousies took place among the British generals entrusted with the conduct of the American war, as were sufficient to prove ruinous to their cause, even had their situation been attended with fewer impediments to success in many other respects.

Captain Jones's "Brief Account of the Tullagaum Expedition from Bombay, and likewise of the Sieges of Bassien, Arnoll, Callian, and Cannanore, on the Western side of

India, during the Course of the War commenced on the 21st of November 1778," is offered "as a small mite towards the information of any historical gentleman of greater abilities, who may choose to write a general history of our war in India." The narrative is concise, and perspicuous; and will prove acceptable in the circumstance above-mentioned, as well as to the officers who were engaged with the author in the services enumerated in the title-page.

The "Account of the Expedition to Quiberon, by a French Officer on board the Pomona," written in French, contains an ingenuous, and apparently authentic narrative of the particulars of that disgraceful and fatal business. According to this account, out of five thousand troops of the line, of which the emigrant army consisted, scarcely five hundred escaped; and the Chouans who joined them suffered nearly in the same proportion.

The "Historical Account of the British Regiments employed since the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. in the Formation and Defence of the Dutch Republic, particularly of the Scotch Brigade," is a dry uninteresting narrative, which can afford little pleasure excepting to those whose high ideas of the military character are not congenial to the sentiments that should pervade a commercial and free country. It is distinguished, at the same time, by numerous disgusting traits of national vanity.

The "View of the United States of America, in a Series of Papers written at various Times, between the Years 1787 and 1794, by Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia," is reprinted from an American impression;

and will be found curious and interesting to the English reader. It is divided, without attention to regularity of arrangement, into two books, containing twenty-five chapters, and presenting us with a mass of information relative to the progress and present state of civil and religious liberty, population, agriculture, exports, imports, fisheries, navigation, ship-building, manufactures, and general improvement of the United States, interspersed with authentic documents. Of Lord Sheffield's noted assertions and predictions relative to the commerce and manufactures of America, it affords the most complete refutation, by appeals to the incontrovertible evidence of the custom-house books. It is scarcely necessary to add, that to those who intend to emigrate to the western world, this publication must prove of very great importance.

Dr. Jardine's "Letter from Pennsylvania to a Friend in England, containing valuable Information with respect to America," will also be useful to persons of the description just mentioned. Its general purport is similar to that of Mr. Cooper's treatise, of which we gave an account in our last volume; and the perusal of it made a similar impression on our minds, with respect to the subject of emigration to America.

Mr. Winterbotham's "Historical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States, and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies," in 4 vols. is an useful compilation from the works of the most valuable and interesting historians of America, in which "he has not only borrowed their ideas, but, where he had not the vanity to con-

ceive himself capable of correcting it, he has adopted their language." The first volume contains an account of the discovery of America; a general description of America; the discovery and settlements of North America chronologically arranged, together with its boundaries, extent, and divisions; a general description of the United States of America; and a history of the rise, progress, and establishment of the independence of the United States. In the second, and great part of the third volumes, we meet with a particular account of each of the states which form the union, in the order of the grand divisions denominated the northern, middle, and southern states; which is followed by minute enquiries into the advantages which the United States possess over European countries, and the prospects and advantages of an European settled in the United States. The fourth volume contains a view of the other divisions of North and South America, and of the West Indies, whether in possession of the Aborigines or belonging to European governments, with the history of American quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, and reptiles; and an Appendix containing valuable state papers. The whole is illustrated and embellished by a variety of maps and engravings. It is honourable to Mr. Winterbotham, that he employs the tedious hours of imprisonment in such industrious and useful pursuits; and every humane mind must wish him encouragement in the sale of his work, proportioned to the peculiar hardships of his case.

The "Historical, Geographical, and Philosophical View of the Chinese Empire," by the same author,

thor, is a compilation executed on a similar plan, and calculated to afford many readers much information and entertainment. It contains a description of the fifteen provinces of China; of Chinese Tartary; of the tributary states; the natural history of China; views of the government, religion, laws, manners and customs, literature, arts, sciences, manufactures, &c. of that country; and a copious account of lord Macartney's embassy.

The "Description of Corsica, with an Account of it's Union to the Crown of Great Britain, &c. by Frederick, Son of the late Theodore, King of Corsica," is rendered interesting by the circumstances which have of late drawn the attention of Englishmen to that island. The author, likewise, should seem, by his former connection with Corsica, to be well qualified to give us that information which may enable us to judge how far it can prove a valuable and important accession to this country. From his statements, even supposing that the plans which he offers for its improvement were endeavoured to be carried into execution, there is reason to apprehend that it will long prove a dead weight on its possessors; and that he is a very sanguine politician, who imagines that it will ever prove a bright gem in the British diadem. The anecdotes which he gives of Paoli, place him in a much less respectable light, than he appears in Mr. Boswell's well known journal. This description is accompanied by some curious state papers, and a neatly engraved map of Corsica.

Mr. Adams's "View of Universal History, from the Creation to the present Time, including an Account of the celebrated Revolutions

in France, Poland, Sweden, Geneva, &c." in 3 vols. is, on the whole, a judicious and pleasing compilation, which deserves to be recommended as a proper, introductory work for young persons, in the course of a school education. That part which is properly denominated ancient history, extends to little more than one half of the first volume. The rest of the work is devoted to modern historical narration; and is brought down, particularly in the instances of England, France, and Poland, to the year 1794. The political sentiments which occur in these volumes are liberal and manly; the reflections with which they are interperfed, instructive and amusing; and the style is perspicuous and animated.

Dr. Alexander Adam's "Summary of Geography and History, both Ancient and Modern," is chiefly designed to connect the study of classical learning, with that of general knowledge. And notwithstanding that it is an unequal work, the young scholar will find it abounding in much valuable information; especially when the author has drawn his materials from his well furnished store of ancient literature. It contains "an account of the political state, and principal revolutions of the most illustrious nations in ancient and modern times; their manners and customs; local situation of cities, especially of such as have been distinguished by memorable events: with an abridgment of the fabulous history, or mythology of the Greeks. To which is prefixed an historical account of the progress and improvement of astronomy and geography, from the earliest periods to the time of sir Isaac Newton; also a brief account of the

the Newtonian philosophy, occasionally compared with the opinions of the ancients, concerning the general and particular properties of matter, the air, heat and cold, light and its effects; the laws of motion, the planetary system, &c; with a short description of the terraqueous globe, according to the notions of the ancients, and the more accurate discoveries of modern chemists, &c."

The next work which we have to announce is the result of much labour and application, a great part of which the author might have spared himself, had he been so fortunate as to meet with the Royal Genealogies of Dr. Anderson, before he was considerably advanced in his plan; and which, we think, he would have rendered more valuable, and, unquestionably more generally acceptable and entertaining, had he followed that author's example of blending a judicious abstract of history with his chronology. It is entitled "Genealogical Tables of the Sovereigns of the World, from the earliest to the latest Period; exhibiting in each Table their immediate Successors, collateral Branches, and the Duration of their respective Reigns; so constructed as to form a Series of Chronology; and including the Genealogy of many other Personages and Families distinguished in sacred and profane History; particularly all the Nobility of these Kingdoms descended from Princes; by the Rev. William Betham."

In our Register for the year 1793, we introduced to our readers the first volume of Mr. Bromley's "Philosophical and Critical History of the Fine Arts, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, with occasional Observations on the Pro-

gress of Engraving, &c;" and we freely pronounced our opinion of the inadequate and unsatisfactory manner in which he had discharged the arduous task which he undertook. The second volume of this work, which has made its appearance in the year 1795, does not afford any very convincing evidence that the author has much improved in scientific knowledge, discriminating taste, or powers of accurate description. This volume consists of a continuation of part II. in four books, which treat of the state of the fine arts in Etruria, in ancient Rome, in the eastern empire, and of Gothic architecture; and of four chapters of part III. relating chiefly to the state of the arts in modern Rome and Florence.

Among the Biographical productions of the year we meet with "the Life of Caius Julius Cæsar, drawn from the most authentic Sources of Information; by C. Coote, LL.D." This work is the first publication in the English language, which is employed on a separate and distinct detail of the life of a hero, whose great character, splendid exploits, and extraordinary acquisition of power, furnish an ample mass of interesting intelligence. The author professes to have availed himself of all the lights afforded by the Greek and Roman historians and biographers. And from the manner in which his work is executed, he appears carefully to have consulted those original authorities, without depending upon historical compilations. If it do not discover any profound and philosophic investigation of the moral and political causes, that combined in elevating Julius to the seat of power, which he erected on the ruins of his

his country's liberties; it contains, nevertheless, a perspicuous, neat, and interesting detail of the facts which distinguished his wonderful career, judiciously arranged, and accompanied with pertinent, sensible, and liberal reflections.

In our historical view of the Domestic Literature of the year 1788, we expressed, very fully, our opinion of the merits of Dr. Towers's "Memoirs of the Life and Reign of Frederick the Third, King of Prussia, in 2 Vols." During the present year a new impression of that work hath been published; which we notice on account of the additions and improvements that the author hath been enabled to introduce into it, from the publication of the *Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse*, including the *Histoire de son Temps*, and his correspondence, in fifteen volumes. The quotations which Dr. Towers has made from these volumes, are numerous and interesting, and serve to confirm the accuracy of his narrative, and to justify the freedom of his remarks. He has seen no reason, after a careful perusal of these posthumous works of Frederick, and some other publications that have appeared concerning him, to alter his statement of any material facts, or in the least to change his sentiments respecting the general character of the late Prussian monarch.

The "Discourse by way of general Preface to the Quarto Edition of Bishop Warburton's Works, containing some Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author," is divided into four sections. The first commences with the bishop's birth, in 1698, and extends to the year 1746, when he was appointed preacher of Lincoln's Inn; the second continues

from that period to his elevation to the bench of bishops, in 1760; the third, from that event until his death, in 1777; and the fourth contains a summary of his character. When this publication was first announced, it excited considerable curiosity, both on account of the celebrity of the person whose life is recorded, and of the writer, Dr. Hurd, bishop of Worcester. But that such curiosity hath been amply gratified, is an acknowledgement which, we apprehend, very few of his lordship's readers will be disposed to make. It exhibits, in every part, a most flattering portrait of Dr. Warburton, whom the author's overstrained and injudicious partiality would elevate to the rank of "the ablest divine, the greatest writer, and the first genius of his age;" and it abounds in the most lavish and unlimited praise of his writings, which, whatever verdict posterity may pass upon them, on account of the learning and ingenuity they discover, and "wit and reasoning alike resistless, the strongest and keenest that can be conceived," are already sought after with but little avidity, and read with less conviction. But to the merit of holding up to view an accurate and faithful delineation of the peculiar and characteristic features of Warburton, and of presenting to the public a judicious critical estimate of his elaborate and singular performances, we conceive that this discourse hath not many claims. Nor can it well be too severely condemned, for the want of candour and justice which the author displays, when incidentally adverting to the characters of the bishop's contemporaries, and literary opponents, and appreciating the importance and value

lue of their learned labours. We make no observations on the confident and contemptuous tone in which he decides on the merit of literary pursuits with which he has little acquaintance, or on his illiberality towards those who differ from the established religious opinions.

Mr. Jones's "Memoirs of the Life, Studies, and Writings of the Right Rev. George Horne, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich," are an affectionate tribute of respect to the memory of that worthy prelate. They give an account, in chronological order, of the incidents of his younger life; his connections in the university; the manner in which he was led into that peculiar train of thinking which is discoverable in his theological productions; the polemical contests in which he engaged; his different publications, whether avowed or anonymous; and the circumstances connected with his different promotions in the church. This account is written, on the whole, in an interesting and pleasing manner; and with a warmth of panegyric, which, if it may occasionally appear too highly wrought, must be attributed to the close similarity of sentiment, and intimate friendship which subsisted between the author and the deceased bishop. In an Appendix, we are presented with letters, chiefly relating to Mr. Law's and Jacob Behmen's writings; some poems, distinguished rather by ardour of piety, than poetical fire; and a collection of essays and thoughts on various subjects, partly original, and partly collected from different authors, arranged in alphabetical order, some trite, some instructive, and some pleasant and amusing.

"The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D. with Critical Observations on his Works, by Robert Anderson, M. D." was written to be prefixed to that author's poetical works, in a collection of the British Poets printed by the Edinburgh booksellers, and is published also in a separate form. The narrative part is carefully and impartially compiled from the numerous biographers of Johnson. The critical observations on his character and writings, are partly borrowed, and partly original. In the former Dr. Anderson has been a close copyist of the opinions and language of preceding writers, particularly Mr. Boswell; and in the latter he has evinced a degree of acumen and critical taste, which led us to wish that he had more uniformly depended on his own powers. On the whole, this Life of Johnson, with the exception of a few inaccuracies, is written with great neatness, elegance, and vigour of style and language.

The "Particulars of the Life of the late George Colman, Esq. written by himself, and delivered by him to Richard Jackson, Esq. (one of his Executors), for publication after his Decease," contain little that will be found generally interesting to the admirers of that deservedly favourite author. His principal design in ordering them to be published was, to set the public right with respect to different reports concerning him, which had been pretty freely circulated. One was, that he was the son of the earl of Bath: which he clearly demonstrates to have been physically impossible. The other stated that, by his literary pursuits and dramatic compositions, he had lost the favour and affection of the above-mentioned

mentioned nobleman; and afterwards, by purchasing a part of the patent of Covent-Garden Theatre, voluntarily forfeited an intended bequest of a large estate under the will of general Pulteney. That these reports also were groundless, and that he met with hard and cruel treatment in the disappointment of the expectations which he had been taught to indulge, he satisfactorily shews.

The "Biographical Sketches of eminent Persons, whose Portraits form part of the Duke of Dorset's Collection at Knole," consist of pleasing accounts of thirty-nine distinguished characters, whose portraits were painted by Holbein and his scholars, interspersed with spirited and liberal remarks. They are also accompanied with a well written description of the place, and a front and east view of Knole. To the visitors of that noble mansion it will prove an useful companion.

The "Anecdotes of some distinguished Persons, chiefly of the present and two preceding Centuries, in 3 Vols." form a most instructive and entertaining compilation, for which the public are much indebted to the industrious and intelligent editor. They consist of curious extracts from scarce and valuable works, and manuscript records, domestic and foreign, and much original matter with which the editor has been favoured by his friends, together with remarks and reflections of his own; selected and arranged with taste and judgment, and delivered in an unaffected simple style. We need not say, what sources of innocent and rational amusement such collections supply, when well conducted, to readers of all descriptions; what

insight they afford into the varieties of the human character; and what service they render, especially to those who have no opportunity or leisure for acquiring that information concerning the lives and manners of celebrated individuals, which is buried in almost inaccessible recesses, or lies scattered throughout the voluminous pages of history. A great part of these Anecdotes has already appeared in the European Magazine. But in their present form, they are considerably enlarged by the addition of fresh matter collected by the indefatigable editor, together with inedited communications; and they are better methodized in point of chronological order. They are also embellished with several elegant engravings. Common fame ascribes this collection to William Seward, esq. a gentleman well known in the literary circles.

In our Register for the year 1792, we inserted an account of "the Life of the late Rev. Philip Skelton, with some curious Anecdotes, by Samuel Burdy, A. B." Since the appearance of that work, a person under the signature of "a Lover of Truth and Common Sense," has published "Observations" upon it, in "two Letters" addressed to the author. This Lover of Truth and Common Sense attacks the character of the venerable Skelton, among other things, for occasionally engaging in card playing, for the sum of a farthing a game; which practice he pronounces to be the fruit of heart atheism; and, effectually to condemn it from scripture, asks Mr. Burdy, "does not the apostle require, that we should do all things in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto the father by him? now, sir, lay your

your hand upon your heart, in sobriety, and say, can you begin to play cards in the name of the Lord Jesus?"!! But the whole is a compound of fanaticism and gross vulgar illiberality.

The author of a "Vindication of Burdy's Life of Skelton, &c." who signs himself "Detector," employs the united force of learning, argument, and keen sarcasm, in exposing the ignorance and insufficiency of his opponent. As we proceeded in reading his sensible and pointed remarks, we were about to ask, Why break a fly on the wheel? until we found that his object extended to the castigation of a party, who are active in propagating that species of enthusiasm which is at least equally injurious to the interests of genuine religion, with the insidious attacks of infidelity. In this he has completely succeeded; while he has satisfactorily vindicated the biographer of Mr. Skelton, from the ill tempered and ungentlemanlike observations of his commentator.

The "Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, late an Officer in the British Navy, &c. written by himself," describe a number of amusing, and some not uninteresting incidents which beset the author, in the different characters of a naval officer, and manager of an itinerant company of comedians. They are written with much frankness and vivacity, and will afford entertainment in a dull hour to those who are not very fastidious.

Dr. Watson's "Life of Lord George Gordon, with a Philosophical Review of his Political Conduct," contains a perspicuous narrative of the chief occurrences which form the history of that eccentric character; and an ingenious

defence of his general conduct and principles. How far it is satisfactory, and establishes Lord George's claims to the strictest integrity, the greatest philanthropy, and the most un sullied honour, the reader must determine from the work itself.

Among the publications of the year which belong to the head of Antiquities and Topography, we meet with a curious and valuable work entitled "The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, be Andrew of Wyntown, Priowr of Sanct Serfis Ynche in Loch Levyn; now first published, with Notes, a Glossary, &c. by David Macpherson, in 2 Volumes." Wyntown lived in the fourteenth, and the beginning of the fifteenth century; and his writings, with those of Fordun which have been repeatedly published, are deservedly ranked among the most important documents of Scottish history. To the original of this chronicle there is prefixed a general history of the ancient world. Mr. Macpherson, however, has judiciously confined himself to those parts which relate to British history, during the fabulous as well as genuine periods. This work is written in rhyme, which is often smooth and harmonious; and in language which, especially with the editor's assistance, will be understood without much difficulty by those who are tolerably conversant in the ancient British writers. Prefixed to it are general rules, which appear well-calculated to facilitate the reading of our author; and a glossary, the result of great attention and labour; which, "as a partial dictionary of the genuine language of Scotland," is entitled to a very considerable share of praise. To the whole the editor has added a collation of various

various readings from different manuscripts; a collection of valuable and curious illustrative notes; and a very useful index.

The "Historical Anecdotes of Heraldry and Chivalry, tending to shew the Origin of many English and Foreign Coats of Arms, Circumstances and Customs," have been compiled by a female pen: and although they may not convey any important information to those who are well read in this branch of scientific lore, they will afford amusement to the general reader. These Anecdotes are illustrated by some plates of arms.

Governor Pownall's "Antiquarian Romance, endeavouring to mark a Line, by which the most ancient People, and the Processions of the earliest Inhabitants of Europe may be investigated," is a publication which abounds in many curious remarks, anecdotes, and etymological conjectures, from which the young antiquarian may derive entertainment and instruction. Its object is, from the names of nations, of places, and of offices which obtained among the barbarians who overflowed the Roman Empire, to investigate and determine, who and what those people were; whence they came; and by what routes, and in what manner they made their irruptions. It is distinguished by learning and ingenuity; but it appears to us to be too defective in point of accuracy, precision, and necessary authorities, to establish any clear and definite system. Some remarks are annexed on Mr. Whitaker's Criticisms, in his Course of Hannibal over the Alps, on governor Pownall's Notices of Antiquities remaining in the Provincia Romana of Gaul.

The "Descriptions and Explanations of some Remains of Roman

Antiquities, dug up in the City of Bath, in the Year 1790, with an Engraving from Drawings made on the Spot," by the same author, are entitled to higher praise, as they are the result of enquiries more congenial with the author's usual line of study, and in which he is eminently qualified to decide. They consist of different papers, in which governor Pownall describes some fragments of architecture dug up at Bath; supplies deficiencies in the inscriptions found upon them; and deduces the conclusion that they are the remains of a temple dedicated to Sol, by Aulus Ligurius. They contain, likewise, some other curious particulars relative to the structure of the Roman baths, and the foundations of the Roman city erected on that scene of modern fashionable resort.

The publication entitled "Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, with Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments of such Parts of it as are now remaining; by Order, and at the Expence of the Society of Antiquaries of London;" contains the history of that structure, and its endowments, from its erection by Edward III. on the site of the ancient chapel added to the palace by king Stephen, and rebuilt by Edward I. until it was fitted up for the meeting of the house of commons, soon after the dissolution of its constitution in the reign of Edward VI. This account is drawn up by John Topham, esq. and is recommended by uncommon elegance of typography, and fourteen beautiful plates, engraved by Basire, from drawings by Carter.

Mr. Hodges's "Historical Account of Ludlow Castle, the ancient Palace of the Princes of Wales, and

and the supreme Court of Judicature of the President and Council of the Welch Marches," appears to be drawn up from authentic documents: and, if it do not furnish the reader with much important matter, it will amuse and entertain him. The scattered accounts of a noble edifice (the scene of many heroic exploits, where Milton's exquisite masque was first presented, and where Butler wrote his *Hudibras*), which the author has compressed within the compass of a few pages, and the topographical anecdotes which he recites, may be recommended "as a guide to the enquiring traveller, and as a refreshment to the memory of the more informed historian."

In this department of our Register for the year 1793, we announced the appearance of the first volume of Mr. Grose's "*Antiquities of Ireland*," which was left by that lamented antiquary in an unfinished state, and completed by the learned and ingenious Mr. Ledwich. During the present year that gentleman has published the second volume of a work, which will be received with pleasure, not only by historians and antiquaries, but by every lover of the fine arts. The introduction contains a curious dissertation on the ancient Irish architecture; in which the author, with great liberality, disclaims the pretensions which many of his countrymen claim for Ireland, to a high state of knowledge and civilization, at a period when the greater part of Europe was buried in ignorance and barbarism. The descriptive part of the work is entitled to the same praise with the preceding volume, and is illustrated by one hundred and twenty-six beautiful engravings.

The third number of, "*Miscel-*

laneous Antiquities, in Continuation of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*," contains a history of the manor and manor-house of South Winfield, Derbyshire, by Thomas Blore, of the society of the Middle Temple, and F. S. A. This work is the apparent result of laborious and attentive investigation, and contains, with the history of the manor, biographical notices of the most illustrious persons in the different noble families to whom it successively passed, and as much other entertainment and information as generally falls to the share of such kind of publications. It is illustrated with seven plates; four of which are different views of the manor house, two are genealogical, and one consists of engravings of seals belonging to the families of Heriz and Cromwell.

The fourth Number of the above mentioned work presents us with the history and antiquities of Shenstone, in the county of Stafford; together with the pedigrees of all the families and gentry, both ancient and modern, of that parish; by the late Henry Sanders, B. A. thirteen years curate of Shenstone. This publication will not excite much interest beyond the boundaries to which its narrative is confined.

Mr. Parsons's treatise entitled "*Monuments and Painted Glass of upward of one hundred Churches, chiefly in the Eastern Part of Kent*," among much matter that might be spared, contains some curious information, entertaining epifodical narratives, apposite quotations, and instructive reflections, which will amply repay the reader for the trouble of perusing his pages.

Mr. Price's "*Historical and Topographical Account of Leominster, and its Vicinity*," ornamented with

with seven neatly engraved plates, comprizes such particulars relative to the ancient and modern state of that town, and the most celebrated events which have taken place in its neighbourhood, as will be acceptable to the inhabitants, though they may not be sufficiently interesting to excite the attention of the public at large. Such also is the character of Mr. Jackson's "History of the City and County of Litchfield, &c." which is to be followed by a second part, employed on a description of the cathedral.

The second and third volumes of Mr. Lyson's "Environs of London, being an historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets within twelve Miles of the Capital, &c." will not diminish the reputation which the author acquired by the first volume, of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1792. They contain a vast fund of diversified entertainment, for readers of every description; from the sedulous hunter after country church-yard epitaphs, to the accurate biographer and more dignified historian; from the mechanic and collector of curiosities, to the lover of the fine arts and the connoisseur. The plates with which they are illustrated are numerous; and many of them, especially the portraits, well executed.

The next article which calls for our notice is a topographical work of distinguished merit as a literary production, and rendered peculiarly interesting from the variety of curious and important subjects which it embraces. It is entitled "A Description of the Country from thirty to forty Miles round Manchester; containing its Geography, natural and civil; principal Productions; River and Canal Navigations; a particular Account of

its Towns and chief Villages; their History, Population, Commerce, Manufactures, Buildings, Government, &c; the Materials arranged, and the Work composed by J. Aikin, M. D." With the author's talents as a correct, pleasing, and elegant writer, the public are sufficiently acquainted. And the scene which he has undertaken to describe, comprehends in it the sources of those branches of commerce to which this country is principally indebted for her opulence, and her importance in the scale of Europe: the cotton trade of Manchester and the adjoining towns; the woollen manufactures of the west riding of Yorkshire; the cutlery and hardware of Sheffield; the mines of Derbyshire; the potteries of Staffordshire; the silk manufactures, and the salt works of Cheshire; the sail-cloth, iron, and glass manufactories of Lancashire; and the extensive multifarious traffic of the port of Liverpool, second only to that of London. These subjects afforded much scope for investigation, and have led the author to collect and arrange, with great judgment and perspicuity, a vast mass of historical, topographical, commercial and economical information, which is highly instructive and entertaining. He has also introduced into his work, curious biographical memoirs, and interesting views of the gradual changes which have taken place in society and manners, from the influx of wealth and its attendant luxuries. The whole is embellished and illustrated with seventy-three beautiful plates, including a two-sheet map of the country forty miles round Manchester, and a plan of that town, of the same size.

"The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Town of Leicester,

attempted by John Throsby," if it be not distinguished by a profound and accurate antiquarian research, contains a fund of historical and topographical information, interspersed with entertaining anecdotes, detailed in that lively and pleasing manner, which cannot fail to render it a popular work. It is divided into five sections which treat of the origin, history, and antiquities of Leicester, till it received its charter from king John; of its history and antiquities under the different mayors; of the religious houses, churches, hospitals, &c; of the earls of Leicester; and of the present state of the town. This history is illustrated with numerous well executed engravings.

The next work which we have to announce is the production of an author, who is well known for his industry and perseverance in antiquarian researches, and to whom the public is much indebted for many laborious and entertaining exertions in that line of literature. It is entitled "The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, compiled from the best and most ancient Historians, Inquisitions post mortem, and other valuable Records, in the Tower, Rolls, Exchequer, Duchy and Augmentation Offices, the Registers of the Diocese of Lincoln, the Chartularies and Registers of Religious Houses, the College of Arms, the British Museum, the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and other public and private Repositories; including also Mr. Burton's Description of the County, published in 1622, and the late Collections of Mr. Staveley, Mr. Carte, Mr. Peck, and Sir Thomas Cave. By John Nichols, F. S. A. Ed. and Perth," volume I. and Part I. of volume II. Of this very extensive

work which, when complete, will consist of four volumes folio, illustrated by near four hundred engravings, we shall not attempt, in its present stage, to give any other account than some general information of what our readers may expect to meet with in what is now before us, including the reason why a portion only of the work is, as yet, submitted to public inspection. "The most material," says Mr. Nichols, "of the many reasons which might be assigned for publishing a part only of so large a work is, that the nature of the plan may be more distinctly understood. For this purpose a complete hundred is given, as a specimen of the five which remain; which, it is hoped, will receive considerable improvement, as well from the merits as the defects of that now exhibited; since it must be in the power of gentlemen in every particular district to point out corrections and improvements." What is already published consists of various articles of prolegomena, such as domesday on that county, with a translation; testa de Nevill, and other records; list of baronets, sheriffs, members, &c; dissertations on the mint at Leicester, and on the Roman roads and Milliary, communicated by some learned friends; navigations; natural history, &c; the ancient and modern history of the town of Leicester; and the history of the hundred of Framland. We shall encroach no farther on the limits which we have prescribed to ourselves, excepting to add, that the topographical history is enlivened with many rich biographical notices.

"The History of the Isle of Wight, military, ecclesiastical, civil, and natural; to which is added a View of its Agriculture, by the Rev.

Rev. Richard Warner," is the production of an author who has recommended himself to public approbation, by various antiquarian and topographical works which we have at different periods introduced to our readers. This volume possesses the merit of being a judicious and pleasing abstract of what is to be found in former writers, who have either directly or incidentally made the Isle of Wight the subject of their enquiries and descriptions, arranged in an improved form, and enriched with much new and curious matter. What relates to the military, the natural, and economical history of the island, is particularly valuable. This work is illustrated with a map and three plates.

The "New, Correct, and much improved History of the Isle of Wight, from the earliest Times of authentic Information, to the present Period, &c, printed for and by J. Albin," is the compilation of an industrious editor, who, we readily acknowledge, has supplied the curious traveller with an useful companion during his progress through that island: but we cannot subscribe to his modest declaration that his work "is every way far superior to any thing yet published relative to that favourite spot." This volume is rendered the more acceptable by a good map, and an Appendix pointing out the three principal routes which should be taken by those who wish to view its beauties to the greatest advantage.

Among the books of Travels which have appeared during the present year, we find the fourth volume of "Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, made between the Years 1770 and 1779, by Charles Peter Thunberg, M. D. Knight of the

Order of Vasa, &c. &c." Of the contents of the former volumes, and the general character of this work, we gave our readers an account in this department of our literary history for the year 1792. The volume now before us contains much additional matter relative to the island of Japan; accounts of excursions in the islands of Java and Ceylon; and the author's voyage home. The additional matter relative to Japan comprises a variety of curious, and some valuable information, arranged under the heads of government, weapons, drink, smoking, festival games, sciences, laws and police, physicians, agriculture, natural history, and commerce. Of the remaining part of the volume the most interesting is the narrative of the author's excursions in the island of Ceylon, including an account of the manner in which elephants are taken; the method of cultivating and curing cinnamon; and other articles in natural history, and mineralogy; which are detailed with the professor's well known accuracy, and will prove gratifying to the reader. He will also find the good professor condescending to lay open some of the arcana of eastern culinary economy, as far as they respect different savoury preparations of the bread-fruit: arcana which may merit the attention of epicures in our tropical colonies in the East and West Indies.

In our History of German Literature for the year 1794, we announced a publication entitled "Philosophical, Political, and Literary Travels in Russia, during the Years 1788 and 1789," which we characterized as a pleasing compilation from the labours of different writers who have of late

years employed themselves on descriptions and anecdotes of the Russian empire. Since we inserted that brief notice, the work has made its appearance in an English translation, in two volumes; which, notwithstanding that it cannot be highly praised, either in point of accuracy, or elegance, will be found replete with information and entertainment to the English reader. The first volume contains an account of St. Petersburg, and its vicinity; the public and private history of the court; the population of the capital, and of all Russia; the constitutional classes into which the Russians are divided; the administration, civil and political; the prevailing religion of the country; the revenue; the military and naval force; the commerce and mines; and the state of manners, learning, language, science, and arts. The greatest part of the second volume is composed of historical anecdotes, from the reign of Peter I. to the present times. The remaining part describes the face of the country, the manners of the peasants, and the history of the principal towns on the route from Petersburg to Moscow; the buildings, population, commerce, and religious establishments of that ancient metropolis of the Russian empire; and a philosophical account of the Tartar tribes subject to Russia, which the reader will find abridged among our extracts relative to the manners of nations.

The "Narrative of the British Embassy to China in 1792, 1793, and 1794, &c, with Accounts of the Customs and Manners of the Chinese, &c, by Aeneas Anderson, then in the Service of his Excellency Earl Macartney, K. B. &c," is a well written and entertaining production, which was

published with the view of gratifying the public curiosity with respect to the leading circumstances attending that extraordinary mission, and of supplying such general information relative to the appearance of the country, its productions, cities, inhabitants, manners, arts, and Commerce, as the author's situation enabled him to obtain. That the embassy failed in its grand design, is generally understood. But that the author develops the causes of that failure, and gives a fair and unprejudiced relation of the reception, proceedings, and departure of the embassy, are matters concerning which we may at least be allowed to hesitate, as we have heard very different accounts from persons who were conspicuous actors in the scene. When sir George Staunton's expected publication hath made its appearance, we shall be better able to determine these points. In other respects, this narrative is not devoid of information and amusement. It describes the incidents in the voyage from England to Mettow, a large Chinese town at the mouth of a river which runs into the Yellow Sea, where the ambassador landed; the inland voyage on board of junks to the city of Tongtchew, within half a day's journey of Peking; the progress to that capital, and to the emperor's country residence in Tartary, beyond the great wall; the return to Peking, and the journey from thence to Canton, chiefly performed on the rivers and canals which communicate throughout the whole of that vast empire, and the voyage home. This narrative is interspersed with lively and striking pictures of the new and curious objects which presented themselves to our travellers; and shrewd remarks, that render it

it interesting even when employed in describing the perpetual succession of similar palaces, pagodas, villages, towns, cities, gardens, and cultivated fields.

The "Journey over Land to India, partly by a Route never gone before by any European, by Donald Campbell, of Barbreck, Esq. &c. in a Series of Letters to his Son," is divided into three parts. The first part contains an account of the author's progress through the Netherlands, Germany, and the Tyrol, to Venice; and thence to the Island of Zante, to Alexandria, to the Island of Cyprus, to Latichea, and to Aleppo; with his observations on the most striking objects that caught his attention, and particularly, on the state of government and manners of the inhabitants in the places through which he passed. These observations shew the author to be possessed of a vigorous, reflecting mind, and that he is the declared foe to every species of despotism, bigotry, and superstition. The second part contains a description of Aleppo; of the Turkish constitution, government, character, religious ceremonies, and manners; and of the author's mode of travelling, under the care of a Tartar guide, through Diarbeker and Mosul to Bagdat. In this part, the narrative of the author's long and dangerous journey, and of the adventures he met with, is distinguished by considerable originality, and will afford much amusement to the reader. In the third part, Mr. Campbell gives an account of Bagdat, Bassora, Bombay, and Goa; of his shipwreck on the territory of Hyder Ali; of the hardships and cruelties he suffered in prison, for refusing to accept a command in Hyder's army; of

the Mahratta war, and of East Indian politics; and of a variety of incidents which befell him before his return to his native country. From this analysis of the contents of the volume before us, our readers may form an idea of the information and entertainment which they may expect to meet with in the perusal of it. On the author's manner of writing we have to remark, that, although occasionally too prolix and colloquial, it is in general lively, pleasing, and interesting.

Mr. Murphy's "Travels in Portugal, through the Provinces of Entre Douro e Minho, Beira, Estremadura, and Alem-tejo, in the years 1789 and 1790," afford much valuable information and entertainment in the views which they exhibit of the manners, customs, trade, public buildings, arts, antiquities, &c. of a kingdom which has been long intimately connected with Great Britain, by political and commercial ties, but which has seldom attracted the notice of English travellers. Of those who have wandered to any distance from the banks of the Tagus, the greater part have represented it "as a barren inhospitable field for information, without allowing it to possess scarcely any object worthy to arrest the attention of the philosopher, the antiquary, or artist." Mr. Murphy, however, has in this volume collected materials, from which the unprejudiced will be led to form a very different opinion of Portugal; notwithstanding that he has contented himself "with giving only such casual remarks, as came within the contracted sphere of his observation, and these thrown together with very little art or arrangement." We should exceed our limits were we to trace his journey from Oporto to Lisbon,

Cintra, and other principal towns, or point out the chief objects which he examined and investigated, or the principal circumstances respecting which he appears to have employed much diligence in acquiring accurate knowledge. But we can promise readers, of very different tastes and pursuits, that they will be much gratified in accompanying Mr. Murphy. Of the value of what he says respecting the manners and customs of the inhabitants, some judgment may be formed from the extracts which we have inserted in a preceding department of our work. This volume is written, in general, in a correct and animated style, and is illustrated with twenty-four plates, some of them possessing very considerable merit, and all neatly engraved.

Mrs. Radcliffe's "Journey made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a Return down the Rhine &c," is a well written and elegant publication, abounding in interesting descriptions of beautiful and romantic scenery, and pleasing pictures of men and manners, faithfully copied from nature. It is, likewise, agreeably diversified by historical details, economical remarks, and sensible reflections. This journey, after visiting all the principal towns in Holland and Utrecht, was continued through Cleves, Rheinberg, Cologne, Bonn, Andernach, Coblenz, Limburgh, Mentz, Frankfort, Oppenheim, Worms, Mannheim, and Carlsruhe to Fribourg, the capital of the Brisgau. From that city it was designed to be extended into "the far-seen delights of Switzerland," which would have afforded the fullest scope for the exercise of Mrs. Radcliffe's genius and talents. But this gratification she was denied

through the ignorance, or insolence of office of a lieutenant de place, in the Austrian service; which occasioned her return down the Rhine to Rotterdam, and from thence to England. To this journey are added, Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland, in which her descriptive powers are employed, with great variety and felicity of application, in illustrating the picturesque beauties and domestic manners of her native country.

Mr. Pratt's three volumes of "Gleanings through Wales, Holland, and Westphalia, with Views of Peace and War at Home and Abroad," are written in the character of "a *residential* traveller, who sets out on a plan of sojourning in the parts of the world he describes, and mixes in the society of each long enough to observe accurately manners, customs, and events;" "gathering up whatever may be left to humble industry, or excursive curiosity in the path of his wandering,—now and then deviating into the fields of fancy, mixing thus his *wheat* with such *flowers* as grow in its neighbourhood, whether in hedge-row or garden, whether the production of art or nature." Mr. Pratt's plan is conducted as immethodically as Sterne's in his *Sentimental Journey*; and his narratives and incidents frequently receive from his pencil so high a colouring as to wear too much of the air of fiction. We found in his *Gleanings*, however, much to interest our feelings, and much to entertain in the moments devoted to light reading, drawn up in an easy and familiar style. Our principal objection to his matter is, when he unnecessarily digresses to paint the enormities which have attended

tended the French Revolution, in which if there be truth, there is also exaggeration. The first volume is chiefly confined to Wales, and contains animated and pleasing sketches of the grand and beautiful scenery which that country displays, and of the customs and manners of the inhabitants. The second volume is employed on Holland, the Dutch character, amusements, literature, history, &c. and the author's various adventures in the united provinces. In the third volume we find our tourist perambulating Westphalia, and drawing amusement from its sequestered rural scenes, which are seldom visited by the foot of the stranger. These volumes, likewise, contain republications of the author's well known and elegant poem entitled *Humanity*, and some of his other pieces which were out of print.

Mr. Este's "*Journey in the year 1793, through Flanders, Brabant, and Germany, to Switzerland*," is a work which, as far as relates to the variety of information comprized in it respecting the countries and cities through which the author passed, the inhabitants, arts, commerce, governments, manners, and the events that have taken place during the present destructive war, reflects honour on his diligence of enquiry, and fidelity of narration. The sentiments and remarks, likewise, with which it is interspersed, notwithstanding that they are sometimes crude and extravagant, afford abundant proofs that he possesses an enlightened, liberal, and reflecting mind. But the style and language in which they are delivered, are frequently uncouth, affected, and obscure in a very blameable degree. We note this the rather, because from the manner in which detached parts are ex-

ecuted, Mr. Este shews that, with proper pains, he could have rendered it uniformly not only an unexceptionable but an impressive and pleasing composition. In an appendix are given, four letters from Linné to lord Baltimore, and a specimen of an intended translation of Spalanzani's *Tour to Vesuvius, Ætna, &c.* in which we hope he will take care to avoid the faults that are so prominent in the volume before us.

"*The Wanderer, or a Collection of Anecdotes and Incidents, with Reflections, political and religious, during two Excursions in 1791, and 1793, in France, Germany, and Italy, by Joshua Lucock Wilkinson, in 2 Vols.*" is a loose desultory production, consisting of a jumble of unconnected facts, and ill digested reflections, under several miscellaneous heads, from which little valuable information can be obtained relative to the state of manners in those countries. Some of his anecdotes are amusing; but others grossly indelicate. Some of his sentiments are liberal; but others will not receive the Imprimatur of the friends to any form of religion, and good morals.

Mr. Skrine's volume entitled "*Three Successive Tours in the North of England, and great part of Scotland, interspersed with Descriptions of the Scenes they presented, and occasional Observations on the State of Society, and the Manners and Customs of the People*," is, in general, correct and elegant in point of composition, and beautiful in point of typography. The first tour was made many years ago, and is confined to the central parts of the north of England. The second tour, which was taken in the year 1787, commences in the Vale of Trent, in

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Staffordshire, and carries the reader to the beautiful region of the lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire; to the ruder scenes of the Western Islands of Scotland; and by Perth, Edinburgh, Durham, Richmond, Craven, the plains of Lancashire, and Shropshire, to South Wales. In the third tour Mr. Skrine visited the eastern and northern coasts of Scotland, as far as Inverness, and returned by the Blair of Athol, Stirling, Glasgow, Hamilton, and Edinburgh to England. The observations which occur in this work on the state of Scotland, the peculiar traits and manners of the inhabitants, and the progress of improvement, are worthy of attention. But its chief excellence consists in the descriptions, which are brief, accurate, and pleasing, although not so highly animated as those of some of our late picturesque travellers.

Mrs. Morgan's "Tour to Milford Haven, in the Year 1791," is written in the epistolary style, with ease and vivacity; and shews the writer to possess good sense, discernment, and a happy disposition to please, and to be pleased. If it should be found to convey no very important information, it will afford entertainment, nevertheless, in the descriptions which it contains of the natural beauties of South Wales; the pictures which it exhibits, of the artless manners and disinterested hospitality of the natives; and the legendary tales, and stories of modern credulity which it preserves. We cannot entirely acquit the fair writer of too great easiness of belief in the latter.

The little volume of "Travels, chiefly on Foot, through several parts of England, in 1782, by Charles P. Moritz, a literary Gen-

tleman of Berlin, translated from the German by a Lady," is a peculiar, but entertaining work, containing the remarks of an intelligent German clergyman on Englishmen, and English manners, during a short residence in London, and different rambles in its vicinity, and through several counties, as far north as Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. He came to England enraptured with the accounts he had received of it in his own country, and left it highly gratified at meeting with a great variety of objects that called for his praise, and which he describes in letters to his friend. He met also with circumstances that demanded his censures, which he delivers with great freedom, but without prejudice or acrimony. Our countrymen, of different ranks and classes, may derive some useful lessons from his simple and unaffected narrative.

Mr. Hucks's "Pedestrian Tour through North Wales," is a well written production, employed more in illustrating the character and manners of the Welch (of which the author gives a very favourable picture), than in describing the face of the country, or the objects that would strike the attention of travellers in general. It contains many liberal remarks, and manly sentiments, which do credit to the author's understanding, and to his heart.

Whether the "Voyage to New South Wales, with a Description of the Country, and the Manners and Customs of the Natives in the Vicinity of Botany Bay, by George Barrington, now Superintendent of the Convicts at Paramatta," be in reality the production of that celebrated adventurer, we will not take upon ourselves to determine. It carries with it, however, inter-

nal,

trial marks of a faithful relation of the incidents attending the voyage to his place of exile, and of the good behaviour by which he recommended himself to an office of trust in the settlement. And it contains a well written account of the state of that colony, and of the surrounding country, which, if not novel, is far from being unentertaining.

The "Travels through the Maritime Alps, from Italy to Lyons, across the *Col de Tende*, by the way of Nice, Provence, Languedoc, &c. with Topographical and Historical Descriptions, &c. by Albanis Beaumont," like the preceding efforts of that gentleman's pen and pencil, which we have successively noticed in the order of their appearance, will prove an acceptable present to the inquisitive traveller, the student of nature, and the admirer of the fine arts. With the "Select Views in the South of France," which we announced in our last volume, they comprehend the whole route from Coni, in Piedmont, to Lyons. The *Col de Tende* is the highest peak of the maritime Alps, and forms one of the three grand passages from France to Italy. Mr. Beaumont's description of the wild and sublime scenery which it presents, and his accounts of the expensive methods adopted by the king of Sardinia, to conquer the difficulties in communication created by the narrow defiles, immense precipices, and impetuous torrents which perpetually meet the eye of the traveller, are highly interesting and amusing. The results of his numerous scientific excursions, and the anecdotes which accompany them, convey, likewise, much information and entertainment. But his illustrative views, elegantly executed in ac-

quainta, and his accurate plans, will, in the estimation of many of his admirers, form the chief excellence of his valuable and splendid work. These are numerous, and uncommonly beautiful.

The Political publications of the year 1795 were, as usual, very numerous, and employed on a variety of topics. We shall follow our customary practice of dismissing them with a brief notice of some of the most important and interesting. And in this number, such as relate to the state of things in France, and our disastrous war with that country, offer themselves to our attention in the first place. Count Alexander De Tilly's treatise "*de la Revolution Française en 1794*," is the production of an emigrant, who endeavours to illustrate the causes of the revolution, which, he contends, was never irresistible, and would have been prevented had the measures which he proposed to the king been adopted; and who employs himself in pointing out the means which yet remain, for crushing that scourge of aristocracy, and terror of monarchs. He is a lively, if not a very argumentative writer; but in his plans as quixotic as any of the coalesced powers, without being much troubled by qualms of patriotism, or of humanity. M. D'Ivernois, in his "*Cursor View of the Assignats, and remaining Resources of French Finances* (September 6, 1795)," affirms that popular enthusiasm, with liberty for its object, no longer supports the French republican system; that in assignats consists all the power of the revolution; that from their depreciation it may be pronounced to be on the verge of immediate destruction; and that if Great Britain and her allies will but perse-

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vere, all that they can hope and wish for will be effected. Such bold assertions have been echoed and re-echoed, as the oracles of wisdom, in the British senate. But have they been justified by the actual circumstances and events, since the period when the author wrote? M. Calonne, in his "Tableau de l'Europe, en Novembre 1795," while he endeavours to shew "what has been done and ought not to have been done, what ought to have been done and has not been done, what ought to be done and what perhaps will not be done," to overturn the French revolution, pays little respect to the political conduct of the combined crowned heads; and treats the prognostications of those who found their hopes of ultimate success against France on the ruin of her finances, as empirical illusions. He also exposes many other popular errors. But he strongly urges the continuance of the war, because "a republican spirit is essentially connected with a hatred of kings;" and he indulges the hope that a limited monarchy may yet be established in France, on the ground of the internal discontent which pervades the country, the rupture in which it will soon terminate, and the religious sentiments which still live in the hearts of Frenchmen. The "Argument on the French Revolution, and the Means of Peace, by David Hartley, Esq." is a sensible and calm, but energetic production, which merits the serious attention of those statesmen and politicians who have been advocates for the mad crusade against France. That the contest on the part of despotism is a lost cause, he does not deem it necessary to prove. He addresses to them, therefore, unanswerable reasons for a funda-

mental change of parliamentary councils, if they wish to save the British constitution; and offers salutary advice to the kings of Europe, whether their power be limited or despotic, if "they would preserve the attachment of those whom they call their people, now when the flood-tide of liberty is set in." The treatise entitled "An Argument against continuing the War," is also a sensible, well written production, in which the impolicy of perseverance in a bad and desperate cause, is demonstrated with great perspicuity and force of reasoning. The following publications, likewise, deserve to be selected from the mass: "War no Policy, or the Distresses of France a Warning to Great Britain, with Remarks on the present important Crisis;" "Some Remarks on the apparent Circumstances of the War, in the fourth Week of October 1795," which contain a flattering picture of the condition of Great Britain, and her allies, and promise us that France will soon be brought to lower her tone, with respect to the terms of peace; "Considerations on the present Crisis of Affairs, as it respects the West India Colonies, and the probable Effect of the French Decree for emancipating the Negroes;" "Considerations on the principal Objections against Overtures for a Peace with France;" "Reasons why Peace should be offered to the French Nation;" "Letters to the People of Great Britain respecting the present State of their Public Affairs;" "A Statement of Facts, or an Enquiry into the Wisdom and Necessity of the present War, in a Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt;" "Reflections on the War, in Answer to Reflections on Peace, addressed to Mr. Pitt and the French Nation, by

by F. D'Ivernois, Esq;" "Remarks on the present War, or a short Enquiry into the Conduct of our Foreign Allies, &c;" "Confiscation considered; or Doubts on the Propriety of plundering our Friends;" and "A Letter to his Serene Highness the Elector of Hanover, with Notes, to which are subjoined interesting and authentic State Papers and Letters, relative to our Correspondence at Foreign Courts, in the Autumn of 1794." Mr. Gifford's "Letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, containing Strictures on his Lordship's Letters to the Peers of Scotland," is a spirited, but not very liberal attack on his lordship, for the severe terms in which he characterized the prime movers in the war against France; and a plausible, but not very argumentative defence of the justice and necessity of that war, to which he promises an honourable termination, "notwithstanding the perverse representations and gloomy predictions of Opposition."

Among the publications of the year which refer to the state of politics as connected with the general system of government, and particularly with the principles of the British constitution, we meet with "The Commonwealth in Danger, &c; by John Cartwright Esq;" which is a manly and able production, by a veteran in political discussion. It may be divided into two parts. In the first part, which consists of the Introduction, he completely refutes Mr. Arthur Young's pamphlet, entitled the Example of France a Warning to Britain, and clearly convicts the author of the grossest inconsistency, and most contemptible apostasy of principle. In the latter part he shews, with great force of argument, the necessity of a reform of the re-

presentation of the people in parliament; and offers some serious reasons for reviving the Saxon system of militia, by arming all males who are capable of serving. "The Constitution safe without Reform, containing some Remarks" on the last mentioned work; "by the author of the Example of France a Warning to Britain," whether considered as a defence of the author's political consistency, or a refutation of Mr. Cartwright's favourite doctrine, abounds in bold assertion, and confident assumption, but leaves his opponent's material statements uncontradicted, and his arguments unanswered. To the above we add "An Address to the Prime Minister of the King of Corsica, on the Subject of its late Union with the British Crown," which shews that the Corsican constitution contains in principle, that very system of representation, which the advocates for a reform in England have been so long endeavouring unsuccessfully to establish; "The Political Progress of Britain, or an Impartial History of Abuses in the Government of the British Empire, &c. from the Revolution in 1688, to the present Time, tending to prove the ruinous Consequence of Taxation, War and Conquest;" "Rights and Remedies, or the Theory and Practice of true Politics, &c. dedicated to Earl Stanhope by one of the New Sect of Moralists;" "Conciones ad Populum, or Addresses to the People, by S. T. Coleridge;" "The Plot discovered, or an Address to the People against ministerial Treason," by the same author; "Thoughts on the Origin and Formation of political Constitutions, suggested by the recent Attempt to frame another new Constitution for France, by John Bowles Esq;" "A Remon-

monfrance in favour of British Liberty, addressed to the Right Honourable William Pitt, by a Country Gentleman;" "The Manual of Liberty, or Testimonies in behalf of the Rights of Mankind, selected from the best Authors in Prose and Verse, and methodically arranged;" "A Whig's Apology for his Consistency;" "Letters to the Duke of Portland on his Dereliction of the Cause of the People, first published in the Morning Chronicle under the Signature of Hampden;" "A Letter to the Right Honourable William Windham, on the Intemperance and dangerous Tendency of his public Conduct, by Thomas Holcroft;" the second part of Barlow's "Advice to the Privileged Orders in the several States of Europe, resulting from the Necessity and Propriety of a general Revolution in the Principles of Government;" and "A Query whether certain Political Conjectures and Reflections of Dr. Davenant in 1689, be, or be not, applicable to the present Crisis." To the pamphlets already enumerated under this head, we have to add the following, occasioned by the introduction of two bills which have since passed into laws: "Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills, concerning Treasonable and Seditious Practices, &c. by a Lover of Order," which contain severe and animated strictures on their principle and tendency, while they afford some sanction to the alarm expressed at the proceedings of the London corresponding society, and the practice of political lecturing; a manly and interesting "Letter to the High Sheriff of the County of Lincoln, respecting the Bills of Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, for altering the Criminal Law of England respecting Treason and Sedi-

tion, by John Cartwright Esq;" a spirited, but dispassionate "Word in Defence of the Bill of Rights, against the GAGGING BILLS, by Thomas Beddoes, M. D.;" and a "Dialogue upon the two Bills now depending in Parliament, relative to the Rights of the People, transcribed by William Wilson, Jasper's Brother."

We have already so far extended our catalogue of publications relative to domestic politics, that we can only add the titles of the following: "A Letter to the Prince of Wales on a second Application to Parliament to discharge Debts wantonly contracted since May, 1787;" "Observations" on that Letter; "An Appendix" to that Letter, but not by the author; "A loyal, but solemn Expostulation, addressed in a Moment of general Distress, Dismay, and Apprehension, to a thoughtless and imprudent Young Man;" "Thoughts on the Prince's Debts;" "Observations on the Situation of the Prince of Wales, by John Nichols, esq;" "Two Words of Counsel, and one of Comfort, addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales;" "The Rights of the Nation, and the Wrongs of the Prince;" "Lucubrations of an Heir Apparent;" "A Letter to his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," addressed to his lordship immediately on his arrival; "A Letter from Earl Fitzwilliam, recently retired from Ireland, to the Earl of Carlisle, explaining the Causes of that Event;" "A second Letter" from the same to the same; "A Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Earl Fitzwilliam, in Reply to his Lordship's two Letters;" "A fair Statement of the Administration of Earl Fitzwilliam in Ireland, containing strictures on the noble Lord's Letters to Earl Carlisle;"

title;" "A plain Statement of Facts, relative to the Administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, in Ireland;" and "A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Fitzwilliam, occasioned by his two Letters to the Earl of Carlisle, by William Playfair."

We now come to those publications of the year which are to be referred to the head of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature. And the first which call for our notice are, "Honorabili & admodum reverendo Shute Barrington, LL.D. Episcopo Dunelmensi, Epistola, complexa Genesin, ex Codice purpureo-argenteo Cæsareo-Vindobonensi expressam, & Testamenti Veteris Græci, Versionis Septuagintaviralis, cum variis Lectionibus de novo edendi, Specimen;" and "Epistolæ, &c. nuper datæ Appendix, cum Specimine ad formam contractiore. A Roberto Holmes, S. T. P. &c." The learned world is sufficiently apprized of Dr. Holmes's intention to give a new edition of the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, accompanied with the various readings of the other printed editions, and of all the MSS. that are known to exist; after the manner of Dr. Kennicott's collation of the Hebrew MSB. In the letter before us, he enumerates the principal of fifty Greek MSS. consulted in pursuance of his plan; and presents his readers with the complete fragment (transcribed by professor Alter, in the same number of pages and lines as the original), from the celebrated MS. mentioned in the title page, which is written in uncial or capital silver letters, on purple coloured parchment, and is supposed to be as old as the fifth or sixth century. He has also given eleven lines of a facsimile of that MS. In the next place, Dr. Holmes gives an account of the various editions, and differ-

ent versions which he consulted, and enumerates his literary assistants in different parts of Europe. His Specimen consists of the first two chapters of Genesis from the text of the Roman edition of 1586, which he follows invariably, excepting in its typographical errors. The text of this specimen is printed in great-primer Oxford Greek, without abbreviations; and the various readings are arranged in two columns, below, in the following order: the variations of MSS. and printed editions; the various readings from versions made from the Greek; the various readings that are quoted by the Greek fathers; and the fragments of the other Greek translators, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. In his Appendix he has greatly contracted his plan, and admitted nothing but various readings, or fragments of the hexaplar version; as it has been suggested to him, that besides the MSS. of Greek fathers and versions, the remains of the Latin versions ought also to be collated. We think this alteration judicious; since by the method which he originally adopted, especially if he should follow the hint of his friends, he must swell his work to an immense and unnecessary size. That Dr. Holmes has done much to secure to himself the praise of industry and critical attention, and to raise the expectation of the learned world; these publications bear ample testimony. We shall be happy when we can congratulate him and the public on the termination of his labours.

During the present year Mr. Gilbert Wakefield has published the fifth volume of his "Silva Critica; sive in Auctores sacros profanosque Commentarius Philologus." The learned public are so well acquainted with the nature and execution of this

this critico-theological work, and we have so frequently expressed our opinion of its value and importance, that it is only necessary for us to announce the appearance of the volume before us.

Major Ousley's "Persian Miscellanies: an Essay to facilitate the reading of Persian MSS. with engraved Specimens, philological Observations, and Notes, critical and historical," form a work which will be highly prized by the student in oriental literature. The Persian language, whether we advert to the inscriptions on the remains of ancient architecture, or to the MSS. in which the great mass of the literature of that country is contained, is written in a variety of characters, the deciphering of which is attended with considerable difficulty. These varieties are comprized by our author under three general divisions; the *Nisshi*, which is the most common, and comprehends several subordinate modes; the *Talik*, which is the most beautiful, and in which not only the most valuable and elegant productions of Persia, but those also of India and Turkey are written; and the *Shekeste*, which is chiefly used in familiar correspondence, or in such rough extracts as are intended afterwards to be transcribed into the more elegant *Talik*. Of this variety major Ousley has given many engraved specimens, accompanied with such remarks and observations, as will greatly facilitate the introduction of the scholar to some of the most important depositories of eastern knowledge. His critical and historical notes, likewise, abound in much curious and interesting matter.

The "ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΣΧΥΝΟΥ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΠΤΑ, Glasgux in Aedibus Academicis excud. And. Foulis, &c." are generally understood to have been edited by Mr. Porson,

the Greek professor at Cambridge, whose unrivalled qualifications for such a task are too well known and acknowledged, to need mentioning in this place. These tragedies are printed in a very handsome manner in folio; and present to us a vast number of new, or restorations of old readings, changes of punctuation, transpositions, corrections, and new metrical arrangements of the choral odes, for which the editor could, doubtless, have assigned the most satisfactory reasons. It is to be lamented, therefore, that they have been suffered to come before the public without his valuable notes. They are also unaccompanied with a preface, with the scholia, and with the fragments.

From the Clarendon press hath issued "Aristotelis de Poeticâ Liber Græce & Latine. Lectionem constituit, versionem refinxit, Animadversionibus illustravit, Thomas Tyrwhitt." This work is published in very handsome quarto; and in octavo, on fine, and on common paper. We have been informed also, that a few copies were printed on a very beautiful folio page, with the type of the quarto impression. The quarto is published by the curators of the Clarendon press; and the octavo by Mr. Burgess, to whom the care of Mr. Tyrwhitt's papers was committed after his death, and who has completed what was left unfinished by that acute and learned critic. The principal difference between the two impressions, excepting the typography, consists in different prefaces; that to the quarto in the name of the curators, and that to the octavo by Mr. Burgess. The quarto edition also contains the general heads of the different sections, as divided by Mr. Tyrwhitt. Of this work we have to observe, that it is distinguished by that improvement

ment in the arrangement, that superior accuracy of punctuation, that variety of important new readings, and that erudition, critical judgment, and sagacity, which render it the best and most correct edition of the Stagirite's celebrated treatise. Mr. Tyrwhitt's merits as a scholar and critic are so well known, to foreigners as well as to his own countrymen, that we entertain no apprehensions of being accused of exaggerated commendation.

From the the same press the literary world has also received, "ΠΑΡΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΩΝΕΩΣ ΤΑ ΘΗΙΚΑ. Plutarchi Chæronensis Moralia, id est Opera, exceptis Vitis, reliqua. Græca emendavit, &c. Daniel Wytenbach, Hist. &c. in illust. Athen. Amstelod. Profess. Tom. I.—II. 4to. Tom. I.—IV. 8vo." Of the completion of the learned professor's grand undertaking, the fruit of twenty-two years' laborious study and application, and of its character, as far it could be determined by a specimen which he published some years ago, we informed our readers in our history of the literature of the United Provinces for the year 1787. The curators of the Oxford press, with a liberality that does them honour, undertook the publication of at least the moral part; and to their attention are we indebted for the correctness, elegance, and splendour, which recommend the impressions before us. The first volume in the quarto edition, with which the first two in the octavo correspond, contains a very elaborate and judicious preface, divided into four chapters, full of curious and interesting matter; an explication of the marks by which the MSS. and editions are distinguished in the notes; an index of the editions, versions, and MSS. used in each separate book; and

eighteen of Plutarch's treatises. The second volume also contains eighteen treatises. The foundation of professor Wytenbach's text has been the Aldine, joined to that of H. Stephens: although it cannot properly be said to have been regulated by any edition. "Ab integro recensui & constitui," says the editor. Under his text are placed the various readings; and it is accompanied by the version of Xylander, corrected by the professor. The remaining part of the text will probably fill three volumes more; which will be followed by a great variety of notes and animadversions, and by copious indexes. We could not enter into a more particular account of this very valuable edition of Plutarch, without greatly transgressing our prescribed limits. We shall only add, that there are two impressions of the octavo size, one on a larger and more beautiful paper than the other.

The next work which we have to announce is part of a series of correct and elegant pocket editions of Greek and Latin poets, which we hope the learned and ingenious editor will be encouraged to persevere in completing. It is entitled "Βίωνος καὶ Μόσχου τὰ Λείψανα. Illustrabat & emendabat Gilbertus Wakefield." These remains of Bion and Moschus are printed on large, and on small paper; without the accents, and without a translation. The critical notes, in support of the alterations and amendments which distinguish this edition, are given at the end of the volume.

"The Description of Greece, by Pausanias, translated from the Greek, with Notes, &c. in 3 Vols." is the production of a well informed and inquisitive traveller, who lived in the second century of the Christian era; and who visited the different countries

countries of Greece, for the purpose of examining and describing the scenes most celebrated in history, the public buildings, and the other remains of the arts which had escaped the ravages of time, and of the wars which had proved fatal to the liberties of those countries. His description, which wears the appearance of fidelity and accuracy, is enlivened with historical anecdotes, and curious conjectures on the traditionary fables of Greece. Of such a work a well executed translation must be highly acceptable to the unlearned reader. With respect to that before us, the author is unquestionably entitled to the praise of laborious diligence for executing such an undertaking in the short space of ten months; and we give him credit for his declaration, that he has endeavoured to give the sense of Pausanias with the utmost fidelity of which he was capable. That he has succeeded in his design, on the whole, will be granted by the liberal critic; whose eye, nevertheless, will be offended, in comparing his pages with the original, at passages which discover incorrectness, and an imperfect conception of his author's meaning. These he will attribute, partly, to the rapidity with which, it should seem, the translator was obliged to complete his work: and he must ascribe them also, in some measure, to the want of a more intimate acquaintance with the idiom and structure of the Greek language. His style, in general, is simple and intelligible; but frequently rendered uncouth by the unnecessary repetition of connective particles, and sometimes obscure, from a too close attempt at literal exactness. The numerous and copious notes with which this translation is accompanied, are intended to illustrate the

sentiments of the later Platonists respecting the pagan mythology, and to point out their superior excellence to the systems which have been erected on its ruins. The author of this translation is Thomas Taylor, well known for his zeal in endeavouring to revive Gentilism; to which the work before us, and others which we have had repeated opportunities of noticing, are made subservient.

The treatise entitled "The Fable of Cupid and Psyche, translated from the Latin of Apuleius," by the same author, considered as a version of one of the beautiful remains of antiquity, possesses similar merits and similar faults with the other translations of Mr. Taylor, which have at different times passed in review before us. As a vehicle for the exploded doctrines of the pagan creed, particularly in the explanatory introduction which accompanies it, it is equally distinguished by the profound mysticism, and absurd jargon of the platonic school. To this translation are added, a poetical paraphrase on the Speech of Diotima, in the Banquet of Plato, Hymns to Venus, Love, &c. and a panegyric on the Platonic philosophers, which, though frequently quaint and prosaic, are not entirely undistinguished by marks of genius and poetic taste.

Mr. Beloe's translation of "The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius, in 3 Vols." is a valuable accession to the stores of instructive and entertaining English literature. Gellius was a learned Roman, who flourished during the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. His studies embraced the wide fields of philosophy, ethics, jurisprudence, history, and natural philosophy; in which he endeavoured to perfect himself, not only by a sedulous application

to the best authors, but by inquisitive foreign travels, and the conversation of the most eminent and learned men of the age. Of the nature and plan of the work before us, to which he gave the name of *Attic Nights*, from the circumstance of their at first constituting his business and amusement, during many long winter nights which he spent in Attica, his own words, as translated by Mr. Beloe, will give us the best account. "Whatever book came into my hands, whether it was Greek or Latin, or whatever I heard that was worthy of being recorded or agreeable to my fancy, I wrote down without distinction, and without order. These things I treasured up to aid my memory, as it were by a storehouse of learning; so that when I wanted to refer to any particular circumstance or word which I had at the moment forgotten, and the book from which they were taken happened not to be at hand, I could easily find and apply it." To this work the learned world have justly given their sanction, as comprizing a fund of valuable information and rational amusement. And the English reader is much indebted to Mr. Beloe for the manner in which it is introduced to his acquaintance. The difficulties in adjusting, collating, and correcting the text, and in elucidating by apposite quotations, references, and a judicious comment, the meaning of the original, occasioned this work to be an arduous task: but it has been very successfully executed. Mr. Beloe's translation, with a few trivial exceptions, is faithful, perspicuous, and elegant; and his preface and notes afford abundant testimony to his diligence, learning, and critical acumen.

While these works of translation from the ancients have been going

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forwards, several of our learned countrymen have employed themselves in publishing rival translations into Greek, of Gray's celebrated *Elegy*, written in a Country Church-Yard; and one gentleman has published a Greek translation of Pope's *Messiah*, and of Mr. Gray's *Epitaph*. The rival translators were; Charles Coote, LL.D. Stephen Weston, B. D. B. E. Sparke, A. M. and Edward Tew, A. M.; the other candidate for fame in this line of literary application, was John Plumptre, A. M. All these different pieces are distinguished by a variety of beauties, and a variety of defects; of which it cannot be supposed that we should enter into an enumeration; or, after the slight mention of them which we deem it sufficient to introduce in our literary history, that we should deliver any opinion of their comparative merits. To learning and to taste the respective authors have undeniable claims: but we conceive that their talents might have been more usefully employed in elucidating ancient writers, or in original composition, than in such scholastic exercises.

Of Dr. Combe's "*Statement of Facts*," occasioned by the strictures in the *British Critic* on his elegant and splendid edition of *Horace*, and Dr. Parr's "*Remarks on the Statement of Dr. Charles Combe*," as they chiefly relate to disputes between that editor and his reviewers, we do not think it becoming us to express any opinion.

Mr. Smith's "*Attempt to render the Pronunciation of the English Language more easy to Foreigners*," promises to prove advantageous not only to foreigners, but also to natives, in acquiring a just articulation and true pronunciation of the English tongue. After laying down the rules of simple sounds,

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Mr. Smith gives a dictionary of words arranged according to these sounds, accompanied with remarks, which appear, in general, to be accurate and judicious. These remarks are given both in French and English. As the present treatise, however, is only introductory to a larger work, to be comprized in three volumes, we shall have future opportunities of paying more minute attention to our author's labours.

Mr. Alves's "Sketches of a History of Literature, &c." are distinguished by numerous marks of extensive reading, and just reflection; but they are too imperfect and superficial to be recommended "as a directory, to guide the judgment, and form the taste in reading the best authors;" or as exhibiting "as far as they go, a distinct view of ancient and modern learning." The author's literary essays which are annexed, containing comparisons and illustrations of ancient and modern authors, as far as they relate to classical literature, reflect honour on his judgment and discrimination: but when they treat of modern literature, and modern authors, they discover less knowledge and critical skill, and are frequently tinged by unbecoming prejudices.

The "Varieties of Literature, from Foreign Literary Journals, and Original MSS. now first published," in 2 vols. form a pleasing and valuable collection "of curiosities imported from all parts of the literary world, to court the reader's attention, and to solicit his taste." They comprehend speculative philosophy, history, biography, topography, politics, criticism, poetry, prose works of fancy, the fine arts, and other topics, and present us with a large fund of information and amusement.

"The Ranger, a Collection of Periodical Essays, by the Hon. M. Hawke, and Sir R. Vincent, Bart. in 2 Vols." were written in the course of a school education, and contain the first fruits of genius and abilities which give fair promise of future respectability in the literary world, and in the more active scenes of public life. Some of them are works of fancy; and others delineate entertaining pictures of men and manners. They are all of them, however, consecrated to the service of virtue and humanity.

"The Cabinet, by a Society of Gentlemen, in 3 Vols." was originally published in numbers, at Norwich, and is chiefly of a political nature. It contains indeed several articles of a miscellaneous kind; among which are a few ingenious and elegant papers on subjects in polite literature, and some exquisite pieces of poetry. But the principal design of the editors is, "by encouraging a spirit of free and dispassionate enquiry, and by provoking a liberal investigation into the nature and object of civil government, to remind their fellow citizens at once of their duties and their rights." This design has led them to the discussion of a variety of important questions relative to government and political economy; in which they shew themselves the able and dispassionate friends to freedom, civil and religious, and manly advocates for an entire change of public measures, and a reform of the representation of the people in this country. These volumes also contain, in a series of well written papers, an accurate and impartial sketch of the history of the present war with France.

Mr. Norgate's volume of "Essays, Tales, and Poems," is an ingenious and entertaining work, that
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shews the author to possess a well informed mind, liberality of sentiment, vigour of imagination, and an easy pleasing manner of communicating his ideas. The essays are on emigration; on the probability of a future state of existence to animals and vegetables; on the reign and character of queen Elizabeth; and on the cultivation of waste lands. The last mentioned work was first published, in a less perfect form, in the Cabinet. Mr. Norgate's tales are lively and amusing; and his poems are distinguished by elegance, melody, and pathos.

The "Essays on Subjects connected with Civilization, by Benjamin Heath Malkin, of Trinity College, Cambridge," are the productions of an ardent friend to liberty, and the happiness of mankind, the object of which is "to delineate prejudices and corruptions in their true colour, and to place, in a clear point of view, the importance of first principles: to enforce the superiority of freedom from barbarity, the state of being civilized, consisting in goodly conversation, and the studies of knowledge and humanity, to the meer politeness, complaisance, elegance of behaviour, which mark the frivolity of the present age." They discover much comprehension of thought, accuracy of reasoning, and philosophical freedom of sentiment; and are recommended, at the same time, by the graces of a nervous and elegant style. The subjects of them are, the errors that arise from an excessive latitude in the use of terms, and the precise meaning of the word civilization; education; government; religious establishments; manners and amusements; the arts; and the female character.

The "Letters to Alcander, written between the Years 1777 and

1783, in 2 Vols." are the productions of a sensible and well informed writer, who resorted to literary pursuits, and excursions among picturesque scenery, in order to soothe the melancholy occasioned by the loss of a beloved wife and infant child. They are employed on various topics, historical, political, critical, descriptive, and miscellaneous; and will be particularly acceptable to those who delight in "pensive pleasures."

The "Review of the 'Landscape, a didactic Poem,' also of 'An Essay on the Picturesque; &c.' by the Author of Planting and Ornamental Gardening, a practical Treatise," contains a severe critique, book by book, and chapter by chapter, on the publications mentioned in the title-page, by a writer who is intimately conversant in the subject which he discusses. It contains, also, an able and satisfactory defence of the system of the late Mr. Brown. Of the author's practical remarks on rural ornament we have given our readers a specimen, among our selections under the head of Classical and Polite Criticism.

The last publication which calls for our notice in this department is entitled, "Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening, collected from Designs and Observations now in the Possession of different Noblemen and Gentlemen, for whose Use they were originally made; the whole tending to establish fixed Principles in the Art of laying out Ground; by H. Repton, Esq." This is an elegant and interesting work, by a professional gentleman of acknowledged good taste, and extensive experience, who has trodden most successfully in the steps of Mr. Brown, and proved an able vindicator of his principles. It is

divided into seven chapters, which treat of the character and situation of places; of buildings; of the situations of a house; of water; of park scenery; of a comparison between modern and ancient gardening; and of approaches. These chapters are followed by an Appendix, containing answers to Mr. Knight's 'Landscape,' and Mr. Price's 'Essay on the Picturesque;' in which Mr. Repton's judgment and taste are powerfully supported in an extract of a letter from a right honourable friend. The letter-press of this volume consists of an hundred folio pages, which are illustrated with sixteen coloured plates, distinguished by a peculiar invention of the author to render his design intelligible. This invention consists of slides, or flaps, to his sketches, containing the foreground and improvable parts of the views; under which the proposed improvements are represented: the distances of both being the same from the eye.

In the number of publications which belong to Poetical Translation, and Poetry, we meet with "The War Elegies of Tyrtæus, imitated; and addressed to the People of Great Britain, &c. by Henry James Pye." The war elegies of Tyrtæus excited the same enthusiastic attachment to liberty and their country among the Spartan youth, as the celebrated *Ca Ira*, *la Carmagnole*, and the *Marche des Marseillois* have produced on the modern young French citizens. Mr. Pye is too loyal and patriotic to suffer republicans alone to be stimulated to heroic achievements by martial songs; and has, therefore, endeavoured to transfuse the spirit of Tyrtæus into elegiac poems, accommodated to the situation of this

country, "threatened as we are with the vengeance of a powerful and implacable enemy." This task he has performed with considerable ingenuity, in harmonious and pleasing verse. The nature of the war, however, in which we are engaged, places Britons in a very different situation from the Spartans, or the French; and Mr. Pye's imitations must, on that account, proportionably fail of their designed effect. Prefixed to them are some brief observations on the life and poems of Tyrtæus, which will be acceptable to the English reader.

Mr. Gilbert Wakefield's "Poetical Translations from the Ancients," consist of the tenth satire of Juvenal, nineteen of the odes of Horace, the tenth eclogue of Virgil, passages from the *Æneid*, from *Lucretius*, from *Meleager*, from *Leonidas of Tarentum*, and the twenty-third and the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalms. That these translations should convey, in general, a precise and accurate idea of the sense and spirit of the originals, will be expected by those readers who consider the reputation which the author has acquired as a classical scholar and critic: and in such an expectation they will not be disappointed. They will find, likewise, that Mr. Wakefield's versions are distinguished by numerous poetical beauties, while they are not free from defects in point of smoothness and harmony. The principal ground on which he rests their claim to merit, is the purity of the rhymes; in which respect they are unquestionably entitled to very high praise.

Mr. Lettice's Translation of "the Immortality of the Soul, a Poem, from the Latin of Isaac Hawkins Browne," is rendered in blank verse, which is, in general, perspicuous, and flowing, and sufficiently

ciently varied in its cadence. Its principal fault consists in the too great diffusiveness with which the translator expands and swells out ideas, which the original expresses with peculiar and beautiful conciseness. This version is accompanied with a commentary, in which the arguments of the poem are illustrated by a great variety of quotations from ancient and modern authors; and it is published with the laudable view of contributing "to recall the thoughtless, the mistaken, the incredulous, and the wicked to a subject, calculated above all others, and under all circumstances, to engage the attention, and attach the affections of human beings."

The "Translations chiefly from the Italian of Petrarch and Metastasio, by * * * M. A." are executed by an author who has given proofs of judgment in the selections which he has made from his originals, and of no inconsiderable degree of poetical merit in the manner in which he has introduced them to the English reader. His design was, faithfully to render the sense of his authors, and as much as possible to preserve the peculiarity of their manner, and the very colouring of their style. In this he has succeeded to a degree that is honourable to his ingenuity as well as taste; and that will gratify the curiosity of those who wish to view the genuine features, or who can feel the peculiar beauties of the Italian Sonnet. The reader who possesses a delicate ear will occasionally object to the translator's harshness, and defective rhymes; but he must at the same time acknowledge, that such blemishes bear but a small proportion to the excellencies of his elegant little work.

"The Canterbury Tales of

Chaucer, completed in a modern Version, in 3 Vols." in addition to the collection published by Mr. Ogle, in the year 1741, present the reader with all the remaining tales of the father of English poetry, (two only excepted on account of their grossness), modernized by the reverend W. Lipscombe, M. A. The manner in which that gentleman has executed the task which he undertook, is such as cannot fail to secure to this edition a favourable reception with the public. His versification is correct, and harmonious; and he has faithfully adhered to the sense of his original, excepting when a proper regard to decency reduced him to the necessity of "pruning away the indelicacies and offensive passages." This collection of Chaucer's Tales is accompanied with Mr. Tyrwhitt's prolegomena, his Life of the Poet, and many of his learned and valuable notes.

The edition of "Milton's Paradise regained, with Notes of various Authors, by Charles Dunster, M. A." was undertaken from an opinion, that our bard's second capital production, "replete with that species of intrinsic beauty, which, though it may not allure and fascinate at the first glance, is certain, when attentively considered, to engage and rivet the imagination," has been greatly undervalued, and "never had justice done to it either by critics, or commentators." To rescue its merits from undeserved neglect, and to explain and illustrate its peculiar beauties, is Mr. Dunster's object; in accomplishing which he has shewn himself possessed of extensive erudition, judgment, critical taste, and a lively impression of the noble and virtuous sentiments with which that poem abounds. His quotations and notes,

in addition to those which he has selected from bishop Newton, Mr. Warton, and other commentators, will supply the reader with much information and entertainment.

"The Pleasures of Imagination, by Mark Akenfide, M. D. to which is prefixed a Critical Essay, by Mrs. Barbauld," is an edition of that excellent poem, which comes strongly recommended to its admirers by a judicious and elegant critique on its beauties and defects, and an accurate appreciation of the merits of the author. It is, likewise, beautifully printed, and ornamented with well executed engravings.

"The Art of preserving Health, by John Armstrong, M. D. to which is prefixed a Critical Essay, by J. Aikin, M. D." is an edition of another valuable didactic poem, to which the reputation of the editor as a poet, critic, and physician, will affix considerable value in the estimation of every reader of taste. It is also distinguished by similar excellencies of typography and engraving with the preceding article.

The volume of "Poems, and a Tragedy, by William Julius Mickle, Translator of the *Lusiad*, &c." consists, partly of pieces which in separate forms have been sanctioned with the approbation of the public, and partly of smaller original poems. Some of the latter display the same beauties of description, and fancy, and that harmony of construction which recommended the author's former labours to the lovers of poetry. The tragedy, which is entitled the *Siege of Marfeilles*, was rejected by Mr. Garrick as not adapted for stage representation. In the introduction to this volume we are presented with some circumstances of Mr. Mickle's life, and a correspondence between

him and the celebrated lord Littleton, on the subject of his poetical works.

The two volumes of "Poems on several occasions, by Mrs. Darwall, formerly Miss Whateley," consist of a pleasing dramatic pastoral entitled *Valentine's Day*, and a variety of short miscellaneous pieces, written with great ease and simplicity, and conveying natural and tender sentiments.

The volume of "Poetical Sketches, by Ann Batten Cristall," contains irregular odes, songs, elegies, and tales in which the authoress blends the narrative and the descriptive. These various pieces abound in beauties, while they are by no means free from inaccuracies and blemishes. The beauties, however, greatly preponderate, and discover marks of genius, sentiment, and pathos, which give fair promise of future excellence. The defects in these sketches are principally to be attributed to precipitancy, and an imperfect acquaintance with the rules of English versification. By the exercise of attention, and the study of our best writers, Miss Cristall will easily learn to correct these faults; and we hope that she will be encouraged to proficiency by the liberal patronage of the public.

"The Life of Hubert, a Narrative, Descriptive, and Didactic Poem, Book the first, &c. by the Reverend Thomas Cole, LL. B.," is written in blank verse, and is intended, when complete, to trace the progress of a boy to manhood, from the chief puerile diversions during the four seasons of the year, to a country school, to Eton, to the university, and to his settlement in life, with episodic adventures both of a serious and ludicrous nature. As far as Mr. Cole has proceeded,

seeded; he has shewn that he possesses no mean talent at natural description, and pleasing powers of fancy and humour. With a greater portion of fire and animation, he would be entitled to a respectable rank as a poet.

The volume of "Academical Contributions of Original and Translated Poetry," consists of odes, contemplations, allegories, elegies, sonnets, &c. partly serious, and partly humorous; some Greek and Latin verses; and a translation of part of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides. As these pieces are the productions of different hands, it will naturally be imagined that they possess unequal merits. None of them, however, are liable to any severity of criticism; and some are distinguished by a dignity of sentiment, and a poetic energy and harmony, which entitle them to considerable praise.

The volume of "Poems containing the Retrospect, Odes, Elegies, Sonnets, &c. by Robert Lovell and Robert Southey, of Baliol College Oxford," presents us with various pieces which are distinguished by traces of poetic genius, and by classical correctness and elegance. But they are chiefly of the plaintive and tender kind, and seldom discover much animation of language, or vigour of conception.

Mr. Ashburnham's "Elegiac Sonnets, and other Poems," afford evidence of talents which bid fair to rank the author, in time, among the favourite votaries of the Muses. They abound in pleasing imagery, delicate sentiments, and harmonious versification. The author's chief fault, like that of most young poets of a lively imagination, consists in too great a fondness for ornament; a fault which maturer judgment will correct.

Mr. Maurice's "Elegiac Poem,

sacred to the Memory and Virtues of the Honourable Sir William Jones, &c. containing an Historical Retrospect on the Progress of Science, and Foreign Conquests in Asia," is a very becoming tribute of respect to the merits of that lamented and excellent character, and does great credit to the author's poetical talents. It is distinguished by peculiar boldness of imagery, elevation and purity of diction, and uniformly pleasing and harmonious numbers. A specimen of it may be seen among our poetical extracts.

Mr. Hayley's "Elegy on the Death of the Honourable Sir William Jones," is another elegant offering "to a name so entitled to universal praise," which the author modestly intimates he should not have prepared, had not his stanzas been completed before he met with Mr. Maurice's "animated and graceful tribute." This elegy, like the other poetical compositions of Mr. Hayley, is correct and pleasing, in point of composition; it is also appropriate and pathetic, considered as an homage offered by a man of letters at the shrine of departed eminence and goodness. But for poetical fire and energy it cannot compare with the last mentioned publication.

"The Art of War, a Poem, by Joseph Fawcett," is a work of considerable merit, in which the author, in a vein of keen and indignant satire, exposes to detestation those mad scenes of "splendid horror," and barbarous carnage, which mankind by a strange perversion of language and moral feeling have decorated with the epithets of glorious, and honourable; and boldly vindicates the interests of reason and humanity. It is written much in the style and manner of

Dr. Young; and it partakes of the faults of that author, particularly in his fondness for inversion, and point, which occasions frequent obscurity, and in dwelling too long on one idea, which weakens the effect of the sentiments. The author also, in our opinion, makes much too frequent use of the figure alliteration. But these blemishes are venial, when opposed to the general merits of the poem. It displays a vigour of conception, richness of imagery, animation of language, and sensibility of feeling, that entitle Mr. Fawcett to the honours of an original, and very impressive poet.

Mr. Richard's "Matilda, or the Dying Penitent, a Poetical Epistle," is an elegant plaintive poem, in which the subject of a fair frail one recollecting towards her last moments her days of youthful innocence, is treated in a peculiarly delicate and impressive manner.

"The Farmer's Daughter, a Poetical Tale, by Christopher Anstey Esq.," contains the melancholy story of a reputable farmer's only daughter, seduced by an officer in the army under a promise of marriage, and afterwards abandoned by him, who, in following him to London during the late severe winter, was frozen to death: and it is published with a design to set innocence on its guard, and to promote the cause of virtue. Its characteristics are, tenderness of sentiment, elegance of language, and melodious versification, such as might be expected from the author of the new Bath Guide.

Mr. Hurdis's "Poem, written towards the Close of the Year 1794, upon a Prospect of the Marriage of the Prince of Wales," contains, like the author's former productions, much bold imagery, and

poetical beauty. And it is not defective in those effusions of loyalty, for which the occasion gave the poet fair opportunity. But it is highly to be condemned for the misplaced temporary politics, and angry imprecations against France which the author has admitted into it.

"The Mæviad, by the author of the Baviad," is employed in lashing the poets of the Della Crusca school, for the "fustian joy," "bombast grief," and tinsel ornaments by which their productions are distinguished. It contains genuine satire, and marks of learning and correct poetic taste, both in the poem and in the notes which accompany it.

Mr. Rutt's "Sympathy of Priests, addressed to the Rev. Thomas Fysche Palmer, Port Jackson," in severe and animated strains holds out those characters to obloquy, who have been, or are, the advocates for persecution and intolerance, and who have wished to enlist even religion herself in the service of war and oppression. To this poem are added odes, written in 1792, addressed to Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Erskine, and on the revolution of 1688, which breathe an ardent love of freedom, and are written with elegance and good taste.

The "Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the War, by an Officer of the Guards, in 2 Vols.," is written in pretty successful Ansteyan verse, and will afford much amusement to the reader. It contains a poetical sketch of the campaign in 1793, which was first published separately, and is now revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged, with the original letters from head quarters; also a similar sketch of the campaign of 1794; and

and a narrative of the retreat of 1795, memorable for its miseries. The whole is illustrated with copious notes, and engravings from drawings taken on the spot, descriptive of different scenes introduced into the poem.

The "Collection of Hymns and Psalms, for public and private Worship, selected and prepared by Andrew Kippis, D.D. F. R. S. and..S. A. Abraham Rees, D.D. F. R. S. the Rev. Thomas Jervis, and the Rev. Thomas Morgan," is a work which the editors have spared no pains to render complete in its kind, and well adapted to contribute to the devotion, improvement, and pleasure of Christian worshippers. They have taken a wide scope in the perusal of English poetry, in order to find out materials suited to their purpose; and in addition to their copious selections from Watts, Doddridge, Mrs. Steele, whose poetical works were published under the name of Theodosia, Merrick, and above forty different authors from Dryden, Pope, and Addison, to Cowper, Barbauld, and Burns, they have inserted a considerable number of original pieces, some of which have been supplied by the most elegant poets of the present day. In preparing this selection for the press, the editors have omitted and transposed such stanzas in the different pieces which they have borrowed, and made such slight alterations, as appeared necessary to render them best adapted to their design, and entirely unexceptionable to Christians of all opinions and denominations.

Dr. Enfield's "Selection of Hymns for Social Worship," has been made from several of the same sources with the preceding article, but upon a much smaller

scale. It contains, likewise, a few original hymns, for which he has been chiefly indebted to his friends. In forming this selection Dr. Enfield has not scrupled to make such alterations as appeared to him necessary to render the pieces correct in language and unexceptionable in sentiment.

Our history of the Domestic Literature of the year has already extended to such a magnitude, that we can only find room to insert the titles of the following articles: "The Louiad, Canto V. and last, by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "The Royal Tour, and Weymouth Amusements, &c. &c." by the same; "The Royal Visit to Exeter, a Poetical Epistle, by John Ploughshare, &c. published by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "The Convention Bill, an Ode, by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "Liberty's last Squeak, containing, an Elegiac Ballad, an Ode to an Informer, &c. &c." by the same; "Hair Powder, a plaintive Epistle to Mr Pitt," by the same; "The Imperial Epistle from Kien Long, Emperor of China, to George III. King of Great Britain, &c. in the Year 1704, &c.;" "Court Fees, or the Mayor and the Cobler, a Tale, inscribed to Peter Pindar, Esq. by W. Lewis;" "Touchstone, or an Analysis of Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "The Comic Adventures of Satan and Peter Pindar, Esq. &c. by an Ex-Etonian;" "The Age, a Satire, in Six Cantos, by C. J. Pitt;" "The Cap, a Satiric Poem;" "Ode to the Hero of Finsbury Square, &c. by Peregrine Pindar, Gent.;" "The Prophecies of the Times, a Satire by Malachy Moses, Esq.;" "Somerset House, a Vision, by Joseph Moser;" "The Poll Tax, an Ode, by Grizzle Baldpate, Esq.;" "A Letter from Dr. Snubdevil in London, to his

his Friend at Bath ;" "The Travels of Cyllenius, a Poem;" "The Temple of Folly, a Poem, in heroic Verse;" "Things out of Place, or the Parson, the Bear, and the Butter, addressed to the Author of the *Mæviad*;" "Fashion, a Poem;" "Epithalamium on the Nuptials of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal of Brunswick;" "A Poetical Epistle from a little Insolvent Debtor, to a great Insolvent Debtor;" "Bagatelles, or Miscellaneous Productions, consisting of Original Poetry and Translations, chiefly by the Editor, Weedon Butler, B. A.;" "Corfica, a Poem, by Clement John Wafey, A.M.;" "Savillon's Elegies, or Poems, written by a Gentleman A. B. late of the University of Cambridge;" "The Summer Day, with Night and Death, Poems, by a Gentleman of Covent Garden Theatre;" "A Call to the Country, inscribed to the Right Hon. William Windham, Secretary at War;" "Attiea, or the Advantages and Disadvantages of a Popular Government;" "Discord, an epic Poem, &c. by Henry Fisher;" "The Two Bills, a Poem, by B. Eyre, Esq.;" "Poems written in close Confinement in the Tower, and Newgate, under a Charge of High Treason, by John Thelwall;" "The National Advocates, a Poem, affectionately inscribed to the Hon. Thomas Erskine, and Vicary Gibbs, Esq.;" "An Ode to the Hon. Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his Speech in the Irish House of Commons, on the Catholic Bill;" "Odes on Peace and War, written by many eminent and distinguished Characters;" "The Cries of Bellona, an heroic Poem, by Quintus Perſius, Esq.;" "Mensa Regum, or the Table of Kings, exhibiting the Fate of Sovereigns, with appropriate Images of Peace

and War;" "The Antidote, a Political Poem;" "Politics, or the History of Will and Jane, a Tale for the Times;" "The Farmer's Son, a Moral Tale, by the Rev. P. P. M. A.;" "Verses on various Occasions, by Mr. Taylor;" "Oarlands, or the Transfer of the Laurel, a Poem, by J. O'Keeffe;" "The Poems of Walter Savage Landor;" "Poems, and Miscellaneous Pieces, by Sarah Spence;" "Christmas, a Poem, by Romaine Joseph Thorn;" "Poems, containing John the Baptist, Sir Malcolm and Alla, a Tale, &c.;" "The Restoration of the Jews, a Poem, by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A.;" and "Poems on Various Subjects, by Charles Lloyd."

The following were the Dramatic publications of the year 1795: "The Siege of Ismail, or a Prospect of War, an Historical Tragedy;" "Otway a Tragedy, by James Plumptre, A. B.;" "Cabal and Love, a Tragedy, translated from the German of Frederick Schiller;" "Fenelon, or the Nuns of Cambray, a serious Drama from the French, by R. Merry;" "England Preserved, an Historical Play, by Geo. Watson, Esq.;" "The Wheel of Fortune, a Comedy, by Richard Cumberland, Esq.;" "First Love, a Comedy," by the same author; "The Deserted Daughter, a Comedy;" "The Rage, a Comedy by Frederick Reynolds;" "Speculation, a Comedy," by the same author; "The Town Before You, a Comedy, by Mrs. Cowley;" "Life's Vagaries, a Comedy, by John O'Keeffe;" "The Welch Heiress, a Comedy, by Mr. Jerningham;" "The Bank Note, or Lessons for Ladies, a Comedy, by William Macready;" "The Secret Tribunal, a Play, in five Acts, by James Boaden;"

Boaden;" "Zorinski, a Play, in three Acts, by T. Morton;" "All in a Bustle, a Comedy, by the Author of the Castle of Ollada;" "The Gallant Moriscoes, or Robbers of the Pyrenees, a Dramatic Performance in five Acts;" Philoctetes in Lemnos, a Drama, in three Acts, to which is prefixed a Green-Room Scene, exhibiting a Sketch of the present Theatrical Taste, &c. by Oxoniensis;" "The American Indian, or Virtues of Nature, a Play, in three Acts, by James Bacon;" "The Whim, a Comedy, in three Acts, by Lady Wallace;" "The Mountaineers, a Play, in three Acts, by George Colman;" "The Mysteries of the Castle, a Dramatic Tale, in three Acts, by Miles Peter Andrews, Esq.;" "Windfor Castle, or the Fair Maid of Kent, an Opera, by the Author of Hartford Bridge, &c.;" "The Irish Mimic, or Blunders at Brighton, a Musical Entertainment, in two Acts, by John O'Keeffe;" "The Telegraph, a Comic Piece, by J. Dent;" "The Adopted Child, a Musical Drama, in two Acts, by Samuel Birch;" and "New Hay at the Old Market, a Drama, in one Act, by George Colman."

Among the publications which we have reserved for our Miscellaneous department are, "Maternal Letters to a young Lady on her Entrance into Life." These letters are sensible, serious and affectionate, and contain many useful remarks, and seasonable advice on the subjects of piety, polite accomplishments, economy, dress, tender attachments, marriage, amusements, regard to reputation, and happiness.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith's two volumes of "Rural Walks, in Dialogues, for the Use of Young Per-

sons," contain pleasing information on subjects in natural history, and instructive lessons on manners, accompanied with some elegant pieces of poetry. They are well adapted by their form, in which Mrs. Smith has united the interest of the novel with the instruction of the school book, to engage the attention of the young, and to introduce them into an acquaintance with what are called *les petites morales*.

Miss Mitchell's two volumes, of "Tales of Instruction and Amusement, written for the Use of Young Persons," are also a valuable present to the rising generation. They convey the lessons of virtue, and excellent prudential maxims, in the reflections which are interspersed through a variety of well drawn and interesting stories.

Mr. Wright's "Gentleman's Miscellany, consisting of Essays, Characters, Narratives, Anecdotes, and Poems, moral and entertaining," is an amusing and instructive compilation. The author's chief object is, by the charms of innocent variety, to impress the minds of his readers with just sentiments of human life, and to engage their attention to subjects the most interesting and important to rational beings.

The three volumes of "Miscellanies, consisting of Poems, Classical Extracts, and Oriental Apologues, by William Beloe, F. S. A." are the result of that gentleman's lighter studies, and offer much agreeable entertainment to readers of different tastes and descriptions. The first volume, which is poetical, contains original pieces, paraphrases, translations, and imitations, which have the merit of correctness, ease, sprightliness, and pathos. The second volume consists of prose translations of classical extracts, from

from which the English reader will receive information and amusement. The third volume is composed of lively and interesting oriental apoloques, which were dictated to Mr. Beloe, from the Arabic, by Dr. Ruffel, and are now published for the first time, it is believed, in an European language.

Mr. Postlethwaite's "Grammatical Art improved, in which the Errors of Grammarians and Lexicographers are exposed, &c." is a work not destitute of merit, and from which the more experienced scholar may derive useful hints. But we can by no means recommend it as a judicious and accurate elementary guide. The author, neither in the choice and arrangement of his materials, nor on the subjects of orthoepy, syntax, or prosody, is free from errors which might confound and mislead the young learner.

The nature and object of the following argumentative, perspicuous, and liberal treatise, will be sufficiently understood from its title-page: it is "A general View of the Establishment of Physic as a Science in England, by the Incorporation of the College of Physicians, in London: together with an Enquiry into the Nature of that Incorporation; in which it is demonstrated, that the Exclusion of all Physicians, except the Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, from the corporate Privileges of the College, is founded in Usurpation, being contrary to the Letter and Spirit of its Charter. By Samuel Ferris, M. D. F. S. A. &c."

In our Register for the year 1793, we announced a publication entitled "Peace and Union recommended to the Associated Bodies of Republicans and Antirepubli-

cans, by William Frend, A. M. and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge." Soon after the appearance of that treatise the author was prosecuted, in the vice-chancellor's court, for some opinions which it contained relative to the necessity of a reform in the church, and by a majority of three voices was banished from the precincts of the college, and from residence in it. Of the measures pursued on that occasion, which were more becoming the members of a Spanish court of inquisition than the seniors of an English university, and of Mr. Frend's unsuccessful efforts to be reinstated in his academical advantages, the reader may find an ample and interesting relation in "An Account of the Proceedings of the University of Cambridge against W. Frend, &c. containing the Proceedings in Jesus College, the Trial in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, and in the Court of Delegates;" and in "A Sequel to the Account, &c. containing the Application to the Court of King's Bench; a Review of similar Cases in the University; and Reflections on the Impolicy of Religious Persecution, and the Importance of free Enquiry;" both published by the defendant. These publications, likewise, will impress the reader with a very favourable idea of the abilities, manly independence, and unshaken integrity of Mr. Frend.

Mr. D'Iraeli's "Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character," is written, in general, with the same correctness, elegance, and vivacity, for which we on former occasions commended his "Curiosities of Literature." Without expressing our approbation of every sentiment and opinion in the fifteen chapters into which it is divided, we can recom-

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mend it, on the whole, as a work of considerable merit, which, by the evidence which it exhibits of extensive reading in French and English literature, and the acute observations in which it abounds, will increase the author's literary reputation; while it will agreeably entertain well informed readers, and instruct the most numerous class.

In the following list of the Romances and Novels of the year, the first nine articles possess the strongest claims to recommendation: "The Cypriots, or a Miniature of Europe, in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century, in 2 vols. by the author of the Minstrel;" "Montalbert, in 3 Vols. by Charlotte Smith;" "The Royal Captives, Vols. III. and IV. by Mrs. Yearley;" "Audley Fortescue, in 2 Vols. by Mrs. Robinson;" "Robert and Adela, in 3 Vols;" "The Victim of Magical Delusion, translated from the German of Tschink, in 3 Vols. by P. Will;" "Alf Von Deulmen, or the History of the Emperor and his Daughters, translated from the German, in 2 Vols. by Miss A. E. Booth;" "The Sorcerer, a Tale, from the German of Weber;" "The Ghost-seer, or Apparitionist, from the German of Schiller;" "Such Follies Are, in 3 Vols;" "Phantoms of the Cloisters, in 3 Vols;" "The Motto, or History of Bill Woodcock, in

2 Vols. by George Brewer;" "The English Merchant, or Fatal Effects of Speculation in the Funds, in 2 Vols. by T. Bolas;" "Orwell Manor, in 3 Vols. by Mrs. E. Baker;" "The Fugitive, in 2 Vols;" "the Duke of Clarence, in 4 Vols;" "Traditions, a Legendary Tale, in 2 Vols;" "Montford Castle, in 2 Vols;" "Secrecy, or the Ruin on the Rock, in 3 Vols;" "The Abbey of St. Asaph, in 3 Vols;" "Count St. Blancard, in 3 Vols. by Mrs. Mecke;" "The Observant Pedestrian, in 2 Vols;" "The Castle of Hardayne, in 2 Vols. by J. Bird;" "Jemima, in 2 Vols;" "Memoirs of Madame Barneveldt, from the French, in 2 Vols. by Miss Gunning;" "Elvira, in 2 Vols;" "Waldeck Abbey, in 2 Vols;" "Austenburn Castle, in 2 Vols;" "The House of Tynian, in 4 Vols. by G. Walker;" "The Evening Walk, a sentimental Tale, by a Youth of seventeen;" "Susanna, or Traits of a Modern Miss, in 4 Vols;" "The Haunted Cavern, by J. Palmer, Jun;" "Wanderings of the Imagination, in 2 Vols. by E. S. Gooch;" "The Democrat, in 2 Vols;" "Mysteries Elucidated, in 3 Volumes;" "Antoinette, in 2 Volumes;" "Cicely, or the Rose of Raby, in 4 Vols;" "The Voluntary Exile, in 5 Vols. by Mrs. Parsons;" and "Mysterious Warnings, in 4 Vols." by the same lady.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1795.

THE materials for our annual short View of Foreign Literature, are neither so numerous, nor so various at the present period as on former occasions; a complaint which we are apprehensive we shall have reason to repeat, before the general pacification of Europe shall give more uninterrupted leisure, and greater encouragement for literary and scientific pursuits. On turning our attention to the Russian dominions, the first among the very few publications of which we have seen any account, is a continuation of the "Letters in favour of Humanity," or to promote humanity, "Parts III. and IV. by J. G. Herder," published at Riga. These volumes, like the former which we announced in our Register for the year 1793, are miscellaneous, and convey much information and entertainment on a great variety of topics in history, criticism, poetry, and general literature.—At the same place Dr. Fr. Theod. Rink has published "Henry Albert Schultens, a Sketch," which contains many interesting anecdotes of that celebrated orientalist.—At the same place, also, has appeared the "History of the Life of G. Browne, Count of the holy Roman Empire, Governor-General of Livonia, &c." written by his step-son count Von Medem. Count Browne was an Irishman who

was prevented by his religion from entering into the service of his own country, and who rose by his merits, as an officer and statesman, from a subaltern's situation to the rank mentioned in the title-page, and to the post of general in chief of the armies of Russia. The life of such a character cannot fail of offering many particulars to gratify curiosity.—Dr. Matthew Guthrie's "Dissertations on the Antiquities of Russia," published at Peterburgh, are intended to shew the resemblance between the Russian nation and the ancient Greeks, both of whom he considers to have had their origin from Persia, agreeable to the hypothesis of Sir William Jones. These dissertations present the reader with much ingenious and curious matter; and we should be glad to receive from the press the original English, from which this translation, which is in the French language, has been made.—At the same place, a "Voyage by G. W. Steller, from Kamtschatka to America, with Captain Bering," has been published, illustrated with notes, by Mr. Pallas; which is intended as a companion to Steller's Description of Kamtschatka, and contains more minute particulars than are to be found in that work, of a voyage of discovery which gave rise to high expectations,

tions, but which produced only disappointment and singular calamities.

The first publications which offer themselves to our notice among the literary productions of Sweden are, the "New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences," for the years 1793 and 1794, published at Stockholm. These volumes contain a number of curious and valuable papers in economics, mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, natural history, surgery, and medicine. Among the principal contributors we find the names of M. Swab, Dr. Bjornlund, M. Hielm, professor Koelpin, M. Nyström, M. Fahlberg, counsellor Adlermarth, M. Odhelius, M. Bjerkan-der, M. Westring, professor Nordmark, and M. Gadolin.—At Upsal, professor Thunberg has begun to publish a continuation of his *Flora Japonica*, which made its appearance in 1784. The first number contains ten plates of plants, with their proper descriptions.—At the same place, the same author has also begun the publication of another work, which will prove an acceptable present to the lovers of botany. It is entitled "*Prodromus Plantarum Capensium, &c.*" and contains the plants collected at the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, in the years 1772-1775. The first part consists of three plates, and ninety-six pages of description.—At Stockholm, count Adlersparre has published the first volume of a work, entitled, "*Historical Collections, &c.*" which consists of original letters and records, of greater or less consequence, taken chiefly from the royal archives.—At the same place, count Oxenstierna, marshal of the realm, &c. has published the "Eulogy of king Gustavus III. delivered in the Swedish Academy, May 7th,

1794," which is said to be incomparably the best biographical memoir relative to that prince, in point of matter as well as composition.—At the same place a work has appeared, entitled "*Gothic Antiquities, collected and described by Pet. Tham,*" which is the commencement of a series of publications that promise to be interesting and instructive.—At the same place Dr. C. W. Lüdke, first pastor of the German church at Stockholm, has published a "*General Archive of Swedish Literature under the Reign of Gustavus III. compiled from the Writings of different Authors,*" which has extended to the number of six volumes. It is represented by the foreign journalists to contain many interesting and curious articles, and to furnish the reader with an accurate idea of the state of literature, and learned societies in Sweden, during the period mentioned in the title.

Among the literary productions of the Danish dominions we meet with a work entitled "*The Friend of the State, Vol. I. On Private Happiness,* by J. Boye," published at Copenhagen. This is a liberal and well written moral treatise, the object of which is to recommend the unrestrained cultivation of our mental powers, as the best foundation for virtue, which is indispensably necessary to happiness.—At Altona, Dr. Aug. Hennings has published an excellent work, entitled "*The History of my Duel,* addressed to Thinking Men," in which that absurd and barbarous practice is exposed with unanswerable force and solidity of reasoning. The occasion of this publication was, an attempt of a Norwegian officer, after slandering the author, to add to that injury, by cutting his throat, according to what are falsely called
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the rules of honour.—At the same place, the last mentioned author has published three volumes of a periodical journal, called “The Genius of the Times,” in which he has delivered many just and liberal observations on the science of government, conducted, as it always ought to be, for the benefit of the governed; and on the prevailing politics of the present eventful period. The measures adopted by the British ministry to crush every effort at reform, and to abet the sanguinary and ambitious projects of despotism against France, very properly call forth his indignant reprehension.—At Copenhagen hath appeared the fourth volume of “Memoirs of the Royal Danish Economical Society,” which contain the history of that society from 1774 to 1779, and some useful Essays by M. O. Olavius, M. J. G. Vothmann, M. Chr. F. Schmidt, M. H. P. von Eggers, and Dr. Rud. Buchhave.—At Altona, a work has been published entitled, “Dialogues between a Corporal of Hussars, a Jaeger, and a Light Infantry Man, on the Duties and Service of Light Troops,” which are well adapted to convey instruction to those who are un-initiated in the elements of military tactics.—At Copenhagen, the interests of science have been benefited by the publication of “Memoirs of the Society of Natural History, Vol. III. Parts I. and II.” The essays of which this volume consists are numerous, and many of them very interesting; and they are illustrated with no less than twenty-eight plates. In addition to the respectable names which we inserted in this department of our Register for 1793, as devoting their labours to the objects of this society, we have now to announce those of M. C. F. Schumacher, M. Strom, captain

Borne, and M. J. C. Fabricius.—At Copenhagen have appeared the fifth and sixth volumes of M. P. Suhm’s accurate and laborious “History of Denmark,” which reach from the year 1095 to the year 1157.—At the same place, Dr C. U. von Eggers has published the second volume of his valuable, but voluminous “Memoirs of the French Revolution, with a particular View to general Politics.”—“The Catalogue of the Coins, Gold, Silver, and Brads, of the Greeks and Romans, with those of the Middle Age and later Times, collected by Otto Count de Thott, &c. in 2 Vols.” published at the same place, is drawn up with judgment and precision, and will prove an acceptable present to every collector.—At Altona, M. H. T. Nissen has published “Curæ Novissimæ in M. T. Ciceronis Tusculanas Quæstiones,” which consist of short scholia, and judicious emendations of difficult passages, partly selected, and partly original.—At Copenhagen, M. J. Black has published a well-executed translation from the Greek of “Xenophon’s Memorable Things of Socrates,” accompanied with learned and critical notes, and a dissertation on the life and character of Socrates; and at the same place, M. T. Baden has published an ingenious Latin dissertation “On the Art and Judgment of Philostratus in describing Pictures.”

In the United Provinces, since our last account, literature can have employed but little of the attention of the inhabitants, amid the scenes of warfare and revolutions of government in which they have been engaged: and of that little we have received very scanty and imperfect information. At Leyden, professor H. Muntinghe has published a judicious collection, in two volumes,

of treatises relative to sacred literature, by different authors, philological and critical, which possess sufficient merit to be rescued from the fate which commonly attends small and unconnected publications.—

At the Hague have appeared four volumes of "Prayers of the Portuguese Jews, translated from the Hebrew, by a Society of Jews;" in which the compilers seem to have studied circumlocution rather than conciseness, and to have systematically opposed the Christian precept, "when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathens do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking."—At Leyden, Dr. Ed. Sandifort has published in Latin, in two volumes, imperial folio, a description of "The Anatomical Museum of the University of Leyden." This is a splendid and expensive work, illustrated with a great variety of beautiful and accurate engravings; and will enable the possessors, in a considerable degree, to enjoy the advantages of that capital collection.

—At Utrecht, a curious work in natural history has been published, entitled, "*La Flore des Insectophiles*," which contains a discourse on the medical, economical, and other advantages to be derived from insects; an introduction to their history; and a list of the plants, trees, and shrubs, which serve them for the purposes of dwelling, and of food, with the names according to the Linnæan system.—At Amsterdam have appeared two volumes of "A History, and Anecdotes of the French Revolution, from the Accession of Louis XVI. to his Death;" which are the productions of a constitutional loyalist; but which will convince the impartial reader, from the characters they give of the principal courtiers and

ecclesiastics, that the revolution was unavoidable, and that the events which have followed it may be traced to other causes than the imputed sins of liberty and equality.—At the same place has appeared "A Description of the Archipelago, intended for the Use of Soldiers, Sailors, and Merchants, drawn up from the latest Observations, by the Chev. De Kinsbergen," which abounds in entertainment and useful information.—At the same place, also, has been published an edition of an ancient Greek medical writer, most probably of the tenth century, interspersed with ingenious explanations, and emendations. It is entitled, "Theophrastus Nonni Epitome de Curatione Morborum, Græce & Latine. Ope Codicum MSS. recensuit, Notasque adjecit, Jo. Steph. Bernard."

The first work which demands our notice under the head of German literature, is a volume entitled, "Illustrations of the first Book of Samuel, and the Proverbs of Solomon, by Dr. C. G. Henfler, Professor of Divinity at Kiel," published at Hamburg. On this work the foreign Reviews pass very high encomiums, as a production distinguished by uncommon learning, penetration, accuracy, and impartiality.—M. Ant. Fred. W. Leiste's first specimen of "Observations on the Prophet Jeremiah," published at Gottingen, is also commended by the German critics, on account of the testimonies which it affords of the author's diligence in the prosecution of his biblical studies, as well as of his ingenuity and modesty.—At Jena, Dr. John Chr. Döderlein has published a new and improved edition of his masterly translation of "The Preacher, and Song of Solomon, with short explanatory Notes;" and at Nuremberg,

berg, professor Rosenmüller has published an enlarged and complete edition, in five volumes, of his important and learned "Scholia on the New Testament."—At the last mentioned place and at Altdorf, M. G. L. Bauer has published, "A Sketch of an Introduction to the Writings of the Old Testament, drawn up for the purpose of his Academical Lectures." This truly learned and useful work contains a judicious and comprehensive abridgment of professor Eichhorn's well known and excellent introduction to the Old Testament, together with an accurate investigation of the grounds on which his opinions were founded; valuable selections from other philological works, of later date; and several original dissertations by the author.—At Leipzig, professor Eichhorn has published "An Introduction to the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament," which is a continuation of his work mentioned in our last article, and will be received with pleasure and gratitude by biblical scholars.—At the same place, Dr. Sam. Fred. Nathan. Morus has published the second volume of his "Theological and Philological Dissertations." The first volume was published in the year 1787.—At Berlin, M. K. D. Hülmann has published an "Historico-critical Essay on the Religion of the Lama," which is an elaborate enquiry into the mythological dogmas of the numerous tribes who inhabit Tibet, Tartary, and we may add China; for the Teshoo Lama is the acknowledged head of religion in those respective countries.—At Jena, M. P. Chr. Reinhard has published "A Sketch of a History of the Origin and Progress of Religious Notions," which the ingenious author traces to the general character of man, and

explains the causes of their variations in the different circumstances in which men have been placed. The present work ends with the popular mythology of the Greeks, and is intended to be continued.—At Frankfort, and Leipzig, a treatise hath appeared, entitled, "On Protestantism, Catholicism, Secret Societies, the Connexion between the State and Religious Communities, and the Religious Oath of Protestants, &c." which is an able vindication of the rights of conscience, and private judgment.—At the last mentioned place, professor C. Aug. Theo. Keil has begun an ingenious series of Latin "Essays in Defence of the Fathers of the Primitive Church from having corrupted Christianity by Platonic Opinions;" in which, among other things, it is his intention to shew that the doctrine of a trinity was known to the Jews.

In Philosophy and Ethics we meet with two volumes of essays, by C. H. Heydenreich, entitled, "Original Ideas on the most interesting Subjects of Philosophy," published at Leipzig. This work, which embraces a variety of topics too numerous for us to mention, is said to be distinguished by considerable originality of thought, and profoundness of reflexion.—At Nuremberg, a work has been published by M. F. Mauchart, in two volumes, entitled, "The General Repertory of Experimental Psychology, and the Sciences connected with it;" in which those who are employed in studying an acquaintance with the human mind, will find several treatises that will afford them valuable assistance.—"The History and Spirit of Scepticism, particularly as it concerns Morals and Religion, by Dr. C. F. Staudlin, Professor of Divinity at Gottingen," in two volumes, published

published at Leipzig, abounds in much valuable matter, and interesting reflexions. On Hume and his writings it is particularly full, and severe; but it will not completely answer the expectations which the reader may be led to form from the title. — At Tübingen, M. C. Ph. Conz has published a volume of “*Essays on the History and Peculiarity of the later Stoic Philosophy, with an Essay on the Christian, Kantish, and Stoic Systems of Morality,*” which abound in excellent reflexions and remarks on particular points, although they do not contain a full view of the subject. — At Frankfurt, M. J. Snell has published “*A Critical Discussion of Morals, relative to Preaching, on the Principles of Kant;*” the object of which is to vindicate the moral system of that philosopher, against the objection that it is too metaphysical for general use. — At Hanover, professor Meiners has published a treatise “*On true, premature, and false Enlightening of Men’s Minds, and their Effects,*” which, from an historical comparison of the manners and actions of the middle ages with those of the present, offers very powerful arguments in favour of the unrestricted propagation of knowledge, for the mutual benefit of states and rulers. The circumstance that this work is inserted in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Vienna, will not lessen its value in the estimation of the liberal-minded. — The “*Five Letters from a Citizen of the World,*” by F. Bouterweck,” published at Berlin, have the same benevolent object in view with the last mentioned publication, and are written with good sense and good temper. — At Jena, M. J. Theo. Fichte has published “*Some Lectures on the Destination of a Man of Letters.*” In this work the au-

thor enters into an ingenious enquiry into the destination of man, as man, and as a member of society; investigates the difference of conditions in the social state; and thence proceeds to consider the character of a man of letters, and the duties which he is particularly obliged to perform. — At Leipzig, “*A Collection of Essays on Education, as conducted in Germany,*” has been published in four volumes; from which many valuable hints may be selected, applicable to the systems of education followed in other countries, and particularly in our own. — At Halle, Dr. C. Morgenstern has published three essays, distinguished by judgment, taste, and penetration, which belong partly to the head of morals, and partly to that of jurisprudence and government. They are “*On the Republic of Plato.* 1. *On the Design and Argument of the Work.* 2. *A new Sketch of the Moral Doctrines of Plato, chiefly from the same work.* 3. *A Description and Examination of a Perfect State, according to the Idea of Plato.*”

The next articles which we have to introduce belong to the head of Jurisprudence, Government, and Political Economy. And the first which presents itself is “*A Systematic Developement of the Fundamental Principles and Truths of Penal Law, from the Nature of Things, and the present Code:*” by Gallus Aloys Kleinschrod, Aulic Counsellor, and Professor of Law at Wirtzburg. Vol. I. *On Crime in general, and its Imputation.* Vol. II. *On Punishment in general, and its Application.* This is a valuable and important work, though not yet complete; and will present the reader with much information and novelty on the topics which the author discusses. — At Schwerin, Dr.

A. T. Weber, professor of law at Rostock, has published, in two parts, a treatise "On Defamation and Libel," which is a masterly performance on the subject of the liberty of the press, and its abuse. It is written by a friend to genuine freedom, and reprobrates, on the most convincing grounds, the office of an inspector.—The work entitled, "To perpetual Peace, an Essay," by the celebrated Kant, published at Königsberg, has been prohibited in the Austrian dominions, on account of the forcible and persuasive manner in which it condemns the practices of kings and governments which are founded in unjust policy, and recommends that moral union of the human race which alone can free the earth from the curse of war.—"The Examination of the Principles of the French Revolution," published at Wolfenbützel, is the work of a French emigrant, who discusses the subjects of government, liberty, and equality, the sovereignty of the people, insurrection, &c. with the design of exposing the constitution of 1791; and of guarding the country in which he has found an asylum, against the contagion of principles which, in his opinion, wherever they spread, will carry with them anarchy, robbery, and immorality.—Dumouriez' "Political View of the Future Situation of France," published at Hamburg, besides a variety of reflexions on the manner in which the coalesced powers have conducted the war against that country, which he pointedly condemns; and on the probable issue of the prolongation of the contest, in which the events have not corresponded with his predictions; is employed in discussing the question, whether a limited monarchy be not better adapted to secure the happiness of the French nation than a republic? His decision is in favour of monarchy, which, when moderated by a senate, he pronounces to be the most perfect form of human government, and strongly recommends it to his countrymen. The majority of them, however, have formed a different conclusion; and experience must ultimately determine the question.—The same object is pursued by him in his "Advice to the Primary Assemblies of France," published at the same place, which his countrymen have ungratefully rejected, choosing rather to trust to the virtues of their own nostrums than of his catholicism.—At the same place, M. G. Büsch, public teacher of mathematics, and superintendant of the commercial academy, has published a work, in two volumes, entitled "A Théoretico-practical View of Commerce, in its various Branches," which is the fruit of long and sedulous study, joined with extensive experience, and will be highly prized in every commercial country.—At Göttingen, M. Beckmann has published the second and third parts of his curious, entertaining, and instructive "Introduction to the Knowledge of Merchandize," which will be found interesting to general readers, as well as to those who are concerned in different branches of trade.—At Leipsic, Dr. Godfrey Lewis Winkler has published a prize essay "On the unrestricted Division of Landed Estates," in which he ably combats the objections which have been made to a division of farms; and with great force exposes the futility of the advantages pretended to arise from preserving estates entire, for the aggrandizement of one branch of a family to the impoverishment of the rest.—At Mannheim, the electoral

toral committee for the cultivation of the Danube morafs, have published an instructive "Circumstantial Account" of the methods pursued by them in converting that extensive useless tract into a fruitful country, within the short space of three years; and at Tubingen, Dr. Rappolt, mathematical professor, has published an "Essay on the Strength of round Woven Cords, fabricated on Muschenbroek's Principles, illustrated by Experiments," which merits particular notice in a maritime country.

Among the articles in German literature belonging to Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, we are presented with "Observations and Descriptions of the Stars, and the Motion of the Celestial Spheres, by Claudius Ptolemy, &c. with Elucidations, Comparisons with later Observations, and a Stereographical Projection of both Hemispheres of the Starry Heavens for the Time of Ptolemy, by J. E. Bode," published at Berlin and Stettin. This volume contains only the first four chapters of the seventh book of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, with the Catalogue, translated partly from the Greek, and partly from the French of Abbé Montignot.—At Berlin also, M. Bode has published his valuable "Astronomical Ephemeris, for the Year 1797," which contains no less than thirty-four essays on different subjects connected with astronomy.—At Altenburg, M. C. Christian Langsdorf has published "Elements of Hydraulics, with a constant Reference to Experiment," in which the theoretical and practical systems are judiciously and happily combined.—At Leipzig, M. C. F. Hindenburg has published a work entitled, "Archives of Theoretical and Practical Mathematics," which is a collection of periodical essays,

partly original, and partly selected from other publications, that will be useful to the young mathematician.—At the same place, professor Fred. Lempe has published the first part of "A System of the Science of Machinery, with regard to Mining," which is distinguished by perspicuity and precision, and illustrated with well executed engravings.—At Halle, professor Gren has published a new edition of his "Manual of Chemistry," in three volumes, with considerable improvements, and on the principle of the antiphlogistic system.—At the same place, professor Foster has published "A new Nomenclature of a System of Mineralogy," which, if favourably received, will be followed by an elementary treatise on that science.—At Leipzig, Dr. S. C. Titius has published the first volume of "F. Mirabelli's Physico-chemical Essays for the Improvement of Medicine and the Arts, collected from various periodical Italian Works, and the author's MSS. and translated with Elucidations."—At Gottingen, M. J. F. Gmelin has published "Elements of Pharmacy, for the Use of his Lectures," in which he has availed himself of every new discovery and improvement in the preparation of medicines.—At Berlin, M. E. A. W. Zimmerman has published an improved edition of M. Carolini's valuable "Essay on the Generation of Fishes and Crabs," translated from the Italian into German, with Remarks.—At Brunswick, M. J. von Ussler has published "Fragments of modern Phytology," Nos. I. and II. which contain useful general observations on the economy of vegetation. Our limits will only permit us to add the names of the following articles: the third volume of M. Hube's "Complete

and easy Introduction to Natural Philosophy, in a Series of Letters to a young Man of Rank," published at Leipzig; "An Essay towards correcting Antiphlogistic Chemistry, founded on Experiment, by J. F. A. Götting, professor at Jena," published at Weimar; "on the Changes produced in Metals when exposed to the Effect of Fire in Dephlogisticated Air," by A. G. Lentin, Ph. D." published at Göttingen; "An Examination of M. de Luc's Theory of Rain, and the Objections he thence deduces against the Solution of Water in Air," by M. Zylius, published at Berlin; "An Essay towards a complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Minerals, by Lenz, Vol. I." published at Leipzig; "Excursions (chiefly Mineralogical), in Part of Franconia and Thuringia, in Letters to a Friend, by Ern. W. Martius," published at Erlangen; "S.T. Sæmmering on the Diseases of the Absorbents of the Human Body, &c. which obtained the Prize from the Society of Utrecht, in the Year 1794, &c." published at Frankfort; "The History of Hæmorrhoids, containing the medical Observations of all Ages on that Subject, &c. Vol. I." published at Vienna; "Memoirs for the History of Physic, Vol. I. Part I. by Kurt Sprengel," published at Halle; the eighth and ninth numbers of M. Bloch's splendid "Natural History of Foreign Fish," with numerous plates, published at Berlin; the first part of professor Schrader's "Spicilegium Floræ Germanicæ," with engravings, published at Hanover; and the first number of Vol. I. of "The more Rare Plants, cultivated in the Royal Gardens near Hanover," described by professor Schrader, and drawn and engraved by J. C. Wendland.

Among the productions of Germany and the Austrian dominions, under the head of History, Biography, Antiquities, and Travels, we find "The History of the Kings of Macedonia; written by the Arabic Historian Elub Hassan Ben Abdallah Ben Ebi Zeran, of the City of Fez; translated from the Arabic, with Remarks, by F. Von Dombay, Imperial Interpreter of Oriental Languages for the Frontiers," published at Agram, in Croatia. This is part of a curious and interesting work, which M. Von Dombay promises speedily to complete in two additional volumes: and he has also engaged to translate from the Arabic several other historical, literary, and miscellaneous pieces.—At Berlin, and Stettin, professor J. A. Römer has published "A Delineation of the History of the World, in every Period;" the object of which is to give a view of the political relations of different nations to each other at different periods, of their constitutions, worship, and mental illumination. The German reviewers bestow on it a very high share of praise.—In our view of the literature of Germany in the year 1793, we gave our readers a general account of the plan and merits of M. Spittler's "Sketch of the History of the different States of Europe," Vol. I. Since that time the author has published a second volume of that useful work, which includes the history of the Swiss cantons, Italy, Turkey in Europe, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark.—At Halle, Baron Senkenburg has published "A Sketch of the History of the German Empire in the Seventeenth Century," in four volumes; which contains an ample and authentic collection of facts respecting the German history during that

that period, and a proper continuation of Dr. Haberlin's great work. It begins with the year 1600, and comes down only to the year 1628.—At Königsberg, M. Lewis von Baczko has published "The History of Prussia," in 4 volumes, which is an original work of considerable merit, and is illustrated by an astonishing number of documents.—At Vienna, M. Cas. Ant. Roschmann, privy keeper of the archives of the household to the emperor, has published "The History of Tyrol, Part I. with a Map of Rætia," which is rendered valuable by the talents for historical research displayed by the author, and the importance to the German empire of the province which he describes.—At Brandenburg, a work has appeared, in 2 vols. entitled "On the Palatinate of the Rhine, and its Neighbourhood, with a particular View to the present War, Natural Beauties, Cultivation, and Antiquities, by an Observer who shared in the Campaign of the Combined Armies against the French;" which is replete with information and amusement.—At St. Blasie, P. Emilianus Uffermann, librarian, and the monks of the Congregation have published "The History of the Church in Germany, divided into Ecclesiastical Provinces, and Dioceses, Vol I; on the Bishoprick of Witzburg, in the Diocese of Mentz, chronologically arranged, and elucidated by Documents." This work is a curious and important one, and presents the reader, as far as it goes, with ample information respecting the religious foundations in Germany.—At Hamburg, "The Life of General Dumouriez" has been published, in 3 vols. which, with his Memoirs, noticed by us in our last year's Register, com-

pletes his account of his public character and situations. It is highly interesting in an historical point of view, and adds much to our stock of information relative to the arcana of the French revolution. It has already appeared in an English translation.—At Nuremberg, M. G. T. Theod. Strobel has published a valuable account of "The Life, Writings, and Doctrines of Thomas Muncer, the Leader of the Insurrection of the Peasants in Thuringia." In this work we are presented with an accurate and impartial delineation of the character and principles of that celebrated revolutionist, and a development of the causes of the troubles which laid waste a considerable part of Germany; from which the abettors of spiritual and civil tyranny may draw seasonable and useful lessons.—At Berlin, M. C. P. Moritz has published a work entitled "Anthusa, or Roman Antiquities;" which is employed in explaining the religious rites of the Romans, and is illustrated with plates from ancient gems.—At Jena, M. F. Majer has published a curious and entertaining "History of Trials by Ordeal, and especially that by Single combat in Germany; being a Fragment of the History and Antiquities of German Jurisprudence." The ingenious author brings strong reasons to shew, that trials by ordeal were known to the inhabitants of pagan Germany.—At Weimar, M. C. Boettiger has published a learned treatise "On the Masques used in the ancient Theatre, docere Fabulam, &c." In a future work he proposes to extend his enquiries to the theatrical machinery of the ancients.—At Hamburg, count John Potocki has published "A Journey into some Parts of Lower

Saxony, in Search of the Antiquities of the Slaves, or Vendes," illustrated with numerous Etchings. This volume will prove singularly entertaining to the curious in mythological antiquities.—At Leipzig, F. L. count Stolberg has published 4 vols. of "Travels in Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily; from July 1791, to December 1793." Notwithstanding that our author pursued a beaten track, he has collected a vast fund of information and amusement on subjects relative to manners, governments, and the sublime and beautiful works of nature and art.—At Jena, professor Paulus has published his third volume of "A Collection of the most remarkable Travels in the East, translated or abridged, with select Maps and Plates, and the necessary Introductions, Remarks, and Indexes;" and at Berlin, M. Hube has published the third volume of professor Forster's "Tour," consisting chiefly of sketches respecting England, which the author had not time to finish before his death.—To the articles already enumerated we can only add the titles of the following: "The Northern Geography of the Greeks and Romans, by Conrade Mannert," in 4 vols. published at Nuremberg; "An Historico-geographical Account of the East Indies, compiled from the most approved and latest Voyages and Travels, &c." published at Frankfort, and Leipzig; "Annals of Europe, in 1795, by Dr. Poselt," published at Tubingen; "A complete Account of Poland," "A complete Account of Bohemia," and "A complete Account of Silesia," by M. Kaufch, published at Salzburg; "Lives and Literary Accounts of celebrated Financiers, Manufacturers, Merchants, and Agricultur-

ers, by J. D. Hoeck, Vol. I." published at Nuremberg, and Altdorf; "The Life of Count Seckendorff," completed in 4 vols. published at Leipzig; "The Life of J. Breitkopf," a celebrated German printer, published at the same place; "The Life of A. Th. Sparenberg, Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren, by J. Risler," published at Barbi; "A short Introduction to the Knowledge of the Coins of different Countries, &c. Vol. I. Part I. by M. R. B. Gerhardt," published at Berlin; "Letters of M. de Wurmb, and the Baron de Wolzogen, or their Travels in Africa and the East Indies, between the Years 1774 and 1792," published at Gotha; the third volume of M. Meiner's "Short Account of Places and Travels," published at Berlin; "Travels through a Part of Spain, together with the History of Count de S. by F. G. Baumgärtner," published at Leipzig; and "Letters on the two Franconian Principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, by J. Godfrey Kœppel," published at Erlangen.

At the head of our Catalogue of German publications in Classical, Critical, and Miscellaneous Literature, we must place "Novum Lexicon Græco-latinum in Novum Testamentum," compiled, and illustrated with various philological observations by Dr. Joh. Freid, Schleusner, professor of theology at Gottingen, in two very large octavo volumes, published at Leipzig. This is a work of first-rate merit, which possesses the advantages of a Concordance and a Lexicon. It is the result of the learned author's sedulous examination, for nearly sixteen years, of the labours of preceding lexicographers, commentators, grammarians, and glossarists, and of his own indefatigable

defatigable enquiries into the genius of the Greek language, his use of different ancient versions, various readings, and other subsidiary aids that were necessary to qualify him for such an undertaking.—At Halle, professor J. G. Schneider has published "*Νικάνδρου Αλεξίφαρμακα*," with Greek scholia, and the Greek paraphrase of Eutecnius the sophist, corrected from MSS. and elucidated with notes; which the German reviewers pronounce to be a very valuable edition of that scientific poem. In illustrating it, the professor has availed himself of the works of Dioscorides, and Aëtius, Paulus Aegineta, and Actuarius, besides his own intimate acquaintance with the natural history of the ancients.—At Altenberg, "*Libanii Sophistæ Orationes et Declamationes, &c.*" in 3 vols. have been published from the papers of the late J. J. Reiske; who undertook, with the assistance of two good MSS. at Augsburgh, three at Munich, and one at Wolfenbittel, to give a correct and complete edition of that author's works. Had he lived to superintend the publication of his laborious undertaking, it would most probably have appeared with greater recommendations in point of correctness; but in its present form it does great credit to his industry and ingenuity.—At Leipzig, M. J. H. Brem has published an edition "*M. Tullii Ciceronis de Fato, &c.*" with learned and ingenious notes, which will prove an acceptable present to classical scholars.—At the same place, M. F. E. Ruhkopf has published, in two volumes, a German version of "*The Physical Researches of L. A. Seneca, with Remarks*;" in which he appears to considerable advantage as a translator and as a commentator.—At Hanover, M.

C. Fred. Heinrich has published "*Observations on Ancient Authors, Part I.*" which contain some valuable elucidations of difficult passages in Pindar, Hermesianax, the fragments of Philetas, Theocritus, the latter books of the *Æneid*, Euripides, Propertius, Juvenal, Cicero, Cæsar, &c.—At Leipzig, M. Fred. James Bast has published a learned and ingenious critical "*Essay on the Text of the Symposium of Plato, with an Investigation of some particular Readings in the three MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna.*"—At Brunswick, M. C. F. Heinrich, and M. G. H. Nöhden have published "*Explanatory Remarks on Virgil's Æneid*," vols. II. III. which appear well calculated to answer the design of the editors, which was to unite the explanation of words and things, and to direct the attention to the poetical language and images, in a clear and intelligible manner.—At Altenberg, M. J. F. Degen has published "*An Essay towards a complete History of German Translations of the Latin Classics, first division, A. I.*" in which he congratulates his countrymen that in the variety of such literary labours they have not been outdone by the neighbouring nations of France, Italy, or England.—At Brunswick, a society of men of letters have engaged in the commendable undertaking of publishing "*Essays to promote the progressive Improvement of the German Language*;" in which one great object is, to stem the torrent of foreign words poured in, to the destruction of many native ones, often equal or superior to them in point of expression, and always more congruous to the German idiom. Such a society of philologists is desirable in this country.—At

—At Halle, M. T. Voightel has published, in three volumes, a valuable and useful work, founded on Adelung's celebrated performance. It is "A Sketch of a Portable German Dictionary, for Pronunciation, Orthography, Inflection, Etymology, Signification, and Construction."—Under this head of German literature we are also to class, "Adumbratio Quæstionis de Carminum Theocriteorum ad Genera sua revocatorum Indole ac Virtutibus, Auc. Hen. Car. Ab. Eichstædt," published at Leipzig; "Christiani Gottlieb Schwartz, Prof. quondam in Univ. Alt. celeb. Opuscula quædam Academica varii Argumenti," published at Nuremberg, by professor Harles; "Lectures on Style, or Rules for good Composition, illustrated by Examples from the best Writers," by professor Moritz, part II. published at Berlin, by M. Jenisch; "Instructions for Teachers in Schools for the Common People, by M. Horstig," a prize dissertation published at Hanover; "The Works of C. M. Wieland complete, in 10 Vols.," published at Leipzig; "The Writings of the late Count Rochus, &c. with other Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I.," published at Hamburg; "The Bavarian Literary Dictionary, in which is given an Account, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Men of Letters in Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, who lived before the Year 1725, with Catalogues of their Works, &c. by A. M. Kobolt," published at Landshut; "An Account of every thing remarkable in the Rheidiger Library at Breslaw, by its Principal Librarian, J. F. Schelbel," published at Breslaw; "J. And. Jef. Schetelig's Bibliotheca of Iconography, Part I.," published at Hanover; "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Cabinet of Engravings of the late M. Brandes, &c. containing a

Collection of Ancient and Modern Pieces of every School, in a Series of Artists, from the Origin of the Art to the Present Day, by M. Huber," in 2 vols. published at Leipzig; "Gospel Parables, in French Verse," published at Hamburg; "Louisa, a Pastoral Poem, in three Idylls, by H. S. Voss," published at Königsberg; "Plays, by Fred. W. Gotter," published at Leipzig; and "The Knights of the Swan, or the Court of Charlemagne, an Historical and Moral Story, intended as a Continuation of the Tales of the Castle, &c. by Madame de Genlis," in 3 vols. published at Hamburg.

Among the few literary productions of Switzerland which we have to announce, the first is "Leonard Meister on the Imagination, with respect to its Influence on the Heart and Mind; recomposed from his two former Works on the Imagination and on Fanaticism," published at Zurich. His hypothesis is, that the faculty which has the greatest effect on our conduct, our sentiments, and the development of our ideas, is our internal sense, or imagination. If there be nothing new in this principle, the ingenious manner in which it is supported, and the conclusions which the author draws from it in illustrating the intellectual faculties, place many important and curious subjects in a new light.—At Lausanne, an adopted citizen of Pennsylvania has published "an Answer to the leading Questions which apply to the United States of America," in 2 vols. This work presents us with some useful commercial information; but it will prove principally valuable to the emigrants to the American continent.—At Geneva, M. F. Huber has published "New Observations on Bees," which are the result of a great

great variety of ingenious and nice experiments, and deserve a respectable rank among treatises in political economy.—At Zurich, M. Roemer has begun a publication entitled “A new Magazine of Botany, in its amplest Extent,” which is intended to be a continuation of a work that, some years ago, under a similar title, met with a very favourable reception. The volume which has already made its appearance, consists of valuable articles.—At the same place, professor Meiners has published “The Lives of Celebrated Men who flourished at the time of the Revival of Science.” This volume presents us with ample accounts of John of Ravenna, Reuchlin, and Hen. Corn. Agrippa; and will most probably be followed by others which will lead us to an acquaintance with the literary history of a very memorable period.—At Bern have appeared “Particulars of the Life and Works of M. C. Bonnet,” which contain an interesting and entertaining account of his education, character, studies, and various productions in theology, natural history, and psychology.—In Switzerland, but at what place is not mentioned, has been published, “a Life of Sieyes, Member of the first National Assembly, and of the Convention,” which is attributed to Sieyes himself, and is not unworthy of the reputation that he has acquired. It contains a very curious narrative of the incidents of his life, and an able defence of his principles and conduct, as a public character. A well executed translation of it has lately been presented to the English reader.—At Zurich, C. Ulysses Von Salis has published the first volume of highly pleasing and instructive “Travels in various Provinces of the Kingdom of Na-

ples;” which, as far as we can judge from the account of the German reviewers, appears to be an improvement on his “Sketches of the Natural and Economical State of the two Sicilies,” announced by us in this department of our View of the Foreign Literature of the year 1791.—At the same place, Dr. J. G. Ebel has published “An Introduction to the most useful and advantageous Method of Travelling in Switzerland, with three Etchings, representing the whole Chain of the Alps,” in 3 vols. This work will prove an useful guide to those who are disposed to visit the beauties of Switzerland on foot: a method of travelling in the romantic Alpine regions, which the author strongly recommends as the most eligible in every point of view.

The first place in our short and imperfect list of Italian productions is due to “Thoughts on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, by Father Giambatista Gallicciolli,” published at Venice. This work, although it should not be thought to contain a satisfactory explanation of that celebrated prophecy, affords ample testimony to the learning and ingenuity of the author; and it is, at the same time, a commendable instance of freedom in an Italian priest, who has ventured to throw aside the shackles of authority, and to elucidate the sacred writings by a new translation of the original, and a liberal use of conjectural criticism. The next article which calls for our notice is, a collection of interesting “Memoirs on Animal Electricity, extracted from the Physical and Medical Journal of Sig. Brugnatelli,” published at Pavia. This selection appears to have been made by M. Volta, who has given a concise history of what he calls the conjectures made on the subject
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of animal electricity, before the time of Galvani; an account of the results obtained by him in repeating Galvani's experiments, which uniformly confirmed the latter; and the inferences which he conceives himself authorized in deducing from them.—At the same place, M. F. Mirabelli has published "A Letter to G. P. Frank, &c. containing an Examination of Water drawn by Tapping from a Dropsical Patient." After repeated analyses of different quantities of that fluid, M. Mirabelli found it to consist of a large portion of water and coagulable animal matter, with aerated mineral alkali, common salt, gypsum, volatile alkali, some phosphoric acid, and a saponaceous substance much resembling bile, but without any acid of sugar.—At Naples, Dr. Joseph Maria la Pira has published "A Memoir on the Effects of the Fluor Alkali in stopping Hæmorrhages of the Arteries and Veins," including an account of a number of experiments made by order of the king. In using this styptic, the doctor mixed four ounces of the alkali with one pound of water.—At Pavia, professor Ant. Scarpa has published "Neurological Tables, illustrative of the Anatomical History of the Cardiac Nerves, the ninth of the Brain, the Glossopharyngæi and the Pharyngæi from the eighth Pair," illustrated with seven finished plates, and seven of outline. This is a splendid and important work, the object of which is to prove, in opposition to the opinion lately advanced by M. Behrends, that the heart is not destitute of nerves, or void of sensibility.

From an unknown press have issued "Historical and Political Memoirs of the Republic of Venice," composed in 1792, which are said to be the production of a Venetian

nobleman, who, after having filled many considerable offices both in the capital, and in the provinces, was, through the intrigues of an hostile faction, unheard, and without any form of trial, condemned to perpetual banishment from his country. This work is divided into two parts; the first of which is historical, and gives an ample sketch of the several branches of the Venetian government; and the second contains philosophical and political reflections. Both parts exhibit a striking delineation of the modes and means of tyranny, exercised under that inquisitorial government.—At Naples, M. L. Giustiniani has published "An Historico-critical Essay on the Topography of the Kingdom of Naples," which contains the local history of that art from the earliest period to the present times. Among the reasons assigned by the author why so few books of any importance have lately appeared there, are the severe restrictions on the liberty of the press, and the almost incredible prevalence of law suits, which seem to constitute the grand occupation of the citizens, and to employ all the presses on pleas, answers, replies, and rejoinders.—At the same place, the first volume of "The Herculanean MSS." has been published, containing the fourth book of Philodemus on Music; which is an object of greater curiosity than value. We hope for more important articles from the thousand rolls, and upwards, of which that treasure consists.—At Milan have appeared four volumes entitled "The Lombardic Antiquities of Milan, in Dissertations by the Monks of the Cistercian Congregation." These volumes contain much curious and important information relative to the laws, literature,

terature, manners, customs, government, buildings, history, and ecclesiastical affairs of the middle ages.—At Rome “A Letter from E. Q. Visconti” has been published, giving an account of an ancient set of plate, weighing above five hundred ounces, that was lately discovered in digging into some vaults at the foot of the Esquiline Hill. Some of the pieces bear inscriptions, and others beautiful relievos. The whole appear to have belonged to the toilette of a Roman lady in the fourth century.—At Naples, the publication of the second volume of “The Collection of Engravings from Antique Vases in the Museum of Sir William Hamilton,” has been announced; but we have not yet met with any account of its contents.—At Venice, Abate Angelo Dalmaistro has translated into Italian verse an indifferent “Latin Satire on Celibacy, by Dr. Ubaldo Bregolini,” in which the fewness of the marriages in that part of Europe is attributed to the improper education, and prevailing manners of the female sex.—At Naples, M. Mariottini has published a collection of sensible and elegant “Discourses, chiefly delivered at different Meetings of the Academy of the Arcades, at Rome,” which relate principally to local topics, in miscellaneous literature, science, and political economy.

The first publication which claims our notice among the literary productions of France, is “A Sketch of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind; being a Posthumous Work of the late M. Condorcet.” The grand object of this treatise is, “to shew, both by reasoning and facts, that there is no limit pointed out to the improvement of human powers; that the perfectibility of man is really inde-

finite; and that the progress of that perfectibility, henceforth independent of every power that would arrest it, has no other boundary than the duration of the globe on which nature has placed us.” In pursuing this object, the author divides the history of society into ten periods, and offers some remarks on each, in a distinct section. Many of these remarks are sensible, interesting, and liberal, and will afford much entertainment and instruction; while others of them are subtle and superficial, rather than the result of accurate, unprejudiced, and profound enquiry. Under the latter description we mean particularly to include his indiscriminate attack on the utility of all religions, excepting his ideal “pure worship, rendered by more ancient nations to the universal soul of the world;” and his confounding together, in one common mass, the simple doctrines of christianity as maintained by its rational and able defenders, and the grossest abuses of that system by the interested advocates for superstition and priestcraft.—The treatise entitled “A few Chapters, by Honoré Riouffe,” is employed “in refuting the sophisms propagated by the open and concealed advocates for royalty, against the democratical form of government, adopted in France;” and in pointing out to his countrymen the inevitable effects of a counter-revolution, under which the human species must exhibit, “within a short period, all the possible degrees of degradation and misery to which it could be reduced, and the torch of liberty, which already shines in the eyes of Europe, would be extinguished for ever amidst tears and blood.”—The “Memoir on the Finances, by A. P. Montesquieu,” contains an able and elegant defence

sence of the measure adopted by the constituent assembly, of issuing assignats; and points out what should have been done to prevent their depreciation, as well as what may yet be done to restore them to their true value. The idea, however, of security of property, generally extended and entertained, will prove more efficacious in remedying the evil of which he complains, than any reasonings of the ablest financiers.—The treatise “on Assassinations and Robberies, or Proscriptions and Confiscations, by William Thomas Raynal,” contains an elegant and spirited sketch of those horrid, political, theological and juridical crimes, which have brought on human society the evils mentioned in the title; and irrefragable arguments against their utility in restoring peace and happiness to any state, that has been plunged in the horrors of civil war.—The “Letter from Citizen Pajot, to Citizen Delametherie, on Nitre found in the Hot Ashes of Limekilns,” and the “Extract of a Report made to the Committee of Agriculture and Arts, on the Refabrication of Printed or Written Paper,” suggest some valuable economical hints; and the latter, especially, describes the particulars of a process, from which considerable advantages may arise to manufactures, and to the literary world.—“The Republican’s Calendar, or Physico-economical Legend, &c. by Eleutherophilus Mullin, Professor of Natural History,” is replete with information and entertainment. Our readers know, that in the division of the year which now exists in France, instead of the names of Romish saints which formerly distinguished each day, there are introduced the names of animals, plants, minerals, or implements of husbandry, bear-

ing some relation to the season; and that the months themselves have names given them adapted to the circumstances of the climate. In the work before us, the author goes through the whole calendar in order; and in his explanation of the names of the months and the days, contrives to make it a lecture on natural history and economics, in which he has been careful to compile from the best authorities.—The “Instructions concerning the Means proper to prevent the Attack of the Glanders, to preserve Horses from this Disease, and to eradicate the Infection from Stables in which it has prevailed, &c.” were drawn up by M. Huzard, and published, for general benefit, by order of the committee of public safety.

Among the Historical and Biographical productions of France, we find “Memoirs concerning the Revolution, by D. J. Garat,” which principally relate to the contests between the Brissotines and the adherents of Robespierre. The author of this work is a man of extensive information, cool judgment, and of great candour and amiableness of manners, who took an active part in the French revolution, but without enlisting himself under the banners of either of the hostile parties; and who was so fortunate as to possess, in a very considerable degree, the confidence and good opinion of both. His memoirs, therefore, cannot fail of being highly interesting and valuable; and from the narratives and anecdotes which they detail, must tend to throw light on the circumstances of the revolution, and on the characters of the most conspicuous and leading agents.—The “Appeal to impartial Posterity, by the Female Citizen Roland, Wife of the Minister of the Home Department; or a Col-

lection of Pieces written by her during her Confinement in the Prison of the Abbey, and in St. Pelagie," in four parts, is a posthumous publication, under the inspection of Bosc, the friend of the deceased and her husband, for the benefit of their orphan daughter. It is the production of a woman of uncommon talents, great knowledge of the world, and of elegant manners; who was intimately acquainted with the principal persons who took an active part in the successive changes of government in France, from despotism to a limited monarchy and republic, and who fell a sacrifice to the murderous tyranny of Robespierre. The accounts which she gives of her husband's different administrations, and of other circumstances connected with the revolution; her masterly pictures of individuals; her memoirs of her own life, and her familiar letters, will all be found interesting to the reader, who will pardon the marks of vanity which occasionally appear in her pages. This work has been translated into English.—The treatise entitled "Some Hints for History, and a Narrative of the Dangers which I experienced since the Thirty-first of May, 1793, by John Baptist Louvet, one of the Representatives proscribed in 1793," is another interesting and valuable memoir; from which the future historian of the French revolution may derive considerable assistance in forming an accurate knowledge of the state of parties, and of the events which took place in the interior of France, during the struggles between the ferocious and moderate republicans. — M. Riouffe's "Memoirs of a Prisoner, illustrating the Tyranny of Robespierre" afford, also, some important materials, especially with respect to the

last moments of the most distinguished members of the Brissotine party.—The "Essay on the Life of J. J. Barthelemy, by Louis-Jules-Barbon Mancini Nivernois," is an elegant and affectionate tribute of respect to the memory of a distinguished writer, and excellent man, whose labours have contributed much to the information and delight of the classical and literary world.—The "Topographical Description of the District of Châtelleraud, in the Department of the Vienne, by M. Creuzé-Latouche," is the production of an author of considerable information, and judgment, and was deservedly recommended for publication by the national agricultural society at Paris. It is divided into three chapters: the first of which is devoted to a description of the country, its natural history, and an account of the manners of the inhabitants; the second to its commerce and industry; and the third to its agriculture.

The few remaining articles which we have to notice among the publications of France, belong to the head of Classical and Miscellaneous Literature. And the first of these is "A New Translation in Verse, of Odes of Anacreon, by M. Anson, Member of the Constituent Assembly." This version is preceded by a short life of the poet, and comprises sixty odes, which, if not entitled to pre-eminent merit, are not devoid of neatness, and elegance.—M. Volney's "Simplification of the Eastern Languages, or a New and Easy Method of learning the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, with European Characters," will be found an useful introduction to the oriental tongues, if the learner's principal object be to speak them, so as to be understood without the assistance of an interpreter.—The "Es-

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says on Painting, by Diderot," like the other productions of that spirited, philosophic, and original writer, will afford information and entertainment to connoisseurs, as well as general readers. They consist of essays on painting, and observations on some of the exhibitions of the painters at Paris. "The School for Children, by Lambard de Langres, in 3 Vols," like Berquin's Children's Friend, and similar pieces of considerable reputation in our own

country, exhibits the utility of virtue, and the ill consequences of vice, by interesting stories, adapted to make impression on young minds. The third volume consists of dramatic pieces, in which the author chiefly aims at inculcating the principles of morals that are peculiarly suitable to the lower ranks of life. With this article we close our short view of the foreign literature of the year 1795.

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